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ENCYCLOPÆDIA METROPOLITANA;

OR,

UNIVERSAL DICTIONARY OF KNOWLEDGE,

On an Original Plan:

COMPRISING THE TWOFOLD ADVANTAGE OF

A PHILOSOPHICAL AND AN ALPHABETICAL ARRANGEMENT,

WITH APPROPRIATE ENGRAVINGS.

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INTRODUCTORY CHAPTER;
ON
THE USES OF HISTORY,
As a Study:
AND
ON THE SEPARATION OF THE EARLY FACTS
OF
HISTORY FROM FABLE.

INTRODUCTORY CHAPTER.

PART I.



OF HISTORY AS A STUDY.

THE word History (*ἱστορία*) has, in its Greek original, two significations, namely, the acquisition of knowledge by research or enquiry, and the narration of events, real or supposed. The English word History, bears only the latter of these meanings, except in the combined expression, *Natural History*, which signifies a knowledge of the various species of natural productions, animal, vegetable, and mineral, with their respective properties and uses. History.
Meanings
of the word.

Events can only be contemplated by the human mind, as occurring in time and space; but a species, being a creation of the intellect, is confined to no certain duration or position. Natural History, therefore, falls within the domain of science; and will be treated of in that part of the present work which includes the Applied Sciences.

HISTORY, in its proper acceptation, must necessarily occupy a large and conspicuous portion of every work, which aspires to trace the great outlines of human knowledge; for much of that knowledge is historical, either in form or in origin: many powers and faculties of the mind are adapted to acquire, digest, and communicate historical information: the historical records, which exist in the world are numerous, and interesting, and valuable; and in fine it is History, which uniting nations and epochs, gradually augments the common stock of wisdom, and elevates man in the scale of intellectual being. This great subject therefore requires to be developed both theoretically and practically; it must be treated as matter of general speculation, and its progress must be followed throughout the successive ages which it has hitherto embraced; but its philosophical consideration will properly precede its historical application. Extent of
the subject.

In the division of the human faculties, that by which we contemplate events as occurring or having occurred, in time and space, with a sense of their reality, forms a peculiar and important feature. It is essentially different on the one side from *Imagination*, which wants the sense of reality, and on the Foundation
of the study.

History. other from *Science*, which contemplates not events but ideas. Hence arises Lord Bacon's well-known division of human knowledge into *History*, *Poetry*, and *Philosophy*. In fact, all that we know, if not poetical or philosophical, must be historical; but in each of these large acquisitions of the mind, we may observe that some portion is cultivated and some uncultivated. Of the former alone it is possible to treat theoretically. The wide deserts and unknown tracts which lie out of the pale of a sovereign's law, and are even untrodden by any who obey his precepts, are not to be reckoned as any part of his political power. It is with distinguishable elements that we work; and not with a dark and confused chaos. Thus, all events, which we consider as having actually occurred, however trivial they are in themselves, or however slightly we may have noticed them, are in truth viewed historically; but History, considered as a study, imports some selection from these notices, some discrimination of these events. It is not enough, that a man should recite to us with fidelity, things which in themselves are entirely puerile and inconsequential. We do not call such a blubber an historian. But History must be instructive; it must tend to make us wiser, or better; it must teach us the road to power, to happiness, to duty; and it must therefore select, among numberless occurrences, those which are of sufficient interest to claim our attention, of sufficient importance to enlarge our judgment. Hence it is necessary, before we proceed in the consideration of our subject, to lay down the definition which we consider properly to belong to History as a study. Without a previous understanding of the terms to be employed in any discussion, it is impossible to bring it to any useful and profitable close: and the accuracy of all reasoning through the medium of language absolutely depends, in its very outset, on the definition of the subject under consideration.

Definition. We define History, then, to be "The narration of real events, intended for the instruction and amusement of mankind." This definition, it will be observed, consists of two parts, the one relating to the *substance* of History, the other to its *end*. In point of substance, nothing is truly and properly historical, which does not communicate a narrative of events, that have actually occurred. Narratives of imaginary events, professedly delivered as such, are called *fable*; and when these are intentionally or unintentionally mixed with actual occurrences, the combination is properly called *Fabulous History*; the distinguishing of which spurious sort from the genuine, is no mean object of the philosophical study of History. The end of History is double—utility and pleasure: the former is doubtless the more important, but the latter is the more captivating. They cannot, however, be properly separated. The mere gratification of an idle curiosity, or the cold enforcement of an oninteresting moral, is alike beneath the dignity of an historian: neither can great moral good come unattended with delight; nor can pure and refined pleasures be communicated without elevating and improving the mind.

Distinctions. A just definition of any subject will, of itself, indicate the great leading *distinctions* of that subject; and since we define History to be a narration, it will follow that all our distinctions must refer either to the narrator, to the events narrated, or to the manner of narration.

Sacred and Profane. The first, most obvious, and most important distinction, is into History *Sacred* and *Profane*. This is a distinction depending on the character of the narrator. Sacred History, properly so called, differs from mere Ecclesiastical History, inasmuch as it does not simply record what has happened, in the dispensations of Divine Providence, to the church; but it delivers these and other important truths, from an authority not to be questioned. If the grounds of this distinction be disputed, it belongs to the domain of science, or of faith, or of both, to settle that dispute. We enter not here into such a contest. We assume the existence of the Deity, and the revelation of his will; and these positions being admitted, it must follow that the events delivered by inspired writers, in order to unfold to us more or less plainly the mysteries of the divine dispensations, must stand on a very different and a far higher footing, than any facts resting on mere human authority. What rules and canons there are for the exposition of Sacred History; what are its peculiar characteristics; how far its belief is matter of reason, and how far matter of faith; whether there be any degrees of credibility in it,

and what they are; and in short, all the peculiar questions relative to this, as a distinct branch of History, we leave to a future essay: the remainder of our present observations will be understood to refer to History, merely as derived from human authority. In profano, as well as in Sacred History, it is clear, that the character of the narrator is a most material consideration; but it affords no line of distinction sufficiently broad to serve as the ground-work of any plain intelligible classification.

From the difference of narrators, then, we come to the difference of the events narrated: and here there is a large and extensive field for distinctions. In the first place, History may be universal; or at least, the name of *Universal History* may be and is commonly applied to works which profess to deliver a comprehensive view of all the affairs which have been transacted in the world. Of histories of this sort, it is to be observed, that they can be universal only in name. They are in reality epitomes, or abridgements, of more particular works. It would be as impossible to record all events, as it would be to travel through all space, or to exist in all time. Omniscience alone could comprehend, Omnipotence alone could record such a History. Those general views and slight outlines of what has occurred to the successive races of man are nevertheless useful, in aiding us to arrange and classify our historical knowledge: they are serviceable too as works of reference: but the subject is so vast that it cannot well be brought at once within the grasp of the human intellect; and is not fitted for the finest displays of historical talent. Accordingly few men of great genius have embarked in so vast and hopeless an undertaking: and of those who have done so, the works have in general broken off abruptly, and left a great part of the task untouched, as is the case with the History of the World by the celebrated SIR WALTER RALEIGH.

History, then, to be well written, must of necessity be less comprehensive in its object. Hence particular histories are opposed to universal: and that particularity is again distinguishable into different classes, according as it refers to the limits of *time* or *place* within which the events occurred; to the nature of the *actions* recorded; or to the *persons* by whom those actions were performed.

Time, simply considered, would seem to afford no very eligible distinction for History. One Thousand years, one year, or one day, has no claim in itself to notice, more than any other like portion of time; nor do the events of History demand our attention at all in the proportion of their duration. Nevertheless there are certain portions of time, which have generally been regarded as fit to form the basis of a classification in History. Thus, we have the great distinction of *Ancient* and *Modern* History, which commonly dates from A. D. 467, when the Roman Empire in the West was terminated by the deposition of Augustulus. This distinction, however, is rather literary, than moral, or philosophical; it has nothing to do with the great events from which the Christian and Mahometan world respectively reckon: and it is unknown to those whose historical information is derived only from Arabic, Persian, Indian, or Chinese sources. There are certain ages, which the civilized part of mankind has, with justice, considered to be more, and others less deserving of attention. Thus we speak currently of the dark ages; of the Augustan age; the age of Chivalry, &c.; but these distinctions do not so properly belong to the consideration of time, as of the nature of the events which then occurred. Histories were originally distinguished by the time to which they referred, rather from the ignorance of their compilers, than for any other reason: hence the title of *Chronicles* and *Annals*; which subsequent writers have since adopted, in some measure from modesty, as indicating that either from want of leisure or ability, they had not ventured to attempt a more artificial arrangement. It is in this view, that Tacitus seems to have distinguished his *Annals* from his *History*: the former being written in strict chronological order; the latter having more regard to the connection of the events with each other as cause and effect. It is sometimes convenient to record and give publicity to events soon after their occurrence, either for the speedy gratification of curiosity, or for the perpetuation of testimony which might otherwise perish. Hence our *Annual Registers*, private *Diaries*, and public *Journals*; and all these

History are to be regarded rather as affording materials to the future historian, than as the work on which a great genius should found his claims to celebrity.

Place.

Place presents such a circumscription of narrative, as easily falls in with the natural feelings of mankind. Thus the History of England, or of France, or even the History of Cumberland, or of Dauphiny, carries on the face of it some importance and some interest. The reason of this difference between time and place is, that the individuals of the human race are grouped and collected together in masses, more with reference to the latter than to the former. Time flows on with an equal and undistinguishing current, to all the inhabitants of the earth; and the mere circumstance of their being contemporaries does not necessarily unite them, nor give them any common principles of action: whereas, those who are of the same vicinage, are ordinarily governed by the same laws, descended from the same ancestors, speaking the same language; they are as a household together, they feel as brethren; and the love of their natal soil is like the love of a common parent, identifying their desires, their affections, their prejudices, and their interests. There is, however, a medium in the choice of historical subjects, according to the limitation of space; and that medium is determined by the circumstances of the age to which the History refers. The History of Modern Europe has much less unity of view than the History of England; but it has much more than the History of Ancient Europe: because in modern times the nations of Europe, not only have a more intimate knowledge of each other, and more constant intercourse; but they have adopted so many common principles, and habits and customs, and even laws; they proceed so much in the same track, and toward the same end; that they form, in some sort, one community. The time may come, when a History of Europe shall present quite as much unity of plan as the History of England does now; and in that case it must as much excel the English History in interest and importance, as the English History now does a History of Cumberland or of Cornwall.

Time and place, however, are in themselves but secondary links in the association of events: the quality of the *actions* recorded, the characters of the *persons* commemorated:—these are the true and primary sources of interest to the mind of man. *Polybius* congratulated himself on the subject of his work, which was a certain portion of the Roman History, not because it related to such an extent of territory, or spread over such a number of years; but because it traced the growth and spread of a memorable nation, and illustrated the consequences of a wise and persevering policy, of great courage, and of great virtue. Long after him, *Livy* declared it to be his wish to show with what life and morals, by what men and arts, at home and abroad, Rome had gained and extended her vast dominion; and then to trace discipline relaxing and morals decaying, till from a gradual deterioration, they seemed to rush precipitately to ruin; until Rome had at length reached a period when she could neither bear her vices nor their remedies. Actions, then, and persons, as they are at all times the principal sources of interest; so they often become, without particular reference to their duration, or the local scene of the events, the avowed subjects of the writer's narration.

Actions.

Human *Actions* of the same nature and quality may be taken more or less strictly as descriptive of particular *Historiës*. In the most general sense, we speak of Civil History, Ecclesiastical History, Military History, Literary History, Financial History, and the like; when civil, ecclesiastical, military, literary, financial, or other affairs, form the exclusive or principal topics treated of. This is sometimes the more judgment of the reader on the author's work; sometimes the writer avows his exclusive object in his very title, as in Brucker's *Institutions of the History of Philosophy*, Mosheim's *Ecclesiastical History*, &c. We often find more limited, but still extensive views of what has been done by particular nations or bodies of men in any one pursuit; as Tiraboschi's *History of Italian Literature*, Warton's *History of English Poetry*, Sprat's *History of the Royal Society*. Again, we may take some longer or shorter course of events leading to one common end; such as the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, the Reformation of Religion, &c. Lastly, certain particular occurrences,

such as the Peloponnesian War, the Expedition of Alexander, the League of Cambray, the Council of Trent, Sacheverel's Trial, or Captain Cooke's Voyage round the World, may be treated separately and distinctly from all other occurrences. History.

If the attention of mankind is strongly drawn to the contemplation of great actions, it is *Persons*, perhaps still more forcibly attracted to that of remarkable *persons*. There is no object so interesting to man as man. There is no glass in which we can so well dress our maral nature. There is nothing that so fully enables us to obey the famous oracle, *γρῦσι ἑαυτοῖς*. There are no such effectual means to stir up our latent powers; to kindle passions unknown even to ourselves; and to impel us to act by showing us that we possess the means of action. If Cæsar wept before the statue of ALEXANDER; if Burns felt the enthusiasm of a patriot possess his whole soul in perusing the valiant deeds of WILLIAM WALLACE; if the benevolence of the catholic has been kindled by the example of St. VINCENT DE PAULE; if the British sailor will for ages to come feel his heart beat at the name of NELSON;—all this, and a thousand times more, is owing to that most fascinating species of History which is called Biography. Of Biography there is again a sub-division, called *Auto-Biography*; which is, when a man takes himself for his hero, or wishes to make all the world the confidants of his secrets. Works of this kind are often very amusing. They are bought, and read: but few people believe them. We are all sensible how partial we are to ourselves. We all know, that our personal enemies, who pass for very good sort of men in the world, appear in our eyes to be monsters; and that, according to the trivial proverb, all our own geese are swans. We know, that even our humility is too often a piece of gross self-deception, and that we accuse ourselves of all the virtues, under the pretence of showing how much worse we think of ourselves than we really deserve. Of the most celebrated work of this kind, the Confessions of *Jean Jacques Rousseau*, has been justly observed, that "there is more vanity concentrated in its ten first lines than in the whole contents of any other book in the world." The defence of a man's character, from unjust aspersions, has been urged as a reasonable motive for auto-biography: and this may indeed account for a man's explaining some particular transactions of his life, in which he is the sole depository of the principal proofs; but it can rarely justify his delineating himself from the cradle, and entertaining the world with a long series of narratives, one half of which they will probably care nothing about, and the other half they will totally disbelieve. Generally speaking, if a man is so unfortunate as to find no historian but himself, to do justice to his character, it is because his character is a matter of very little consequence. The world has certainly lost a great deal, in not possessing a good biography of Shakspeare; but if the great poet had himself attempted to fill up the chasm, he would have dissolved the spell which now makes us doubly admire his genius, in consequence of his magnanimous disregard of future fame. It is not that great men do not wish to be known to after ages: Milton has well said—

"Fame is the spur that the clear spirit doth raise;
That last infirmity of noble minds."

But it is an infirmity which we should be as little proud of displaying as we are of exhibiting the traces of any hereditary disease. Biography of this kind, too, has another defect. It can rarely be made the centre of a general History of the times in which the individual lived, or even of the great events in which he was engaged. His knowledge of the one must have been too limited, and his views of the other too partial. We shall have the portrait of the general instead of the plan of the battle: and understand as little of the course of affairs, as a courtier who accompanies his sovereign in a state coach knows of the domestic economy of the cottages a mile distant from the road.

History admits of a still different classification, according to the manner of narrating events; and Mode of narration. thus, whether we regard the plan of the work, or the spirit of its execution.

The plan of the work may have more or less of comprehension, more or less of unity. By com- Compre- hension. prehension, we mean the extent of its compass, either as to time, place, action, or person: thus we

History. call the Life of Philip of Macedon, or of Scipio, a more comprehensive work than that of Castruccio Castracani: and indeed Machiavelli, the author of the latter work, himself confesses as much; for he says of his hero, that he would have equalled or perhaps excelled either of those great men, if instead of Lucca, he had had for his birth-place Macedonia or Rome. In like manner, we say that the History of the Negotiations of Utrecht is more comprehensive than that of the festivities of the Field of Gold; the Account of the European Settlements in America, than the History and Antiquities of Cambridge; and Millot's General History, than Dodsley's Annual Register. Some of the narrower subjects of the historical pencil are executed with all the delicacy of cabinet pictures; but still the greater efforts of genius are those which unite breadth of colouring with grandeur of outline. There is however a due medium to be observed in this respect: we must fill the mind without overpowering it. Biography has here a great advantage. The subject can never be too vast; for wide as are the actual diversities of intellect and disposition among men, all who can reason at all are capable of embracing the whole of a human character, as well as any part of it; and the interest which they feel is the stronger the more accurately a character is developed, with all its beauties and deformities.

Unity. *Unity of conception* is a mark either of original genius, or of cultivated taste. The ignorant and inexperienced in all arts proceed without system or design, and heap together parts, without any reference to a whole: so it is in rude and imperfect Histories. The author sets out without any definite object in view, and travels through a wilderness of facts, without judgment to direct him in their selection. When we come to the end of his work, we find neither the amusement nor the instruction at all in proportion to the labour: the memory is burdened with much dull and much useless matter; and the task of selection and arrangement, which is among the first duties of an author, is thrown wholly upon the reader, who has seldom leisure or ability for its performance: that may be called a *perfect History*, which has one clear and distinct object, and places that object clearly and distinctly before the view of the reader. Some authors, undertaking to write the History of a given period or country, have arranged its different portions according to the different subjects, which they thought it convenient to treat separately; thus, Dr. Henry's History of Great Britain is divided into sections, each of which relates to one great branch of public affairs, civil, military, literary, &c.; but this method is rather a combination of two discordant modes of classification, than a desirable plan in itself: it is a collection of separate Histories, awkwardly and inconveniently intermingled, for no reason but because they happen to be written by the same author. When the unity of object is thus destroyed, there is no leading idea, no key-note, as it were, to the whole composition; and the length of the work not only excuses an occasional doze, but of necessity deadens and puts to sleep all power of attention.

Spirit of the execution. Next to the plan of the work, we have to regard the *spirit of the execution*: and it is here principally that we find the personal disposition and character of the writer conspicuous. The spirit in which the work is executed may, for the purposes of the present essay, be considered as of three kinds; the *poetical*, the *philosophical*, and the purely *historical*. The excess of the poetical spirit would lead to mere fable; but it is an error to suppose that an historian should be destitute of many of those powers which characterize the poet. In point of fact it is only by means of the imagination that we can comprehend any scene or action whatever, of which we are not eye witnesses. Nay, of that which we see passing before us, it is the power of imagination, which renders the impression vivid, distinct, and permanent. Let us only call to mind the passages which have struck us most forcibly in History, and we shall commonly find, that if they do not contain long and studied descriptions, yet even a single expression serves to paint the scene, and to show that the author contemplated it, in his mind's eye, as passing before him. Tacitus is not commonly considered to be a poetical writer; and indeed his genius is rather philosophical; but yet the remark which we have just made, may be illustrated by numerous passages in his writings. Thus, after describing at some length the affected modesty of Tiberius, in

Poetical.

pretending to decline the empire when offered to him by the senate, the historian proceeds thus: "Whilst the senators were descending to the lowest entreaties, Tiberius happened to say, that though he was unequal to the government of the whole state, he would undertake the direction of any part that might be committed to his charge. 'I ask you, then, Cæsar,' said Asinius Gallus, 'what part of the state you wish to have entrusted to you?' Struck with the sudden question, he was for a moment silent; but presently recollecting himself, he answered, 'That it would not agree with his sense of decorum, to choose or reject any particular part, when he wished to be excused from the whole.' Thereupon Gallus, *who saw, by the looks of Tiberius, how much he was offended*, immediately replied, 'That he did not ask this question, with any view of separating what it was impossible to divide; but in order to prove, by the confession of Tiberius himself, that as the body of the state was one, so by one mind alone it should be governed.'" History. In this short narrative, the expression "*cultu offensionem conjectaverat*" is sufficient to give a life and movement to the scene; it produces in the reading an effect quite dramatic; it opens to us at once all the hypocrisy passing in the mind of Tiberius, and all the servility in that of Gallus; and thus incontestably proves that the author possessed that strong power of "bodying forth the forms of things unknown," which is the distinctive faculty of the poet. It is by appealing to the imagination, that History becomes amusing; but that amusement ought to be, and by virtuous writers is, always made the means of elevating or purifying the mind. To great moral truths in action belong great force and beauty of description. This is a want felt by the most common reader; for who could bear to see the death of Nelson recorded as an every-day event; or to be simply told that on the 18th of June, 1815, a great battle was fought, near a place called Waterloo, in which the united English and Prussians gained the day? Hence a superiority, or defect, in the imagination forms one of the most obvious and popular distinctions between historians. No man hesitates any more to prefer Froissart to Monstrelet, than he does Chaucer to Gower and Lidgate.

Opposed in some sort to the poetical spirit, is the *philosophical*. The one looks first upon the visible forms, the other upon the abstract laws of existence: the one is apt to be warmed and transported into the regions of mere imagination; the other, to fall down into the cold and blank speculations of a cheerless metaphysic. In old times the former was the more prevalent fault: in our age it is the latter. The great abuse which has resulted from it, has been the invention of what is called the *spirit of History*, a species of writing which we owe principally to VOLTAIRE. In general, it ought rather to be called History deprived of its spirit, as well as of its truth; for as the principal aim of authors who have written in this line, has been to recommend some philosophical opinions, and as those opinions have for the most part been drawn from a false philosophy, facts have generally been strained, often invented, to suit the preconceived theory; and even these distorted facts have occupied a smaller part of the work than the reasonings, commonly futile and superficial, which they have been cited to illustrate. But, in the composition of History, we ought no more to reject the philosophical spirit, because it has been misemployed by such shallow writers as Voltaire, than we should reprobate the poetical spirit, because it seems to have disposed Milton and Buchanan to accept as truth the legends of the early English and Scottish History. Philosophy is nothing more than an attempt to trace the relation of cause and effect; to discern in particular actions the operation of general principles: to perceive the one in the many, and thence to foresee the many from the one. Philosophy is the root, as Poetry is the flower: one works in darkness and difficulty, the other expands in beauty, and splendour, and light. We conceive, that a philosophical spirit should above all things prevail in the choice of a subject for History. A writer should not record circumstances that have happened, merely because they have happened, but because they are of some magnitude and importance; because some inference is to be drawn from them, which may increase the happiness, or enlarge the power of man. Vice should be portrayed to be shunned: virtue to be loved, and courted and cultivated. Throughout the conduct of the narrative, the philosophical writer will never

History. forget his moral. If his mind be turned too much to reflection, he will, in the common phrase, become a sermoniser. He will interrupt the current of his reader's thoughts, to make remarks which the facts themselves sufficiently suggest. If he be too deeply imbued with his opinions, they will render him even involuntarily a falsifier of facts, which, viewing them with a jaundiced eye, he must of necessity exaggerate and misrepresent. Again, there is a class of philosophical writers who are so, not from the impulse of natural disposition, but to exhibit their talents in common-place remark, in a declamatory style, or a superfluity of antithesis and epigrammatic point. Of this class is Sallust. Quintilian, a man of no great genius himself, supposes that Livy was jealous of Sallust, whom he accused of disfiguring and weakening the thoughts of the Greek writers. Quintilian thinks it sufficient to reply that Sallust expressed those thoughts in fewer words;—which is the answer of a pedant. Sallust was a man of notorious vices, and yet affected to write like Cato the censor; he was a parasite of Cesar's, and yet assumed the tone of a stern republican; no wonder that the philosophical spirit of his *History* is strained and formal, when the man himself was a hypocrite. Very different was the case of Tacitus. He was a virtuous man who, almost from his infancy, was brought up in the contemplation and abhorrence of every thing base and odious under the imperial despotism; and who, in his more advanced age, considered those as times of a rare felicity, when he could think as he pleased, and speak as he thought. Under the reigns of Nerva and Trajan he gave a loose, in his historical writings, to that indignation, with which his mind had been so deeply filled by the horrors of the court of Nero, the ignominy of Galba, the sensuality of Vitellius, and the rapine of Otho. He no doubt paints human nature in too gloomy colours; and seems, as an historian, to dwell with pleasure on the dark side of the picture: and it is worthy of remark, that though in his *Essay on the Manners of the Germans*, he describes a whole nation in a more favourable point of view, this picture is evidently in a great degree imaginary, and intended to confirm his own theory of the corruptions of Rome.

Purely historical.

The *purely historical spirit* ought doubtless to predominate in the writing of *History*; but it is not sufficient to form an historian. Many an old chronicler has recorded with the most scrupulous fidelity the occurrences of his age; and has even displayed a zeal in collecting information, and a pride in communicating it, which are in themselves highly laudable: but these works have not merited the title of *History*, because they have neither been calculated for entertainment, nor for instruction. The love of truth, as truth, is the first duty of the historian; but it is not his whole duty. In laying before us the occurrences of past times, he must animate and excite our feelings by powerful description; he must exercise our habits of reflection by appropriate remarks on the causes and consequences of the events related. The only rule that can be laid down, on this point, is that the historian should rather be guided by his subject, than force it to the display of his own peculiar talents, whether of imagination or of judgment. THUCYDIDES appears to have been framed by nature to a careful and laborious investigation of facts. He complains, with justice, in the outset of his work, "that the search after truth was considered by many people as an intolerable labour; and that they therefore too often took up with such accounts as were at hand, merely to save themselves trouble." His *History* is therefore remarkable for the plainness, clearness, and apparent fidelity of his statements. Nevertheless he is by no means disinclined to make such remarks as the events which he is relating naturally suggest; of which a striking example is afforded by the celebrated description of the plague at Athens; and of the moral evils which were the result of that dreadful malady. In like manner, LIVY is universally acknowledged to be an unaffected narrator of occurrences, without any other apparent view than that of placing them fairly before his reader: yet the natural liveliness of his genius induces him often to give such reins to his imagination, that his narratives are perfect pictures; of which the celebrated account of the Roman army passing under the yoke, at the Caudine forks, is a memorable example.

Other class
succinct.

We have thought it advisable thus to present to our readers a classification of our own, in

which we make a threefold distinction of History, according to the narrator, to the events narrated, and to the narration. It is right, however, to observe, that other writers adopt other plans of classification: and in particular, Lord Bacon, the great classifier of knowledge in modern times, has given the following:—he first distinguishes History into Natural and Civil. Natural History he considers, first, *ex statu*, and, secondly, *ex usu*. Under the head of *status* he arranges Generations, Prætergenerations, and Arts; and Generations he divides into those of, 1st, the heavens; 2d, the airy regions; 3d, the land and sea; 4th, the elements; and 5th the species of animals and plants. No part of this falls within the modern or proper use of the word History.

Civil History, according to him, includes the *Literary*, *Civil* (properly so called), and *Sacred History*. Of literary History he says, that some particular parts had been touched in a jejune manner by lawyers, mathematicians, philosophers, and others; but that a general literary History was in his time a desideratum. He therefore proceeds to state its substance, the mode of forming it, and its use when formed. He considers that it should include an account of the origin, progress, migration, oblivion, and revival of learning and the arts; the mode of teaching and practising them; their sects and controversies; their encouragements and persecutions; the principal books, authors, schools, and colleges. On the mode and use, he makes some judicious observations; and then proceeds to civil History, properly so called, in which, after touching generally on its dignity, difficulty, and principal defects, he proceeds to classify its productions; first, according to their degree of perfection; the imperfect being memoirs and epitomes; the decayed being antiquities, and fragments of old writers; and the perfect histories being those of times, persons, or actions. Those of times he distinguishes: first, into universal and particular; and, secondly, into annals and diaries. A second classification of civil History, according to him, is into mere History and mixt; of mixtures he notices especially two,—the mixture of History with civil philosophy, and with natural philosophy. Sacred or ecclesiastical History, he says, agrees with civil, in being distinguished into that of times, persons, and actions: and it is besides divided, according as it relates to the affairs of the church, in its advance, establishment, or persecutions; or to prophecies; or to divine judgments. Lastly, this author enumerates, as appendages to History, orations, epistles, and memorable sayings of individuals.

It is for our readers to determine, whether these distinctions of Lord Bacon's are, upon the whole, of sufficient practical utility, to be adopted with profit by the writer, or student, of History. To us, we frankly confess, they appear involved in that confusion, which pervades some other attempts of this celebrated man, to introduce a new order into the prevalent modes of education and study. He sets out from no clear definition, connecting his two great branches, natural and civil History. He acknowledges that the one relates entirely to species, the other to individuals; but of species there can be no narration; because a species being an idea of the mind, its contemplation belongs to philosophy, and not to History, at least in the modern and strict sense of the latter word. We say nothing of the distinction of generations, prætergenerations, and arts; or of the classes of generations; which in the present state of physical science are perfectly untenable. It is more immediately relevant to our present subject to observe, that the term *civil* seems strangely applied to include sacred History; and that the great distinction of *sacred* and *profane*, together with the reason on which it is founded, is in consequence entirely taken away.

Other writers have called historical books, rather than historical studies. Of that very useful branch of the subject, we shall find occasion to speak hereafter; for the present, we shall merely add, that we have purposely exemplified what was necessary to be said on the distinctions of History, by occasional references to particular authors, for two reasons: first, to avoid the dryness of mere technical enumeration: and, secondly, to afford at once a test of the accuracy of our classification, by an appeal to the common feelings of mankind.

The essential qualities of History next demand our attention; and these also are to be deduced

Historia.
qualities.

History. from our definition. Since History is a narrative of real events, its first essential quality is *truth* ; and since it is intended to instruct and to amuse, its other essentials are, *utility* and *pleasure*. From a happy combination of all these will arise that dignity, which belongs to History in the rank of human studies.

Truth. "History," says Cicero, "is the light of *truth* ;" a noble expression, and one which reflects honour on the pure and upright mind of its author. On the clearness and steadiness of this light depends its whole value, in guiding us through the obscure and difficult passages of life. We can reason but from what we know : and without truth, our fancied knowledge is worse than that ignorance of which we are aware, and which at least does not inspire us with a fatal confidence. It is manifest then, that an untrue History is no History at all, but a fable, so much the more pernicious because it assumes the garb of truth. The historian who misleads his readers violates this first duty towards them. If he does it through carelessness and negligence, he is censurable in no light degree ; but if he does it wilfully, he is a base and infamous impostor. Yet in human works we must not expect perfection. The truth of History derived from mere human authority must be imperfect. It is an impression difficult to shake off, in the reading of History, that we are perusing an exact account of events as they really happened, without exaggeration or diminution, without suppression or addition. A little reflection, however, will teach us that this can never be the case in a narrative of any length. Where is the impartial mind, untinctured by prejudice, which can see every fact in its true light ? Where is the powerful grasp of knowledge which can embrace all the long and complicated details that go to the making up every action of importance ? To every human mind, some infirmity of passion or prejudice must cling : from all human knowledge some large deductions are to be made for the absolute impossibility of correcting error. Hence some writers have foolishly inferred that there is no truth in History ; or at least that its truth is greatly outweighed by its falsehood ; that it is rather a source of error than of knowledge ; and that there is no resource to the student but in a general scepticism. This practical absurdity is the necessary result of a philosophy aiming at more than it can accomplish. The abstract nature of truth is first delineated in just and pleasing colours, and then the abstraction is substituted for the reality : we are taught to expect what we can never obtain ; and in our disappointment, like children deprived of the toys which they eagerly covet, we foolishly reject or undervalue the advantages in our power. This fault pervades the lectures on History, delivered by M. VOLNEY, some years ago, in Paris. He sets out with an error in ranking History and natural philosophy alike among the sciences ; and then, because the evidence of History is clearly different from that of natural philosophy, he infers that History is of far less importance, and of far less social and practical utility, than it had ever before been considered. Ancient writers would not have fallen into this error : they all term History an *art*, and not a *science* : and they would as little have thought of confounding the operations of the mind in matters of science, with those which relate to historical testimony, as of treating politics like a question of abstract reasoning, according to the method of Jean Jacques Rousseau. The truth of History is like the truth established on legal trials. It may not be positive, but, with due care, it is sufficient to enlighten the conscience, and to guide the conduct. How weakly would he argue, who should contend, that because judges and juries sometimes err, witnesses sometimes deceive, the innocent sometimes suffer, and the guilty sometimes escape ; therefore the administration of the law is altogether an evil, and society would do better without it ! Just as weak are the arguments directed against the utility of History, because its evidence is sometimes fallible. This is nothing more than the old sophistical form of argument, from the abuse of a thing, against its use. It is the general common-place of all those declamations against governments, and society in general, with which the disaffected and factious, in modern times, have sought to bring about revolutions, and to subvert all established order.

Utility. The next essential quality of History is *utility*. Vain is the difference between truth and fable, if no advantage be derivable from either ; and a fable, an apologue, a parable, professedly the work of

imagination, is far more valuable, if it inculcate sound doctrine and virtuous sentiment, than a whole volume of History, unmeaning in itself, or written with views pernicious to mankind. The foundation of the utility of History is to be found in the common adage—"Example is better than precept;" an adage which has been somewhat varied in expression by the best classical writers, but which, in the common proverbial form, possesses as much force as truth. "*Pauci prudentiâ*," says TACITUS, "*honestâ ab deterioribus, utilitâ ab noxiis discernunt; plures aliorum eventis docentur*." SENECA says, "*longum iter per præcepta, brevè et efficax per exempla*." It is true, that fable agrees with History in presenting instruction in the form of example; but the latter possesses the great and invaluable superiority which arises from the belief of reality. Hence it is more philosophical. "History," says DIONYSIUS of Halicarnassus, "is philosophy teaching by example." But the question immediately presents itself, what is the philosophy that History should teach? what is the utility which ought to be its main and principal object? The answer is as ready as the question:—virtue, the moral improvement of man, his duties here, and the means which fit him for happiness hereafter: these form not indeed the sole, but certainly the first and highest aims which both the writer and reader of History should have in view. In this sense, CICERO calls History "The mistress of life;" and TACITUS says, "It is the peculiar office of the annalist to take care that virtue be not passed over in silence: and that men may fear to do or speak evil, from the infamy which may await them in the opinion of posterity." One instance from History of amiable virtue, or of despicable vice, has often done more than a whole course of ethics, to recommend the former, and discountenance the latter. Has not the continence of *Scipio* become proverbial? And is not a *Nero* the very synonyme of a tyrant? To improve us in virtue, though the first and highest, is not the only use of History: it also serves to form and strengthen the intellect; it opens to our view the nature of the great scene in which we are called to act a part. It wonderfully multiplies the objects of our thoughts; and, as it were, forces us to the task of comparing them together, and reducing them to order and arrangement. Hence the penetration is sharpened, the attention is fixed, the judgment is strengthened; the mind habituates itself to the divine faculty of "looking before and after;" it acquires the habit of turning itself about more quickly, discovering expedients and solving difficulties; it is not taken unawares by the shafts of fortune, does not cry out upon chance, or come (as Cicero says) to that foolish exclamation, "Who would have thought it!" but meets, unabashed, the storm which has fallen on nobler heads, and submits, at once with dignity and humility, to the will of Providence. Hence, "the study of History," says Polybius, "is the best school in which a man can learn how to conduct himself in all the situations of life." It is certainly most useful to those who are destined to act a part on the widest theatre: and it forms an indispensable branch of education to the legislator and the statesman; but above all, must it be useful to nations and communities of men, which would cease to exist, if we were ephemeral creatures like the "flies of a summer," or only gregarious for common purposes of spoil and rapine, like the wolves which are driven down from the Alps in winter by the pinchings of hunger, and flee back in the spring, each to his solitude among the mountains. But nations cannot be perpetuated, otherwise than by maintaining certain institutions, and following certain principles and examples; for though there is nothing ever at a stand still in human affairs, and every new age brings new discoveries and opinions, and wants and desires; yet if there be not preserved a constant memory of what has gone before, and a sort of deference and veneration for antiquity, the chain of national identity will soon be broken: and with the body and form of what we once were, will perish the national spirit. Hence it is, that in the words of our great philosophic dramatist,

"Mighty states, characterless, are grates
To dusty nothing."

History tends to prevent these perpetual dissolutions of human society, not only by tracing the salutary principles of our own conservation, but by showing us the fatal accidents which have undermined or

History. broken up the social edifice, in other ages and parts of the world: for it is History, which, as Sir Walter Raleigh says, "has carried our knowledge over the vast and devouring space of so many thousands of years." By it we behold the world, as it was first created, inhabited, governed, deluged, re-peopled: we see how kings and kingdoms have flourished and have fallen; we see virtues and vices producing their natural fruits; we live with our ancestors, and connect age with age, in one unbroken succession; and, in fine, we are enabled to frame a wise and permanent policy, by calculating the consequences of past actions, if we will not be dazzled by a single light, but compare the various passages of History with each other.

It has sometimes been questioned whether Histories of recent events, or those of the transactions of distant ages, are of the greater importance; but this, like many other questions of the like nature, is the mere amusement of an idle mind. If it were asked whether it be more useful to read Livy's History of Rome, or some obscure annalist of the reign of George the Third, nobody would hesitate to prefer the more ancient; and, on the contrary, Southey's life of Nelson must indisputably rank higher in point of utility to an English reader, and especially to an English seaman, than any life in Cornelius Nepos, though the latter was a writer of no mean ability. "Every difference in manners, in civilization, and in government," it is said, "increases the difficulty of making any application of the facts." This is not so, because the application to be made may not at all depend on the difference in question. What has the difference of government between Rome and England to do with the beautiful anecdote of the Roman matron presenting her children to her female friend, and saying, "These are my jewels?" Does any general of modern times despise the example of Fabius Cunctator, because the state of manners and civilization is now vastly different from what it was when that great man saved his country by well-timed delay? The error of the observation above noticed is the common error of all modern philosophy, which regards facts as mere insulated things, aliquot parts of human existence, all equal in weight and dignity; whereas they should be tried, not *numero*, but *pondere*: the piece should be essayed and valued, not by its magnitude, but by the richness of its metal. If we merely apply facts to facts, there can be no use in History whatever; for in no two portions of History can we find facts alike in all their extrinsic circumstances; and again, if we take a fact nakedly, without inquiry into its causes, it is altogether insignificant. Curtius devoting himself to death for the preservation of his country, is merely a young gentleman leaping into a ditch: and the Gaul casting iron into the scale, with the insolent exclamation, *ea victus*, is only the gross cheat of a tricking luckster. Viewed in this light, the reader has no direct personal concern with the facts of which he reads; "What's Hecuba to him, or he to Hecuba?"—but he *is* interested in the feelings, the sentiments, the principles, on which alone the application of historical facts depends. He feels himself exalted to a manly contempt of pain and torture, when he reads the story of Regulus: and if he passes from that to the death of Nero, he derives from the contrast an increased power of estimating the vast distance between infamy and honour. The differences in manners, in civilization, and in government, are doubtless to be taken into the account in estimating the action; they are part of it; but when we have made the estimate, when we have ascertained what was extrinsic to the agent, and what was to be attributed to his intellectual and moral energy, then the result is a matter of permanent and practical utility, whether it happened yesterday, or two thousand years ago. It was a fine expression of AURELIUS PISCUS, who, in describing the lamentable execution of Cicero through the wicked machinations of Mark Antony, thus apostrophized the former, "*uno proscriptus seculo, proscriptus Antonium omnibus.*" In short, the utility of History depends, not on loading the memory with facts, but on filling the mind with principles. The art is to discriminate the general principle in the particular fact. All men can do this roughly and in the gross; but he alone who has well studied a multiplicity of cases, can determine on the various shades of principle which distinguish practical virtues and vices; which enable us to make our way through temptations, and to rise proudly above opposing obstacles.

It is an idle dispute, whether a knowledge of History, or an experience in the ways of the world, be the most effectual means of teaching us how to act with our fellow-men. Both are necessary; but study naturally precedes practice, and fits us for it. It serves to form the judgment and the heart. It accustoms the mind to expansion, and prepares it for temptation and struggle. In the study of History too we see the picture at full length, the whole succession of cause and effect is traced, the false colouring is washed off; the impostor of the day becomes the convict of posterity, and he who was blamed and calumniated while living, is embalmed after death in the regrets, the admiration, the love of mankind.

It may be said, that History does not always work these wonders. True: Neither have the sweet enticements of poetry, nor the unanswerable arguments of philosophy, nor even the splendid promises and terrible denunciations of religion, yet brought mankind to that happy state, for which, contemplating human nature in the abstract, we should say it is ultimately calculated. This then is no more an objection to the utility of History than of any other species of knowledge. It is a proof of human imperfection, and it is nothing else. But are there not some evident advantages which have resulted from the study of History in modern times? Has it not advanced civilization? Has it not perpetuated public virtue; as the images of their ancestors for so many ages kept alive the spirit of the Roman nobility? Has it not broken down many of the barriers which vanity and ignorance raised between nations? Has it not moderated ferocity in war; and barbarous customs, laws, and punishments in peace? Has it not enlightened superstition, allayed bigotry, and annihilated the most odious forms of religious intolerance; and may we not hope that, by recording the dreadful effects of pretended philosophy in modern times, it will totally eradicate the fatal madness of atheism? "To converse with historians," says a celebrated writer, "is to keep good company." Surely those who associate with Tacitus and Livy, with Thucydides and Xenophon, with Guicciardini and Davila, must be dull indeed if they do not derive from their companions something more than the entertainment of an idle hour.

But is it nothing, that History adds largely to the stock of our innocent pleasures? This it does, *Pleasure*. however mildly executed: this it has done in all stages of the progress of mankind. "*Historia*," says Cicero, "*quoquo modo scripta, delectat*." This was an early amusement. Achilles, in Homer, is introduced singing, to his harp, the glorious deeds of former heroes; and few nations are so uncultivated as not to possess some means of recording their deeds; none are so dull as to listen to those records without curiosity, without interest, without delight. The love of History is as inseparable from human nature as the love of fame. Hence the cairn, the Runie song, the knotted threads of the South American savage, and all those various means by which man has sought to connect himself with those of his own race who preceded, and with those who were to follow him. The chief interest of History has been said to arise from the vices and follies of mankind. This is by no means true. The source of the mistake probably originates in this; that curiosity, or the vague desire of knowledge, is one of the deepest rooted, as well as most useful and necessary, inclinations of the human mind. Hence we are led to devour, too often with an indiscriminating appetite, whatever is related to us in historical connection. We want to see the end of the story: and this, indifferently, whether it be a tale of woe or joy, of triumphant vice, or of virtue persecuted and depressed. But it cannot be said that mankind does not sympathize much more strongly with the virtuous than with the wicked: it is not true that we do not feel greater pleasure in reading those histories which present illustrious examples of patriotism, of generosity, and whatever else ennobles and exalts the human mind, than those which only abound in petty intrigues, and the various artifices of a low-minded selfishness and corruption. The decline and fall of a great empire is no less instructive, than its rise and growth; but it is surely not by any means so interesting: and though the mode of execution may do the writer credit; yet the choice of his subject rather testifies against his heart. Machiavel himself laments, that his subject necessarily abounded in examples of weakness and wickedness.

History. "Of these slothful principles," says he, in his introduction to the Florentine History, "and of these most vile arms, my History will be full." But in choosing for a subject the life of Castruccio, he rejoices "that he has found in it many things which, both as to virtue and as to fortune, are highly exemplary." Milot considers in History only two subjects, truth and utility; but why should we suppose that this is the only branch of literature to which the rule of the poet does not apply:

"Omne luli punctum, qul miscuit utile dulci."

Nature, or to speak more properly, the Author of nature, has not so ordered it, that all our duties should be separated from all our pleasures, nor that we should necessarily acquire knowledge only by dry and repulsive studies. On the contrary, Cicero has observed, that "in those very things which we learn and know, there are certain inviting qualities by which we are moved to learning and knowledge." Children and childish nations, indeed, are delighted with tales of fairies and giants: and Mandeville's fabulous relation of the marvellous things which he pretended to have met with in his travels, may have suited the gross ignorance of the times in which he lived: but his ridiculous fabrications would certainly not afford a hundredth part so much gratification in the perusal now, as the journal of the simplest circumnavigator of the globe. The solid and permanent pleasure of History, therefore, does not consist in strange events, in amplifications and exaggerations, but in the truth and beauty and grandeur of the sentiments and descriptions; in the simple and unaffected ease of the narrative, in the endless variety of particulars, all pressing as it were to one goal, all throwing light on each other, and all illustrating the subtle movements of the human heart, the influence of social principles and institutions, or the great designs and laws of Providence in the government of the world. The pleasures of History are indeed less sweet and fascinating than those of poetry; less ostentatious and striking than those of oratory; but they require as much the cultivation of the author, and deserve as much the approbation of the reader: more especially as the rule *artis est celare artem*, applies to them with peculiar aptitude. They ought to appear to result, as it were, necessarily from the events, never from the author, except in the sole, and as we think generally unfortunate case of autobiography. The orator is engaged in an attempt to subdue and carry away the mind of his hearer; and it is therefore allowable that the composition should bear traces of effort and exertion: the poet has chosen pleasure, as the first and principal object of his work: and is supposed to write under an inspiration made up of exalted feelings and lively impressions: but the only ostensible business of the historian is to convey to us a faithful record of that which has come to pass in the world, without bias or exaggeration, with lucid order, in a perspicuous style. The lower are his pretensions, in this respect, the more praiseworthy is his success, if he contrive to keep alive our interest, without flattering our passions, or perverting the truth.

Combina-
tions of
qualities.

This leads to the consideration, how truth, utility, and pleasure, are to be combined in History; and on this head there are but two rules: first, that as far as possible these qualities should all enter into the composition; and, secondly, that they should only enter into it in the rank and subordination here designated. The truth should be sacrificed to nothing: it should be sought most earnestly, and detailed most faithfully; it should be diligently sifted from error, and from mere opinion; it should be made out clearly and plainly, without favour or affection, like a testimony delivered under the solemnity of an oath before the tribunal of justice. Utility should not be taken as a test of truth; men should not think that the laws of truth can safely be dispensed with on any vain and foolish notion of contributing to the advantage of themselves or others. Pious frauds are insults to the Divinity: and frauds of an opposite kind, which some modern historians have committed to depreciate religion, are, if possible, greater offences against God and man. If the hope or pretence of doing good is not to be accepted as an apology for falsehood, it is needless to say, that History is not to be corrupted on lighter grounds;—for the sake of saying a witty thing, or telling a wonderful story; to amuse the thoughtless, and to astound the credulous. But as all truths are not worthy of record, there is abundant scope for judgment in the selection; and the choice can only be made with a view to profit or

to delight. Both are legitimate motives, and neither should be pursued alone. In this respect, however, the natural temper and disposition of the writers will unavoidably betray themselves: while the frivolous fill their narratives with amusing trifles, the dull and plodding will labour to enforce a doctrine which nobody will read: greater geniuses will certainly not fall into such gross errors; but one, like Tacitus, will see all events under a moral aspect; another, like Herodotus, will be attracted by every thing novel and interesting. Livy is perhaps, of all historians, the one who has most happily united instruction with entertainment; the former predominating, as it always should, in the choice of the subject, and in the general scope of the work; the latter enlivening its details, and not suffering the attention to flag.

Such a combination is a work of no less difficulty than dignity. It is difficult; for in the words of BACON, "To carry backward the mind in writing, and as it were, to make it old; diligently to investigate and faithfully to record, and by the light of language to place before our very eyes the movements of the times, the characters of persons, the hesitations of councils, the course and flow of actions, as of waters, the hollowness of pretences, the secrets of empire, is truly a work of great labour and judgment; especially when we consider the uncertainty of all ancient events, and the danger of meddling with those which are recent." Rare is the conjunction of assiduity and animation, of judgment with integrity, of taste with genius, which is necessary to subdue all these difficulties, and when the task is at all successfully executed, it raises History to a high rank among human studies. In vain has it been urged, that the many falsifications of History deprive it of all real dignity, and render it unworthy of the rank which it has generally held in the scale of education. This is one of the pretended discoveries of modern days; the result of that philosophy, which, in hunting after an abstract and imaginary perfection, overlooks all practical good. The great men of antiquity thought otherwise. Demosthenes is said to have copied the history of Thucydides eight times through with his own hand: and Plutarch tells us, that Cato the censor, who took upon himself a peculiar care in the education of his son, drew up a collection of historical facts for the boy's use, and wrote them over himself, in large characters; wishing, as he said, that his son, before going from home, might become acquainted with the great men of his own country, and form himself upon those ancient models of probity and virtue. Doubtless, the study of History will not supply the want of all other learning; nor is the student exempted from the necessity of exercising his own reason, in judging of the truth or utility of what he reads: and this reflection brings us to the next point to be considered, namely, the means of deriving from History those benefits which its essential qualities are calculated to produce.

The means of cultivating History to advantage, naturally divide themselves into two heads, ^{Means of} according as they relate to the art of composing History, or to the prosecution of its study; in other words, ^{cultivating} as they respect the writer, or the reader.

The art of writing History has been treated professedly, or incidentally, by a great number of ^{t. By the} authors. Of those who have made it their special object, no one has written with more liveliness ^{historians.} or felicity than LUCIAN, in his celebrated treatise, "How History ought to be written:" and among the incidental notices of History, in this point of view, few are more close and striking, than those which we find in MONTAIGNE. Our purpose, however, requires a more detailed consideration of this part of the subject: and we shall therefore consider, first, the character of the historian, and then, its aptitude to particular kinds of History.

The character of the historian, as such, refers either to the substance, or form of his work: in regard to the former, we may class our observations under the heads of personal qualification, means of knowledge, and motives to write; and, in regard to the latter, under those of arrangement and style.

Among the personal qualifications of the historian, the first place is undoubtedly due to his moral ^{Personal} ^{qualifica-}
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History. sentiments. This rule, so important in the practical habits of life, cannot but be equally important in our studies.

"Sincerum est nisi vae, quodcumque infandis accedit."

We take a guide; but he is blind: we seek counsel; but it is of an enemy:—what must be the result? Unawares we are led into a pitfall: and we become parties to the sacrifice of our dearest interests. If we did not know the deceitfulness of the human heart, we should be surprised, that a man from bad and vicious motives should ever undertake to write History; since "facts," as it is said, "are stubborn things:" and distort and disfigure them as we will to-day, to-morrow, or it may be next year, or even in the following century, they will rise up in judgment against us: and if we think to escape this danger by infusing all our poison into the work, only in the form of reflection and general discussion, we shall but expose our motives to be more immediately anatomized and laid open by the pen of a just but severe criticism.

Sincerity. The first moral quality which the historian should possess, is a great *sincerity*. He should be of a plain and downright honesty,—of a "winnow'd purity" of truth; so that in reading his work one might be sure, that whatever were his mistakes and errors in point of fact, however credulous, however weak in judgment, or limited in his sphere of observation, still there was no obliquity of purpose, no taint in the sweetness of the water, at its very source. The irreproachable integrity of Thucydides was one of the qualifications which early attracted the respect of all readers. We do not question his assertions, because we know the sincerity of his heart. So it is with Tacitus, "Who," says Montaigne, "was a great man, upright and bold." It was otherwise with Sallust; whose History of the Catilinarian War, with all its beauties of style, is rendered contemptible, by the mean and selfish envy which induced him almost to suppress the mention of Cicero, the proper hero of the piece. In modern times we have, unfortunately, historians of great name, in whom we can scarcely read a page without discovering a lurking and insidious purpose of insincerity. VOLTAIRE, GIBBON, and HUME, are all obnoxious to this charge: and in our eyes, the talents which they possess, but poorly compensate this their radical and most pernicious defect. The remarks of Lucian, on the studious insincerity of some historians, are no less amusing than they are just. "You are partial," says he; (we quote only the substance of his observations;) "you omit the facts which make against your own party; you extol your own chiefs and leaders to the skies. Do you think that your business is that of a hired panegyrist? It is very allowable in the poet, when he would paint to us his hero, to describe him with

Hyperion's curls, the front of Jove himself,
An eye like Mars to threaten and command,
A station like the herald Mercury
New lighted on a heaven-kissing hill:

but only try how all this figurative eulogy would read in History; and you will be convinced, that your pen should be guided by plain and simple truth. Excessive praise disgusts the very individual to whom you mean to pay your court by it. The historian Aristobulus, whilst sailing down the Hydaspes, in the same vessel with Alexander, read to that prince a narrative, in which he had described him as fighting alone, on foot, against king Porus on his elephant; but Alexander, indignant at the absurd fabrication, snatched the volume from the hands of the historian, and threw it into the middle of the stream, with a sharp reprimand for its falsehood." "Write," continues Lucian, "the truth, and nothing else. It is not you, who are responsible for events. If your countrymen fled in battle, it was not you that made them run away. Remember that you are not writing for the present age alone; for the unlucky, or the ignorant, or the criminal of the times which you describe: but you write for posterity; you stand on high like a Pharos; and woe be to you, if you guide the mariners who trust your light toward rocks and quicksands!"

It is not enough, that the historian is irreproachable in his conduct, and unbiassed in his inclinations; he ought to have a warm love of virtue and an abhorrence of vice. It is an idle supposition that man can abstract himself from these the fundamental qualities of his moral nature. He who affects indifference to good or bad, to right or wrong, is already more than half enlisted in the cause of iniquity. He is a judge, who has no veneration for the laws; a soldier, who fights not for patriotism, or honour, but for pay. A very little will turn the scale of his judgment; and besides, as he does not admire the beauty of virtue, it is plain that he never contemplated, and therefore cannot describe, her ravishing brightness. It is one of the best founded accusations against Machiavel, that he recites crimes and virtuous actions with almost equal want of feeling: and the reason is, that he lived in a vicious age, and could not raise himself above the moral level of his contemporaries. Let no one, therefore, presume to become the historian of heroic events, or of virtuous and excellent persons, who is not, in some sort, transported with admiration of their excellencies. The battle of Thermopylæ demands the pen of a patriot: and the lives of the Christian martyrs could not well be written by one, who knew not the nature of sanctity and religious zeal. On the other hand, if we are to paint a people worn out and totally corrupted by the odious vices of despotism; or to portray the madness, the follies, the fury, the blasphemies of a nation, which has cast off all moral restraint; it is scarcely possible that the expressions which annex detestation to wickedness, and hold up a NERO, a SEJANUS, or a ROBESPIERRE, to the everlasting hatred of posterity, can be too forcible or too indignant.

History.
Love of vic-
tims.

The historian should be religious. This is, in great measure, to be considered as a corollary of the rule which requires him to be sincere. It may be objected, that there are some individuals, who with perfect sincerity reject the truths of religion, as insufficiently proved, or as contrary to the best exercise which they can make of their reason. We enter not here into the judgment of such men, their motives, or their understanding; but since they are confessedly few in number, and since their sentiments, feelings, and opinions, must necessarily be so much in opposition to those of mankind in general, they should abstain from the task of the historian; a task, indeed, for which they are obviously unfit; since they cannot fairly appreciate motives which they have never felt, or estimate the force of events which they are unable to comprehend. Some writers have imagined, that they could dexterously conceal the contempt which they felt for the religious opinions of their readers: and, indeed, it is not difficult for any impostor to delude the unthinking mass of mankind; but a slight degree of attention suffices to detect the cheat, and then he who has attempted to practise it, is exposed to the contempt he so richly merits. Mr. Gibbon felt, in the latter part of his life, the odium which he had incurred by his disingenuous attacks on Christianity. It will occur to every one, that religion is too often mixed with superstition; and that superstition must tend to corrupt the purity of History, not only by the ignorance of the writer, but by his bad faith. When, therefore, we say, that an historian should be religious, we certainly do not mean to become the apologists of superstition. To draw the line between these two great influences of our moral nature, is, indeed, no easy task; and belongs not to our present undertaking. All that we are concerned to show is, that in the work of the historian a sense of religion should be distinctly visible; that it should be fairly and candidly set forth; that it should form a known and certain element in the character of his narrative. There are some subjects into which it must enter more directly, than into others. The History of the Reformation must necessarily be more occupied with the discussion of religious topics, than the Florentine History: and the life of William Penn, than that of Washington. It would be idle to ask, what religious sentiments should predominate in the labours of the historian; since the answer must be, his own. It would have been neither necessary, nor decorous, that Prideaux, in writing the life of Mahomet, should have feigned to believe the doctrines of that impostor; but in Taylor's life of Christ, we recognise with pleasure the zeal and animation of a devout Christian. It will hence follow, that the truth of History must be in some sort warped and vitiated by the errors of

Religion

History. different religious sects. Many events cannot be treated by a Protestant historian in a manner perfectly satisfactory to a Roman Catholic reader: and the manner in which Tacitus has spoken of the primitive Christians (if the passage be not interpolated), must necessarily offend all the followers of the Christian faith. Doubtless, this is an evil; but it is a less evil, than that the historian should strike out of his work every thing referring to the Ruler of the Universe, which would be as absurd, as to attempt to paint the beauties of the morning, without even a reflection from the beams of the rising sun. It is for the reader to determine, how much he must deduct from the credit of the narrative, on account of the religious opinions of the author; but the latter should avow those opinions with perfect candour, and give them their full weight in the composition of his work. It is a common objection against Livy and Tacitus, that they record false miracles and omens. We may regret that such great men were heathens; but we cannot reasonably blame them for reciting facts, as true or probable, which appeared so to them, and which in those days were generally believed. "Historians," says Montaigne, "record all events of importance: and amongst public occurrences are the common rumours and opinions: it is their part to recite common beliefs, not to regulate and decree them."

Judgment. This leads us to consider the intellectual attainments which properly belong to the historian; and of these the most essential, without doubt, is a sound and clear *judgment*. His great object is to paint man as he is, and this equally whether the subject of his work be an individual or a community. "To be an historian," says MARY, "a man should be born such;" an idle and unmeaning remark, if it be understood of the whole turn of mind and attainments; but very just and true, if it regard the kind and degree of judgment which are absolutely essential to the writing of History. To the same effect speaks Lucian. It is vain to lay down rules for the acquisition of this gift of genius. *Poeta nascitur, non fit*: and the historian is so far a poet. It is not enough, that he sit in the council, or take part in the fight; he must comprehend the one and the other, deeply and intimately, in their very first principles; so that the event may appear to him to be merely the development of an idea known and familiar to his mind. Some men indefatigably treasure up all the anecdotes that they hear, and pour them forth in vast profusion, without being able to form, still less to convey, any distinct notion of the result of the whole. They are like ignorant portrait painters, who mechanically trace the outlines of the features, and yet cannot make up a countenance from them all; or who, in putting them together, omit that particular trait on which the similarity chiefly depends. Oftentimes, a single phrase will paint a character; but these compendious portraits of the mind are rarely treasured up, as they should be: "They are generally thrown to the servants," says Montaigne, "and lost in by-places." The same may be said of actions. It is in this respect, that the last-mentioned author so highly commends PLUTARCH. "Only to see this author," says he, "pick out a slight action in a man's life; or a word, that does not seem of much importance, is often in itself a whole discourse." Nothing has so much fixed Henry IV. in the love of all good Frenchmen, as that homely saying of the *poulet au pot*: and that James II., with all his faults, was a real lover of his country, is testified by his exclamation, "Spare my Englishmen!" Who can mistake the character expressed in the two words, *Cassarem rebus*? or the self-command of him who said, "Strike, but hear?"—Judgment, clear, active, penetrating judgment, seizes at once these key-notes, and is thence led to unfold all the hidden harmony of the mind. The author who can thus penetrate into the abstruse parts of human nature, and contemplate the real man, in his proper shape and dimensions, not as he is seen under the disguises of outward fortune, will not descend to the duller task of stringing together a contexture of gazette accounts, and reports picked up in the streets, which is all that forms the substance of common-place histories. What we say of individual description, is no less true of the delineation of national character. Some historians speak only in the abstract, of large bodies of men, in different stages of civilization. They apply the terms *Prince, People, Noble, Plebeian*, and the like, without any regard to the very different situations in which they are respectively placed, by the influence of

climate, laws, manners, science, and whatever else contributes to mould and diversify the human character. They do not, therefore, so much narrate, as speculate. They attribute the same, or nearly the same, powers and faculties to a prince of the Merovingian race in France, as to one of the house of Hanover in England; and they describe "the people" in the time of Alfred, as under the reign of George the Third. A recent French writer, M. Levesque, ingenuously confesses his surprise, on finding that the early Franks were in great part *serfs*, or in the language of the old English law *villains*, in that state of slavery which attached them to the soil. To speak of a barbarous race, thus enthralled, thus destitute of the very rudiments of letters, and thus sunk in almost heathen superstition, as one would of the free and enlightened Scottish peasantry of the present day, is an error, in moral description, quite as gross as the geographical blunders which Lucian ridicules in an historian of his day. "This author," says he, "was stout enough to lift up a whole city, with all its inhabitants, and transport them from Greece into the heart of Mesopotamia." Historians who thus confound eras and circumstances, seldom content themselves with delivering their statements in an hypothetical shape. They actually invent narratives of such conduct, as is suited to their imaginary personages, and gravely tell us what the clergy or people did in parliaments, long before the very name of a parliament was known. All this is as unworthy the name of History, as the narrative of that other author, mentioned by Lucian, who invented a false death for Severianus, and a false oration at his funeral. The historian may perhaps excuse himself for some of these errors by attributing them to the authorities which he has followed; but this is only confessing a different error in his own judgment. It is no less essential that he should know how to choose his authorities, than that his own testimony should be unimpeachable, and his own conceptions distinct. What shall we say to Dr. Henry's History of Britain, of which the first volume mainly rests on the authority of Ossian: when the very existence of this poet is questionable; when his era, and the place of his residence, are alike uncertain; and when all that the historian could know of him was derived from a translation indisputably falsified and interpolated? The historian is in all cases necessarily removed from the greater part of the events which he records, either by an interval of time, or of space. It may be supposed, that the general, who commands in a battle, must be able to give a faithful account of it; yet Asinius Pollio detected a mis-statement in the Commentaries of Cæsar himself, either because the general could not have his eye on all parts of his army at once, and had given credit to some particular individual, who had not delivered him a true account; or else because the officers, who commanded under him, had inaccurately reported what had occurred in his absence. "Thus may we see," says Montaigne, "that the inquiry after truth is a matter of great delicacy, when the report of the same battle is differently given by the different persons engaged in it, without any intention to deceive; and when we cannot decide between the contradictory statements, otherwise than as one would do on a solemn trial at law,—by strict examination and comparison of all the particulars deposed to by the witnesses." This examination must be directed either by natural penetration, or by acquired knowledge of the subjects under consideration. To the first, a sharpness of intellect is necessary, which no less distinguishes one historian from another, than it does man from man, in the more active scenes of life. The only danger is, that this shrewdness may degenerate into an excessive self-confidence, and that a writer may reject credible and important testimony, because it is not consistent with his own preconceived notions, or because he has taken a prejudice against the witness. The other circumstance is still more important. No man, however wise and skilful, can be equally skilful and wise on all subjects. The general historian must embrace a very large diversity of matter: he must speak now as a soldier or as a sailor, anon as a financier, presently as a physician, a painter, or a husbandman: and in any of these characters, the use of inappropriate terms, much more the statement of erroneous or improbable facts, may subject him to deserved censure. Thus Lucian speaks of an author, who affected to deal much in military details, but who confounded a parallel line with an oblique one, and marching in front with marching on the flank. In all such

History. cases, the old legal rule is the best to be followed: *cuique in arte sui perito credendum est*. We are not to trust to a cloistered monk for the military part of the History of the Crusades: and it would be equally injudicious to rest satisfied with what a distinguished general might happen incidentally to say of civil politics, or of the fine arts. In the present age, every art and every science has been separately and successfully cultivated: nor is it very difficult for the historian to select the best guides, even on the ground of their popular reputation. Thus, the antiquarian will easily mark out for us the period in the History of our own country, beyond which we possess few lights but those of tradition, and will enable us satisfactorily to discriminate between true and fabricated records. BUCHANAN, the Scottish historian, was undoubtedly a man of great learning and singular attainments. He professed to write for the purpose of rescuing the exploits of his countrymen "from the vanity of fables and the injury of oblivion:" and yet he begins with the History of King Fergus, 330 years before the birth of Christ! Sir DAVID DALRYMPLE, who proceeded on very different grounds, commences his "Annals of Scotland" with the accession of Malcolm Canmore to the throne, A. D. 1057; "Because," says he, "the History of Scotland, previous to that period, is involved in obscurity and fable." Thus he passes over in silent contempt a period of 1387 years, filled by Buchanan with a regular series of Scottish kings! There can be no doubt but that, in the judgment suitable to an historian, Sir David Dalrymple was infinitely superior to Buchanan. Judgment is not only shown in rejecting the marvellous: but in choosing among things probable, that which has the greater probability; not merely in itself, but from the character of its narrator. The historian, therefore, in comparing his authorities, must look well to the bias of their minds, to the opinions which they held, to the party which they meant to serve. The expression, "Punic faith," has become proverbial, perhaps, for no other reason, than that the historians of Carthage now extant are all Romans. He must consider the state of science at the time in which his authorities flourished. The belief in witchcraft was very general in England until after the Revolution of 1688: the notion of sympathetic action on bodies at a distance prevailed, even among learned men, about the same period; it would, therefore, be wrong, on the one hand, to tax an author of that time with excessive credulity for maintaining either of these errors; and on the other, to eredit readily the facts which he asserts in their support. The judgment of an historian may be safely estimated from the authorities which he cites, and the reliance which he places on them. He who should allow the same weight to Archbishop Turpin's supposed History of Charlemagne, which he does to Thucydides, would certainly be little competent to draw from either an accurate representation of facts. With such a writer, every historical statement is a fact; but in return, he carefully avoids supplying any thing from the stores of his own imagination. He will not venture to assert that Cromwell was ambitious; but he narrates with scrupulous fidelity the prodigies that were observed to take place about the time of the usurper's death.

Taste. It is not enough that the historian be a man of judgment: he must also have some taste. He must know how to distinguish the sublime from the insipid or the absurd; how to maintain an unity of feeling and character throughout his work; how to suit the parts to each other, so that no one should have the preponderance. A man of very sound practical judgment may be extremely defective in this respect. He will resemble the artist, who is exquisite in the detail, but inadequate to the combinations.

"Infelix operis summa, quia ponere totum
Nescit."

The taste of an historian is commonly supposed to be discernible chiefly in his style; but there is a more refined species of taste, which regards the general arrangement of the work, the balancing of its parts, the relief, the light and shade, and the tone of colouring, which pervades the piece. The

author shows his taste in the choice of his subject, as well as in the handling of it. He suits it to his strength: he chooses an argument in which he is at home, and on which he can expatiate. He adapts his expressions to the scene which he has to describe: he is grave and sententious in the council, animated and vehement in the field. He passes hastily over trivial events, and dwells with force and energy on those which are of importance. "It must not be supposed," says Lucian, "that facts present themselves spontaneously, or at hazard, to the pen of the historian: the selection and disposition of them require great consideration and care." In this respect, as in many others, the task of the historian resembles that of the poet. We must beware, however, not to estimate the value of an historical work merely by the taste and refinement of the author. This is an error, perhaps, too prevalent in the present day. Disgusted by the asperities and unpolished roughness of our older writers, among whose works we wander as in a forest of noble trees interspersed with tangled brakes and thickets, the smooth and garden-like surface of a more polished work fascinates the eye, and prevents us from observing that it is really productive of little fruit, and scarcely worth the labour bestowed on its cultivation.

The judgment and taste of the historian, though they do not wholly depend on his *previous studies*, must be greatly affected by them: it is right, therefore, to advert in this place to such studies as seem to be most indispensably preliminary to the writing of History. We must not suppose that every man is competent to this task, who can turn a sentence neatly, and has sufficient patience to consult all the gazettes and state papers of the day, or to make a digest and abstract of the narratives of preceding writers. Far different must be the attainments of one who, like Thucydides, is ambitious of giving to mankind a work, which may prove to them "an everlasting possession." He must have studied man, in the abstract; and men,

———"in the daily walk
Of the world's business."

He must have contemplated society in its constituent elements, and societies in their mutual relations. He must possess a competent knowledge of the arts of war and peace; and he so far versed in literature, as is necessary to the clear arrangement of his thoughts, and to the vigour and polish of his language. We have already said, that in all the various topics which may fall within the scope of History, especially in modern times, the historian cannot be equally versed: but in studies which are fundamental to his subject, and without which his errors must be gross and revolting, there is no excuse for total ignorance.

The *philosophy of the human mind* stands in the head and front of the indispensable studies. Man's common nature must be known, or the actions of this or that man will be an enigma and a mystery. The historian, therefore, should be a proficient in the science commonly, though somewhat improperly, called metaphysics. We mean not the metaphysics of the French Encyclopédie, which have been aptly described as "the metaphysics of an under-graduate," and parodied with "the mathematics of an exciseman." We mean not new metaphysics, or new philosophy of any sort. "The common run of fashionable authors, on matters of History and antiquity, and general philosophical research," says a profound and eloquent writer, "have now, for about a hundred years, been telling the world, in at least a hundred publications every year, that till they themselves appeared among us, there was no knowledge on this earth at all:—just as if we should suppose the falling of stones from the sky, in our own days, to be the very first instances of gravitation. But in our view of the metaphysics necessary to an historian, they are the most ancient of sciences, and to be found in the most ancient and venerable of books. The Holy Scriptures present us with a notion of human nature, to the truth of which every heart bears witness. We there see man described as a weak fallible, offending, and responsible creature; whose depravity produces want and fear, and whose

Philosophy
of the human
mind.

History. wants and fears are the natural foundation of society. We see this offspring of natural inebecity called to act a part a little lower than the angels, but to act it only under a guidance and an inspiration which, if he abandon or reject, he is lost and irretrievably ruined. This most ancient system of philosophy places the moral being of man at the head of all his faculties; and teaches us that all his powers, mental and corporeal, are only means to enable him to let his *light* shine before others, and that that light "is light from heaven." By this scale, and by this alone, is human greatness to be measured; and the historian who does not possess this clue, can never conduct us through the labyrinth of human affairs.

Knowledge of the world. It is true, that History now presents us with the abstract man: her business is with *men*, engaged in their various occupations and pursuits, instigated by their prejudices and follies, and hopes and fears; seeking wealth, and fame, and honours, and distinctions; stimulated by the necessity of action, or carried away by the love of ease and enjoyment. To conceive the endless variety of this moving scene, we must have mixed with the crowd, and been driven this way and that by its alternate flux and reflux. The knowledge thus acquired is commonly called a knowledge of the world: some writers seem to possess it mechanically, as it were, by a natural tact, and an unconscious experience. Machiavel, with very little reflection on the intrinsic merit of virtue, or the natural deformity of vice, was a shrewd and attentive observer of both, as they presented themselves to him in the course of a very busy life, and amidst political changes of great frequency and variety. He abounds, perhaps more than any other writer, in practical rules, fitted for the conduct of men with a view to their own interest, or that of their faction or country, as separate and distinct from the great interests of mankind. Undoubtedly much is to be learnt from such a writer; but if to his practical knowledge of man, on the mere surface, he had joined a penetrating view into the nature of human motives, and thoughts, and propensities, the value of his work would have been incalculably augmented.

Political science. Nor is it merely with single individuals that the historian is concerned. Unless he be a biographer in the very narrowest sense of the word, he must speak of numbers acting together; of tribes, and races, and nations. Mably, therefore, requires that the historian should have studied *political science*, of which he distinguishes two kinds: one founded on the laws which nature has laid down for the happiness of mankind; the other, on variable and conventional rights, established by men; the fruit, as he says, of passion, violence, and injustice; and capable of affording only false benefits and great evils. The acrimonious feeling and declamatory style of Mably, render him an inconvenient guide in this or any other study: but it is certainly indispensable, that the historian, who undertakes to develop political movements, should be a well-grounded politician. He ought not, however, to proceed on any abstract theory, inconsistent with the previous History of mankind: but he should look to the origin of civil society as a matter of fact; and particularly should observe, that as the rise of different forms of government cannot all be referred to one common principle, so neither can the practical rules of policy be the same in all countries. Hence those particular researches, and that information, which render a man adequate to undertake the History of France, may be worse than useless to him in attempting that of England: and in like manner, we may observe, that the foundations of ancient and modern republics being vastly different, their historians should be furnished with very different data; and the works themselves should be composed in as different a spirit and feeling. It is generally acknowledged that *ROME* is an unsafe guide in English politics, because his political principles were as little those of the English constitution, as his belief was that of the English church: and with all the labour which ROBERTSON bestowed on his justly celebrated History of Charles V., we cannot but consider that his talents were much more fitly employed on his History of Scotland. Foreign politics are often no less necessary to be known by the historian than domestic. The relation of states to each other, both in law and in fact; their clashing interests; their alliances, feuds, and mutual influence on a common balance of power;

are things which, as they may fall more or less within the scope of the author's work, so they require more or less of his previous attention. History.

Particular subjects require, in the historian, information of a particular kind. Thus he who, like POLYBIUS, has principally to treat of military operations, should, like that author, possess a thorough knowledge of the military art: and he who, like DÆ TUOU, has to speak of disputed points of legal and constitutional right, should, like that eminent judge, be profoundly skilled in the laws and institutions of his country. On the other hand, a writer of Ecclesiastical History may be excused for some deficiency in finance, or general statistics: and he who professes to delineate the progress of literature, is not expected to be minutely accurate in his incidental notices of law. The only rule that can be laid down on this point is, that the historian should be a perfect master of those studies which are connected with the characteristic and leading topics of his work; and that, with respect to inferior and secondary matters, he should be guided by authorities of known weight and reputation. Other studies.

It may seem hardly within the scope of such an essay as the present, to speak of the physical Physical qualities qualities of the historian; but yet more depends on them than may at first sight appear probable. The earliest historians, such as Herodotus and Diodorus Siculus, encountered great bodily fatigue and peril, in the prosecution of their efforts to collect materials for History: and so Froissart in his plain and simple manner says, "I have searched in my time the greater part of Christendom (in truth, who seeks will find), and wherever I came, I made inquiry after such ancient knights and squires, as had been present at these deeds of arms, and such as were well enabled to speak of them. I sought also for heralds of good repute, to verify and confirm what I might have heard elsewhere of these matters. In this manner have I collected the materials for this noble History: and as long as through God's grace I live, I shall continue it; for the more I work at it, the greater pleasure I receive: like the gallant knight or squire enamoured with arms, who, by perseverance and attention, perfects and accomplishes himself; thus by labouring and working on this subject, I acquire greater ability and delight." The biographer of Froissart, relating a journey which the historian took in company with a knight of high distinction and of great experience, says: "If they arrived at a town before sunset, they availed themselves of the remnant of the day to examine the outworks of the place, or to observe the parts of it which had suffered from assaults. On their return to the inn, they continued the same conversations, either between themselves or with other knights and esquires who might be lodged there; and Froissart never went to bed, until he had put down in writing every particular that he had heard." Nor were his excursions confined to countries in a state of peace, tranquillity, and cultivation. We find him attending armies, and journeying alone in the Pyrenees, and in the Highlands of Scotland—places where, at that time of day, the law could afford no very sure protection to strangers. He who fears to encounter peril, or is incapable of surmounting fatigue, is certainly to be so far considered as deficient in the requisites of an historian. Modern times, indeed, by facilitating the means of obtaining information, have rendered these qualifications less essential than they were formerly; but certainly they are even yet of no slight importance. To be able to see and handle for one's self—to have experienced the storm and the battle—to have conversed and associated with the classes of men whose actions we describe; cannot but impress the truth more deeply on our own minds, and of course render us more competent to its true and striking description. It has been said, not without justice, that writers are sometimes censured as acrimonious and intolerant, who are in reality only oppressed by bodily disease; and that what we consider in them as defects of moral character, may have originally needed no other corrective than a good regulation of body. This remark applies as much to the historian as to any other writer: and hence we may justly reckon among the physical qualities to be desired in him, that suavity of bodily temperament which is generally accompanied by mildness of temper and freedom from prejudice; and which has no distant connection even with sweetness of style, and purity of language.

History. One may easily believe, that Tacitus was a man of hiliouſ temperamēt; but it is not ſo conceivable that Livy ſhould have compoſed his long and eaſy-flowing work amidſt the tortures of the gout, or under the depression of a conſtitutional lowneſs of ſpirits.

Means of knowledge. Personal qualifications are not all that is wanting to the hiſtorian; he ſhould have ſuperior *means of knowledge*: and theſe means are to be conſidered, either with reference to the *time* in which he lives; or to his *rank, ſtation, and country*.

Time. The hiſtorian is either contemporary with, or ſubſequent to, the events which he relates; and if ſubſequent, he is more or leſs diſtant from them in point of time. It does not neceſſarily follow that becauſe he lives at the ſame epoch with the perſons and things which he deſcribes, he either can or even ought to publiſh at the time an exact account of them. Some indulgence is not only due, in charity and kindneſs, to the failings and errors of thoſe with whom we aſſociate; but ſuch is the nature of human affairs, that it would not always be ſafe or poſſible to divulge them at the moment when they occur. Yet at that moment, or ſhortly afterward, it may be neceſſary that ſome account of them ſhould be given; and, as far as it is given, it ſhould no doubt be ſtrictly true. He who attempts it, however, muſt be aware, that the very circumſtance of his being near to the events, often confounds and dazzles his idea of them. He muſt feel all the force and beauty of the celebrated addreſs of Horace to Aſinius Pollio:

“Periculum plenum opus aleo,
Tractus; et incœdula per ignes
Suppositos cineri doloso.”

What is eſſential to the truth and livelineſs of Hiſtory is, that the narrator ſhould have it clearly before his own mind. But Hiſtory is in this reſpect like ſome pictures; to which, if we approach too cloſely, we loſe all the effect of the light, and ſhade, and colouring; and are often unable to trace the very outline of the forms, much leſs to comprehend their arrangement and compoſition. Notwithſtanding theſe, and many ſimilar remarks, which might be made on contemporary Hiſtory in general, it is certain that ſome of the beſt hiſtorians have not only lived during the periods which they record, but have taken a conſiderable ſhare in the tranſactions of their time. Such were Thucydides and Cæſar. Men of their ſtamp, indeed, could not write otherwiſe than inſtructively; and their productions muſt neceſſarily rank high in the claſs to which they belong. But it is not ſo much becauſe they lived at the time, as becauſe the ſituations in which they were placed, afforded them eſpecial opportunities of obſervation, that their teſtimony becomes precious; and after all, precious as it is, it muſt be received with the deductions neceſſary to be made on account of their partialities and intereſts. We muſt never forget, that Thucydides was an exile from Athens, and that Cæſar made his military exploits the ſteps to political power. A contemporary author, who determines that the publiſhment of his work ſhall be poſtponed for many years, may give himſelf a greater latitude in its compoſition, than would otherwiſe be prudent. Lord CLARENDON ſays of his great Hiſtory of the Rebellion, that as it was a work in which the infirmities of ſome, and the malice of others, muſt be boldly looked upon and mentioned; ſo it ſhould not be publiſhed in the age in which it was written. Yet, even this conſideration ought not to make us place an entire confidence in a contemporary writer. Few men appear to have been more conſcientiouſly impartial than the noble author juſt named; but we ſhould look in vain through his work for the ſame lively impreſſion of the views, entertained by the moſt honeſt of the republican party, which we find in the ſingular and intereſting work of Mrs. HUTCHINSON. The great maſs of contemporary information is chiefly uſeful as affording materials to ſucceeding hiſtorians; materials ſo much the more valuable, as they often ſerve to produce the very contrary effect from that which the author himſelf contemplated. Thus it is probable, that BURN DODDINGTON, in writing his diary, thought as little that he was painting, in his own perſon, the character of a mean intriguing courtier, as another writer may have intended to diſplay to the world,

the portrait of a malignant and unprincipled demagogue. What length of time, subsequent to great events, is most favourable to their just and useful relation, cannot be precisely determined *à priori*; nor, indeed, is it to be limited with mathematical exactness. It should be after the passions, which agitated the period described, have in a great measure subsided; when the billows of the storm no longer heave, and the sky has again become serene. Before that period, the voice of the charmer will not be heard, charm he never so wisely. He will be accused of wishing to sharpen the sword anew, and of provoking his countrymen or his party to resume the

——— "arma
Nondum expiatis uncta crucibus."

Before that period, too, he will not easily obtain access to those private documents which often cast an entirely new light on public transactions: for, as Sir WILLIAM TEMPLE observes, in his "Memoirs of what passed in Christendom from 1672 to 1679," the true springs and motions of affairs, both foreign and domestic, are often mistaken, not only by the public in general, but even "in court and parliament;" and thereby, "many suspicions, confidences, applauses, and reproaches, are fastened upon persons; and, at times, where they are very undeserved." On the other hand, he should not live at a period too remote. Every age has its habits and feelings, which pass away, evaporate, and are wholly lost, if not consigned to remembrance by a faithful pen: and as those habits and feelings enter largely into all the motives of individual action, we shall mistake the latter, if we are ignorant of the former. We shall possess only, as it were, the lifeless form of great events, without their animating spirit; and walk among the kings and great men of antiquity, as we do among the stony effigies on their tombs. The great name of LIVY will perhaps be cited as sanctioning the attempt to relate the History of periods long antecedent to the author's age. Livy probably wrote his History about 750 years after the building of Rome, and near 1200 years from the siege of Troy; yet he begins "*Jam primum omnium SATIS CONSTAT, Trojâ captâ,*" &c. What he means by *Satis Constat*, it is not easy to comprehend; since he himself states, that most of the public and private records of the Romans were destroyed in the conflagration of the city, 365 years after its first building, and near 800 years after the fall of Troy. The truth is, that the early books of Livy are little more than compilations from other authors, none of whom were of very high antiquity: for, in speaking of a transaction, which occurred in the 432d year of the city, he says "there is no writer extant who was contemporary with the event." Fabius Pictor, the earliest of those whom he expressly quotes, was only about 250 years his predecessor: and as to the annals of the pontiffs, and such other records as those early writers could have consulted, we have the testimony of Cicero that nothing could be more meagre and jejune than the information which they afforded. The first five books of Livy's work, then, scarcely deserve the name of legitimate History: they reach to the 365th year of the city, and embrace only what the author himself admits to be *res vetustate nimia obsecuras*. The remainder that is extant comes down to the 585th year, and leaves us infinite cause to regret the loss of the succeeding 97 books, which included the author's own times. It would be curious to see whether an author, who with such admirable skill has woven together the materials supplied by other hands, could maintain the same apparent candour, and excite a similar interest in the minds of his readers, when he united the characters of a witness and a judge. Different duties belong to historians, contemporary and subsequent; and the advantages which they possess are in like manner different. To the former is chiefly addressed that energetic admonition of Lucian: "Let the historian be fearless, incorrupt, free, the friend of boldness and truth, calling a fig a fig, and a spade a spade; giving nothing to hatred, nothing to love; touched neither by pity, nor shame, nor diffidence; a judge equally just and kind to all parties; a foreigner in his books, a citizen of no state, bound by no laws, subjected to no king, utterly

History. careless what this or that man will think or say of his work." To the latter, other rules are necessary. He is not apt to be misled by his interests, but by his studies: not the warmth of his feelings, but the narrowness of his views, is likely to mislead him. Let him, therefore, when he first sits down to write, espouse no theory; let him erect no bed of Procrustes, on which to stretch and distort his facts; let him reject no evidence, till he has patiently heard what the witness has to say, and candidly weighed the credit due to his deposition. The partial accounts of a BURNER, a NORTH, or a LUDLOW, are useful to those who wish to form an estimate of the times. The historian will weigh them against each other: he will do more; he will compare the opinions which an individual may have maintained in the ardour and enthusiasm of youth, with those which he may have corrected by the experience and reflection of age. For it is to be observed that the writers of whom we now speak, not only possess the advantage of living after the passions, which heated men on both sides, have become cool, but often of hearing exaggerated sentiments retracted, and erroneous statements disavowed. They possess the advantage of trying men by their conduct, and principles by their results: they see great events ushered in with hope, and brightness, and beauty; but the radiant clouds of morning are charged with the dark and desolating tempests of noon, and "steal unseen to west," in the cheerless gloom of the night. Such contemplations are fitted to produce a mild and meditative temper, which, while it inclines the writer to view with extreme indulgence the common errors and failings of humanity, must give a moral energy to his works, and render them powerfully subsidiary to the great cause of virtue. Much of the advantage here shown to belong to historians, who write at a period subsequent to the event, is lost, if that period be too far extended. Time sweeps away the materials of History and History itself. We have lost the collections of MUCIANUS, as well as the Decads of LIVY: and both losses are irreparable.

—— "data sunt ipais quoque fata sepulchris."

"The monuments of the dead," says WREYER, "within these His Majesty's dominions, are, to the shame of our time, broken down, and utterly almost ruined; their brazen inscriptions erased, torn away, and pilfered; by which inhuman, deformidable act, the honourable memory of many virtuous and noble persons deceased, is extinguished; and the true understanding of divers families in these realms is darkened." Even of those monuments and records of "the olden time," which are not wholly obliterated, some serve only to excite our wonder, but not to gratify our curiosity. The Pyramids, and Stonehenge, and the temple-caves of India, neither tell us how, nor when, nor by whom they were built: and from the days of Herodotus to the present time, the hieroglyphic inscriptions of Egypt have afforded matter for doubt and disputation to the learned. We have been thus diffuse on the epoch of the historian as compared with that of his subject, because there is, perhaps, no question relative to the topic of History, on which a greater diversity of opinions exists, than whether the great ends of History are best to be obtained from the perusal of contemporary or subsequent writers.

Station

It is not merely the time in which a man lives, but the sphere in which he moves, that enables him to dive into the real motives of action; to trace causes from their very source, and throughout all their meanderings, to disclose the *graves principum amicitias*, and what it is that incites the *civium arder prava jumentum*. Sleidan observes of PHILIP DE COMINES, that "he had all the advantages for writing the History of LOUIS XI., and his son CHARLES VIII., that could be desired; since he served both those princes in the quality of ambassador to several courts, and managed most part of the affairs which he mentions in his Memoirs." This is the more important in political History, because, as Lord HERBERT observes, in his life of HENRY VIII., "the actions of princes are not always drawn from reason of state, but sometimes even from inclination and humour." Nor is this peculiar to those who hold the highest authority: party-leaders, and even persons who contribute in a very secondary degree to the conduct of public transactions, are

apt to consult their passions or interests in preference to their duties: and one cannot well determine whether they have done so or not, in a given instance, without a knowledge of their characters; which is seldom to be obtained but by living amongst them, or learning, from the most authentic sources, private anecdotes of their lives. Hence one of the greatest excellencies of Lord Clarendon's History, has always been considered to consist in the characters which he has drawn of the various persons who took part in the disturbances of his time—characters which his various situations in public life gave him abundant means of studying. He himself very forcibly points out the utility of this species of information.—“By viewing the temper, disposition, and habit, at that time, of the court and of the country, we may discern the minds of men prepared, of some to act, and of others to suffer, all that hath since happened. The pride of this man, and the popularity of that; the levity of one, and the morosity of another; the excess of the court in the greatest want, and the parsimony and retrenchment of the country in the greatest plenty; the greatest craft and subtlety in some, and the unpolished integrity of others, too much despising all craft or art; all contributing jointly to this mass of confusion now before us.” It would be desirable, indeed, that the historian could mix with all ranks, and enter into the feelings of all classes; but this can seldom happen, except in times of confusion and civil disorder. The customs of society, stronger than any written ordinances, usually raise barriers, which it is not easy to overleap: and in such cases, it is better for the historian fairly to avow his ignorance, than to affect an intimate acquaintance with those modes of life and particular scenes, to which his station renders him an entire stranger. It is scarcely necessary to add, that the History of England should be written by an Englishman, and that of France by a Frenchman. There are certain mistakes which all foreigners are apt to commit, but which nevertheless savour of great absurdity. We may easily conceive how inaccurate are most English accounts of the disputes between the noblesse and tiers état of France, by observing how ridiculously French writers talk of what they are pleased to call the *wicks* and *foris* of England.

The motives which prompt an historian to write, are often sufficiently obvious, to show at once what degree of credit is due to his statements and inferences. These motives are either directly or indirectly connected with the events detailed. It has been said that the contemporary writer is a witness, and the subsequent a judge: but there is a character which belongs much more frequently than either of these to the historian, and that is the character of an advocate. We cannot but consider in this light all *auto-biography*. It is in vain that a man, about to speak of himself, professes an entire indifference and impartiality: he must necessarily, though perhaps unconsciously, court our admiration; either for his good actions, or for the candour with which he avows his faults. In like manner, where a general relates his own campaigns, or a statesman his own negotiations; where a great man's secretary, or humble dependent, relates the events in which his patron bore a principal part; or where the conduct of a sect or party is related by one of its most zealous members, we should be on our guard against the partiality of the writer, throughout the whole of the performance. There are other influences which are less obvious and direct. Mr. Fox, in his History of James II. has strenuously argued against the Tory writers, who represent that monarch to have been less intent on the establishment of absolute power, than on the restoration of the catholic religion; yet the Stewart papers, since published, seem to turn the balance decidedly the other way. May we not attribute this inclination of Mr. Fox's judgment to the Whig principles which he through life professed? Mr. Gibbon, in his History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, has taken constant occasion to insinuate objections against the divine origin and efficacy of the Christian religion. Is it to be doubted, that his own disbelief of Christianity gave a colour not only to his arguments on this subject, but to the facts on which they were founded? It has often happened that those who were concerned in the religious or political controversies of one age, have published the History of another only as a covert mode of recommending their own opinions, or of casting odium upon their adversaries. Others, without going so far as this, are evidently anxious to recommend their

History. own principles by examples drawn from former times; in recording which, they are occasionally led into some exaggeration. Thus the very justifiable aversion of Mr. MITFORD to the excesses of modern democracy may perhaps have disposed him to view with somewhat too favourable an eye the measures of Philip for the subjugation of the Grecian states, and to have allowed too little merit to the great Atheian orators,

" whose restless eloquence
Wielded at will that fierce democratic,
Shook th' arsenal, and fulminated over Greece
To Macedon, and Artaxerxes' throne."

It is scarcely necessary to observe, that works in which we can detect any such bias, are to be read with a degree of caution proportionate to the obliquity of the author's motives.

Hitherto, we have spoken of the historian, with reference only to the substance of History: we must now direct our attention to its form. History is an important branch of literature; and historians are perhaps more universally known by their literary attainments, and classed according to their literary excellence, than with reference to any other standard. It is not the object of this essay to go at length into a critical examination of the philological principles applicable to historical composition. These will be considered in detail, in another branch of the present work. It will, however, be proper that we should notice the principal circumstances which distinguish historical productions, either as to their arrangement, or as to their style.

Arrangement.

By the *arrangement* of an historical composition, we mean the manner in which all its parts are disposed, both those which constitute the body of the work, and those which form its appendages; and as to the body of the work, we speak not here of the mere mechanical division into books, chapters, sections, and the like; but of the apt coherence of the *narrative* and *philosophic* parts, so as to give an unity to the whole. The narrative may be distinguished into *principal* and *episodical*; and in each, but more especially in the former, the writer must touch on some matters *introductory* to the main events; he must clearly develop the *events* themselves, and he will often find occasion to advert to their *results*. The *selection* of events, and the *order* in which they are related, require particular notice: and the order to be observed must be either that of *succession* or that of *causation*.

Narrative

We proceed, first, to speak of the narrative part, which in the early and rude attempts constituted the whole of History. Cicero tells us that from the foundation of Rome to the consulship of P. Mucius (that is for a space of 620 years), the chief pontiff wrote down the principal occurrences of every year, and these records being preserved were called the great annals, *annales maximi*. Early History, he observes, both in Greece and Rome, was nothing better than the compilation of annals: and Pherecydes, Hellanicus, and Acusilaus, the first Grecian historians, like Cato, and Pictor, and Piso, among the Romans, merely left behind them remembrances of times, and men, and places, and exploits, without any attempt at ornament, and without aiming at any other praise than that of brevity. In the works of Aulus Gellius, however (l. 5, c. 18), we find it laid down by Sempronius Asellio, that annals differ from History inasmuch as the former only inform us what happened, and when; but the latter explains the causes and consequences of the events. This distinction, so familiar to the best ages of Greek and Roman literature, is also well known in modern times; and though we can by no means admit that it is but of late years that the true uses of History have begun to be understood, yet we must allow that the proper mixture of recital and reflection manifestly distinguishes the historical productions of the present age from those of the periods preceding the revival of learning.

Introductory matter

In all narratives there must be some information which it is necessary to premise for the proper understanding of that which is to follow. This is commonly requisite in an especial degree at the opening of an historical work: but it is also useful in many subsequent parts of the composition.

The general introduction should be suited to the general nature of the work. Lueian justly ridicules those who introduce a miserable performance with a laboured opening. The commencement of the History of Thucydides has been much admired. Considering the age in which he lived, and the state of literature in his time, it was certainly more allowable for him than for Livy to ascend to the Trojan war. It is, perhaps, in imitation of Thucydides, that Machiavel introduces his Florentine History with an account of the origin of all the states of modern Europe; but the imitation is not very happy, nor is the statement itself very instructive. A much more absurd introduction, however, is that to the Memoirs of Marshal Saxe, whose biographer sets out with an account of the origin of the Saxon nation! In some cases a formal introduction to the whole work is not necessary, as in XENOPHON'S Hellenics, which are confessedly a continuation of the History of Thucydides; but Lucian justly censures some authors of his time, who, without the same reason, adopted this mode of beginning a History, imagining that they were treading in the path of Xenophon. Introductory matter is not only necessary at the beginning of the whole History, but at almost every stage in its progress. When a great battle is to be described, some previous description of the ground is requisite; and when an important personage is brought on the scene, it is desirable that his character should be at once comprehended. In this latter particular Lord Clarendon may serve as a model to all historians; but it must be remembered that he generally delineates from the life, having himself had many occasions of knowing personally the individuals whom he describes. Neither does he unnecessarily occupy the attention of the reader with superfluous matter of this kind, having laid down to himself the rule "not to speak of persons otherwise than as the mention of their virtues and vices is essential to the work in hand."

History.

When the historian has thus cleared his path before him, his next care is to select, from the Selection of occurrences which present themselves, those only which are necessary to the force and clearness of his narrative. He must be particular, without being minute and trifling. Here again Lord Clarendon lays down the judicious rule, "to mention small and light occurrences no otherwise than as they have been introductions to matters of the greatest moment." There is nothing which more distinctly marks the man of genius, than the skill with which he seizes on the leading traits of any action, passing over all that is trifling and secondary. The predominant fault of the earlier historians is a wearisome minuteness; that of most modern writers, is a want of particularity, and consequently of truth and effect, in the pictures which they unfold to our contemplation. According to the relative importance of the incident, should be the space it occupies, and the distinctness with which it is related. Lucian wittily ridicules an historian who dispatched the great battle of Europus in seven lines, but occupied ten times as many pages in relating the trivial adventures of one of the fugitives. This, says he, is to gather the thorn and neglect the rose: it is as if you had been to view the admirable statue of the Olympian Jove, the masterpiece of Phidias, and had only remarked in what manner its footstool was decorated. The art of marshalling events, and characters, and all the accidents of time and place, in their due subordination, depends on the strength and energy of the author's first conception of his object. He who has to describe a battle must first weigh well the mind and intention of the leaders, and he who has to relate a long course of political intrigue must first comprehend the views and interests of the conflicting parties. Where the leading idea is wanting, all is confusion and disproportion: and though the separate facts may be truly stated, yet they produce a false impression, like a picture which is out of keeping, and out of perspective. Thus FULLER, in his History of the Holy Warre, dispatches the five months' siege of Malta, in 1565, with the single fact that Soliman discharged against it 78,000 bullets; but to make amends for this meagerness of information, he assures us that some of the bullets were big enough to overturn mountains! On the other hand, CAMDEN, in his annals of Queen Elizabeth, is so particular as to give us the exact formalities of the trial of the Duke of Norfolk, and even the very words in which he was found guilty of treason by his peers, and sentenced to be executed, although these words and formalities differ in no respect whatever from

History. the ordinary legal proceeding in such cases; and the reason which he assigns for his minuteness is that in great affairs the least circumstances are interesting to posterity. It is, indeed, difficult for an author easily to foresee the ideas of future ages on any given subject: and some allowance must always be made for his dwelling on those facts which are thought important by his own contemporaries. Thus even the great Bacon concludes his History of Henry VII. with a grave account of a dream which that king's mother had before her marriage, "that one in the likeness of a bishop, in pontifical habit, did tender her Edmund, Earl of Richmond, the king's father, for a husband." As the earl was probably at that time a handsome young man, the dream was certainly not very miraculous; but yet Lord Bacon enumerates it among the occurrences which, he says, "may put upon the king somewhat that may seem divine!"—nor is it unlikely that at the time when he wrote, such an impression may have been very general from such an event. Bacon, perhaps, in like manner, followed the common opinion of his time, when he spoke of the court of star chamber, confirmed by parliament in the reign of Henry VII., as "one of the sagest and noblest institutions of the kingdom:" so little are even acute minds capable of anticipating the judgment of that posterity to which they all appeal. We may add, that though Bacon was contemporary with Shakspeare, he does not seem from any passage, either in his private correspondence or his published works, to have been even aware of the existence of a poet universally esteemed at present as the greatest ornament of his age.

Order of events.

The events thought worthy of commemoration by the historian must be related in a certain order; and that order, however diversified, does in fact reduce itself to two species,—the order of succession, and the order of causation. The order of *succession* consists in collecting and classing events simply according to their dates, and it is only varied by more or less frequent transition from place to place. As there are numberless events passing at the same time in different parts of the world, and as they all pass with different degrees of celerity, the historian who should endeavour to follow, day by day, and hour by hour, the course of time, embracing, at the same time, a wide range of subject, would soon involve himself and his readers in inextricable confusion. The usual mode, therefore, of writers, who follow the order of time, is to pursue one course of events in that order, making occasional digressions to the occurrences which lie out of their principal sphere. The sphere of the common annalist is narrow; and, indeed, we have before said that he is not to be called an historian; but where a larger scope is taken, time alone will be found to form an insufficient link of connexion between events. "If writers," says VOLNEY, "admitting facts without scrutiny, heap them together without taste; if they reduce their labours to a sterile summary, to a list of the reigns and deaths of princes, to a record of wars, convulsions, pestilences, and famines, like most of the Asiatics ancient and modern, and like all those of the dark ages in Europe; their compositions, void of all instruction and animation, will be found to have all the tediousness, and to deserve all the contempt which are usually attached to the name of chronicles." Such works are but a rude canvass, wholly unornamented; and, indeed, even when the facts are well chosen and complete, they form but the first step, they supply but the mere catalogue and storehouse, for the other kinds of History. It is, therefore, necessary to resort, at least occasionally, to that higher and more philosophic order which traces the connexion of causes with effects; but as, on the one hand, *causation* is not to be wholly overlooked, so, on the other, to throw time entirely out of consideration would be to convert History into philosophy. The only question, therefore, which the historian has really to consider is, which shall be the *predominant* principle in the order which he has to follow, *succession* or *causation*: and though the former may give his work a greater appearance of simplicity, the latter will undoubtedly afford occasion for the display of superior talent. In the one case, indeed, he may begin his labour while the events themselves are going on; but, then, as the future is hidden from his view, he cannot possibly determine the relative weight and importance of different facts. When Columbus sent his brother to Henry VII. of England to negotiate for embarking on a voyage

of discovery, the Historians of that day would have scarcely thought it worth while to notice the failure of the negotiation: and yet on this accident has turned much of the subsequent difference between the policy of England and that of Spain. Indeed History is full of those occurrences which, appearing at first like the cloud which was no bigger than a man's hand, at length involve the whole horizon in tempests, or pour down waters of fruitfulness on the earth. It is only after a course of events has been brought to a distinct and definite close, that we can adequately determine the relative importance of its separate parts: and without such judgment the history cannot be composed in an orderly and due proportion. This is perhaps the only just complaint to be urged against Thucydides. Had he waited to the end of the Peloponnesian War before he wrote its history, he would probably have found that some circumstances on which he dwells at length were comparatively inconsequential, whilst others, which he passes over slightly, were of serious import to the final result of the contest. Doubtless in History, as well as in Philosophy, causes are to be traced with great care and accuracy. The writer is not to take mere coincidence for causation: he is not to rush hastily to a conclusion from weak and insufficient premises. By clear and satisfactory reasoning he will obviate all paradoxes in History; for historical paradoxes are such only to the unreflecting or the uninformed. The same nation expelled the Tarquins, and submitted to Nero; the same individuals fought under Brutus, and became parasites of Augustus. It appears strange, that any people should court despotism, or should endure anarchy: but the skilful Historian will show us the same cause operating to produce effects at first sight so dissimilar. An over-refinement in tracing causes is however to be avoided. "I am not so sharp-sighted," says Clarendon, "as those who have discerned this rebellion contriving from, if not before, the death of Queen Elizabeth, and fomented by several Princes and great Ministers of State in Christendom, to the time that it broke out." By such fine-spun modes of reasoning, the expulsion of James II. is traced to the disgust of his grandfather, James I., at the republican austerity of his tutor, Buchanan: but this is rather following the guidance of imagination than of reason. If, avoiding these extremes, the Historian apply himself to treat of events in that order which most clearly displays the connection of cause and effect, he will be most likely to attain the true objects of History,—utility, and pleasure. This method is most useful, because it best enables us to profit by the examples which it presents; and it is most pleasant, for whilst it equally satisfies curiosity, it less fatigues either the memory or the judgment.

Historians are again distinguished by the different degrees of skill and ability which they display in explaining and rendering clear and intelligible to their readers, the *consequences* of the events which they relate. The same judgment which is able to discriminate the cause, will also be competent to point out the consequence; but in this, there is a necessary caution to be observed: the Historian must remember that he has nothing to do with futurity. Lucian satirizes a writer of his time, who, in narrating the wars then carrying on against the Parthians, predicted that Vologeses would be taken, and Oroos thrown to the lions; that a great victory would be gained (a very desirable event, no doubt, says Lucian, sarcastically;) and that these great successes would be commemorated by the building of a magnificent city, to be called either Victory or Concord; but which name it is to bear, says Lucian, the author has not yet determined. It is scarcely necessary to say, that Historians, who thus overstep the line of their proper occupation, are to be taken neither as models nor as guides. Sir W. Temple, in his *Memoirs of the War of 1672*, has afforded an example of wisdom highly commendable in this respect. His work was written in 1683, and he mentions in it a prediction that William of Orange would come to the throne of England; but he adds, "though the present state of the Royal family leave not this without appearance of arriving at one time or other; yet it is at too great distance for my eyes, which, by the course of nature, must be closed long before such an event is likely to succeed." It did succeed however in 1688, and Sir William lived till 1700.

He who well manages his introduction; the main course of the events; and the general results, *Consequences of events.* *Subsidiary matter.*

History.

will give to History the same unity and completeness which is conferred on an epic poem, by a regular beginning, a middle, and an end. Nevertheless there will always be much subsidiary matter in the nature of episode; the skilful interweaving of which with the main subject, adds greatly to the reputation of the author, and to the value of the work. How difficult a part of the Historian's duty this is, may be inferred from the following passage in Lord HULLAND's preface to *Mr. Fox's History of James II.* "In speaking of the writers of that period," says his lordship, "be (Mr. Fox) lamented that he had not devised a method of interweaving any account of them or their works, much less any criticism on their style, into his history. On my suggesting the example of Hume and Vultaire, who had discussed such topics at some length, either at the end of each reign or in a separate chapter, he observed, with much commendation of their execution of it, that such a contrivance might be a good mode of writing critical essays; but that it was, in his opinion, incompatible with the nature of his undertaking, which, if it ceased to be a narrative, ceased to be a history." Mr. Fox was manifestly right. Separate chapters of this kind are mere excrescences, and not parts of a well-ordered work. The author is to consider well how far the subsidiary matter is really essential to the completeness of his plan: he is to throw aside without mercy, all that does not necessarily conduce to the great object that he has in view; and he is to frame and adapt his episodes with the same care, and nearly by the same rules, in History, as he would in epic poetry.

Reflections.

The subsidiary matter of which we have just spoken, may consist of facts, or of reflections: the latter is what we call the philosophic episode. In ancient times this was often thrown into the mouths of fictitious personages; and seems to have been the principal reason for those speeches which form so singular a feature in the ancient Historians. M. LAHARPE, in his *Course of Literature*, undertakes to justify the Ancients in respect to those harangues, which are commonly considered as belonging rather to the art of the Orator than of the Historian. He suggests, "that though Fabius or Scipio may not have uttered in the Senate precisely those very words which Livy puts into their mouths, yet they may have spoken to nearly the same effect." He observes, "that the Ancients were much more devoted to public speaking than the moderns," (an observation, however, which is less applicable to the English than to the French.) He remarks, "that Athens was wholly governed by its Orators; that nothing of importance was decided but by them; and that, throughout all Greece, with the single exception of Lacedæmonia, the art of speaking was one of the most essential accomplishments for a citizen; that it was most carefully cultivated from their very youth, and formed the most important part of their studies." "At Rome," he adds, "whoever aspired to any public office, felt it necessary to be able to express himself with readiness and elegance before three or four hundred senators; to argue in support of propositions which might be attacked with republican freedom; and sometimes to harangue to the assembly of the Roman people composed of an innumerable and tumultuous multitude." Admitting all this, it is hardly credible, that the speeches, introduced into the histories which we now read, were actually delivered by the persons to whom they are attributed. They are evidently adopted by the Historian, as occasions to throw in his own reflections; or to comprise a summary of the reasonings employed for or against particular measures. This seems to have been considered as a license belonging to the Historian, just as the ancient chorus was a mode used by the Dramatists to deliver their own moral reflections on the scene. In modern time, we wisely allow no such fictions. Even if a speech of any length should be preserved, it would hardly be introduced into an historical work, but would be considered as one of the documents to be referred to in the Appendix. Modern authors do not introduce their reflections on the events of History, as delivered by fictitious personages; but they reason and argue, sometimes at great length, on the incidents which they record. It would be absurd to say that the Historian should never interrupt the thread of his narrative with a general remark: for it would be unnatural that he should not feel, or that he should not express his feelings. The power of drawing general rules from particular incidents, of seeing the universal truth in the insulated fact, is a power

of genius and intelligence. Nobody can doubt the superior mind of Tacitus. "His thoughts," says an amiable writer, "are of such extent, that every one penetrates them more or less readily. He pierces to a vast depth, but he does it without effort." "Every page, every line of Tacitus," says Lipsius, "is a flash of wisdom, a profound thought, a solid axiom; but he is so rapid and so concise, that much sagacity is needed to follow and to understand him." And to the same effect speaks Montaigne: "there are in his works more precepts than facts: it is not a book to read merely, but to study and get by heart: it is a nursery of ethics and politic discourses for the use and ornament of those who have any place in the government of the world." Tacitus, then, must be allowed to be a model in this branch of the Historian's art: but has he not pushed it to an extreme? has he not in some measure merged the character of the Historian in that of the Philosopher? In short, is he not too meditative and sententious? These are questions which we would rather propose than resolve, fearing to be considered deficient in respect and admiration for so great a man. Certain it is, that the remarks of Tacitus are at once brief and striking, energetic and refined. The expressions, *odisse quem Casaris; intus quæ indecora; omnia proma victoribus; libentius obscura credi*, and a thousand others which might be cited, carry the force of a proverb; and have, in many instances, become proverbial. After Tacitus, the writer most distinguished by the maxims which he intersperses throughout his work, is Machiavel. Some of these are sufficiently remarkable, especially when the discredit commonly attached to his name is considered. For instance, he lays it down as a rule, that "where there is religion, every presumption should be favourable; where it is wanting, every presumption should be unfavourable:" that "it is impossible for a man, who despises his God, to respect his prince:" that "to break a plighted faith can never be glorious, even in war:" that "it is never wise to drive an enemy to desperation:" that "good laws make good men:" that "there should be no change but where there is a manifest defect," &c. The principal question is, how these general reasonings and reflections should be introduced? Is it sufficient to deliver them as digressions; and if so, is it allowable to fill whole chapters with them; or should they not rather be condensed as much as possible, and even melted down, as it were, into the narrative? Certainly the latter mode, wherever it is practicable, is much to be preferred. It is the true historical philosophy which teaches by example; and the moral truth sinks deeper into the mind because it is communicated insensibly. The imagination is made to minister to the understanding and to the heart. Thus Livy tells us, that Lucius Junius Brutus feigned madness, "in order that he might be safe in a state of contempt, since there was no safety in the protection of the laws." Is not this far more striking than if he had first drily stated the fact, and then reasoned at length, on the general inconvenience which must result to every one, when the laws are incompetent to preserve innocence and integrity from persecution? The transition from a narrative to a sententious style, stops the flow and easy course of thought. Such changes, indeed, are natural in certain cases. Sometimes when the mind is struck with extraordinary events, it recoils, as it were, on itself, and a general reflection is involuntarily suggested by a particular incident; but in order that these remarks should produce their full effect on the reader, they should be rare, unstudied, and spontaneous; they should be rather breaks in the composition, than regular portions in the general plan of the work.

It is the style of the Historian, as of every other writer, which principally contributes to the style. popularity or unpopularity of his works. The first traditional histories appear to have been generally in verse: and it is curious to trace the continuance of this custom to very late periods, in different parts of the world. We possess a translation by Mr. Champion of the *Shah Nameh*, an historical poem of FERDOSI the Persian, who wrote about A. D. 1000. The Scottish historical poem of BARBOUR, who wrote in 1375, is well known; as is the English Chronicle of FARVAN, compiled about 1505. As civilisation advanced, History gradually emancipated itself from the shackles of metre, or at least retained them only in those ballads and trivial poems which serve to keep alive the memory of great events among the populace. But when prose History began to be cultivated by men

History. of taste and genius, it was soon discovered to be susceptible of great embellishment in point of style : it was discovered that it ought to hold a due medium between the low and the turgid, the brief and the redundant, the didactic and the forensic. Lucian has justly and beautifully observed, that the Historian should work like the exquisite sculptor Phidias, in marble and ivory and gold combined ; that is to say, that his style, never low or mean, should yet possess various degrees and shades of excellence, suitable to the different parts of his subject. He should march with the same pace as the events. In peace, and joy, and prosperity, his style should resemble that of Xenophon, when, as Quintilian says, "spoke with the sweetness of the Muses : " in war he should "sound the trumpet of Thucydides." The "Sallustian brevity" will best snit those parts in which the writer indulges philosophical reflection : whilst the full flow of the narrative will demand "the milky richness of Livy." "Let him not write," says Lucian, "in an involved and elaborate style, but plainly ; for as truth is the one great object of his mind, so clearness should be the one great character of his style ; neither vulgar nor pedantic, but such as the unlearned may comprehend, and the scholar admire. When he deals, as he must sometimes do, in figurative and metaphorical language, let the figures be just and obvious : when he is animated with the warmth, or elevated with the loftiness of his subject, let him beware that he be not transported into a bombastic extravagance : "—a precept which strongly reminds us of Hamlet's advice to the actors, "that in the very torrent, tempest, and one may say, whirlwind of their passion, they should beget a temperance, which might give it smoothness." "Some there are," says Lucian, "who, at one moment, will soar into the pompous phraseology of the epic poet, and describe the commander—'with cares unnumber'd struggling in his breast ;' but who will presently afterwards sink down into a vulgarity of expression fit only for the lowest camp-follower." This motley style is ridiculous enough : but it is not more wearisome than that of a pedant whose language is formed on one dull, unvaried plan ; beginning perhaps with an interrogatory, then introducing a syllogism, then an exclamation, then an interrogatory again, and so on ; or forming in every sentence a regular balance of phrase against phrase, in triads or quaternions, as contrary to true harmony as they are inadequate to the expression of real feeling. In order to narrate faithfully and well, it is by no means necessary that the style should be cold and inanimate. Delicate circumstances should be delivered with a delicacy of language ; and the pathetic, the noble, the spirited, the tender, should each have their appropriate modes of expression. It is true, that every author may be allowed the indulgence of his own peculiar and characteristic style of writing ; but no one should be a mere mannerist : and yet even affectation is more tolerable than dullness ; and the prevalence of one marked defect, counterbalanced by some beauties, is better than an uniform insipidity. In fine, History has an eloquence of its own, "flowing and continuous," as Cicero says, "with a certain equability in its course, distinct from the brevity of the judge, or the sharpness of the advocate ; and equally remote from the authoritative and sententious manner of the moralist or the preacher."

Characters
of Histori-
ans

It remains to notice the degree and manner in which certain distinguished Historians have displayed those qualities of which we have hitherto spoken. HERODOTUS, the father of Grecian History, has formed his plan with great art and judgment. Taking as its basis the wars of the Greeks and Persians, he has united with it a great variety of incidents by retracing the power of the two belligerents from its origin, and through all the gradation of its progress : thus successively introducing the History of the Lydians, the Medes, the Babylonians subjected by Cyrus, the Egyptians conquered by Cambyzes, the Scythians attacked by Darius, and, in fine, the Indians : after which he returns to his predominant object, and concludes with the glorious victories obtained by his countrymen at Salamis and Thermopylae, over the immense multitudes led on by the Persian monarch. This plan is executed with great clearness, with elegance, with facility. He has been taxed with credulity, but all things considered, the accusation appears unjust. It has been said, that in the details of his plan, he is somewhat immethodical, not sufficiently minute, or full of information ; but those who make this charge, have not adverted to the extreme difficulty of

obtaining and verifying intelligence in ancient times. Upon the whole, it is extraordinary that this very early writer should have at once attained a reputation, from which the lapse of so many centuries has done little to detract, and which still leaves him in the very first class of Historians. He was immediately followed by THUCYDIDES, a writer totally different in style, and yet so nearly equal in talent that critics have doubted which to prefer. "Many (of the Greeks) have written History most admirably," says Quintilian; "but no one doubts that there are two who are to be greatly preferred to all the rest, and whose respective excellencies have obtained nearly equal praise. Thucydides is close, and brief, and forcible; Herodotus sweet, and candid, and flowing: the one is better fitted for the lofty passions, the other for the gentle; the one for oratory, the other for meditation; the one for force, the other for pleasure." Cicero also describes Thucydides, as "a writer who excelled all others in the artful construction of his style; who was so rich and abundant in matter, that the number of his thoughts almost seemed to equal that of his words; and, again, so close and compact in expression that it was difficult to say whether his subject was more adorned by his language, or his language exalted by his subject." Laharpe observes that Thucydides has been reproached with two faults of rather a contradictory nature—the being too concise in his narrative, and too diffuse in his speeches. He abounds, adds this critic, with thoughts, but they are sometimes obscure; and if his style is marked with the gravity of a philosopher, it sometimes betrays the dryness of that character also. Longinus, however, speaks almost in raptures of this great Historian, and warmly defends the inversions which give that length and obscurity to his speeches, complained of by Laharpe. Upon the whole, it is not perhaps safe to dissent from the decision of so many admirable judges among the ancients, who agree in placing Thucydides, if not above all other Historians, yet certainly on a level with the very highest.

The literary characters of Herodotus and Thucydides form, it will have been observed, a striking contrast. These writers were followed by one who differed from them both, but was scarcely inferior to either. If XENOPHON does not exhibit the endless variety of Herodotus, or the austere grandeur of Thucydides, he possesses a sweetness quite unequalled, and his own. Hence he has been called "the Attic Bee," and it has been said, that "the Graces reposed on his lips." He was the pupil of Socrates, the associate of Plato, the commander of the Greeks in that ever memorable Retreat of the Ten Thousand. When such a man took up the historic pen, we might have expected to see a work characterised by a severe philosophy, or by a fierce and unbridled energy of thought; but, on the contrary, nothing can be more mild and equable than all the movements of his mind, unless it be the happy flow of his language, which seems almost to have been composed.

——— "to the Dorian stood
Of tales and soft recordings; such as rain'd
To brighten of noblest temper heroes old
Arming to battle; and instead of rage
Deliberate valour breath'd, firm and unshak'd."

This idea corresponds well with the moral dignity and strength of mind which this mild and elegant writer displayed in real life. He was sacrificing to the Gods, crowned with flowers, when news was suddenly brought to him that his son had been killed at the battle of Mantinea. At the terrible recital he tore off his garland, and burst into tears; but when the messenger went on to relate, that the young hero, fighting to the last gasp, had mortally wounded the enemy's general, Xenophon resumed his garland, and said, "Let us thank the Gods—my son's glory consoles me for his death." If the Greeks have left us such models in general History, they have left us one no less celebrated in Biography. PLUTARCH has, in fact, been called "the Prince of Biographers," though we are far from being satisfied with his claims to that title. It is well known that he has written the parallel lives of celebrated Greeks and Romans; and M. Laharpe looks upon the idea of such a

History.

comparison between the great men of one country and those of another, as a mark of genius. On the contrary, it appears to us to be an injudicious mode of writing History. Parallels of this kind can never be exact, and the effort to produce an apparent exactness will always produce an unconscious disposition in the writer to distort the facts. In other respects, too, the work of Plutarch is inferior to those of the authors already mentioned. There is little grace or harmony in his style, and the idiom of his language is by no means pure. His narratives afford us little information on the general History of the times, but are confined almost wholly to the individuals intended to be delineated. Considered, indeed, as separate pictures of human character, they have great merit. Plutarch describes man, not by an undigested accumulation of anecdotes, as Suetonius does, but by an admirable selection of characteristic incidents. It is on this account that he is so highly praised by Montaigne, and indeed that he has obtained very general and deserved popularity as a Biographer.

Roman Historians.

The Romans have left us models in History, scarcely, if at all, inferior to those of the Greeks. At the head of these is LIVY, whom Quintilian merely reckons equal to Herodotus; but La Harpe thinks him superior. The former critic says, "that Livy's narrative style is singularly agreeable, and of the purest clearness; that his harangues are eloquent beyond all conception; that all he says is perfectly adapted to the persons and things described; that he, above all, excels in expressing the mild and gentle passions; and that no Historian is more affecting."—"This eulogy," observes La Harpe, "is just in all its points: and we may add, that the genius of Livy, without ever showing marks of labour or effort, seems naturally to rise with the Roman greatness, and is never either above or below the elevation of his subject." Quintilian, who compares Sallust with Thucydides, had probably at that time seen none of the writings of TACITUS, who is far more worthy of being brought into such a competition. "I know no author," says Montaigne, "who, in relating public affairs, mixes so much consideration of manners and particular characters, as Tacitus does: his work is rather a judgment, than a deduction of history." Hence he has been called, "the Father of Philosophical History;" and his philosophy is of the highest kind—the philosophy of the human mind. "Every line," says La Harpe, "imprints a sentiment in the mind of the reader. Tyrants seem to be punished while he paints them. He represents posterity and vengeance: and I know no reading so terrible for the conscience of the wicked."

If it were necessary to produce a parallel to Xenophon among the Roman Historians, we could not, perhaps, fix on a better choice than CÆSAR, whose *Commentaries* might, without impropriety, be compared with the celebrated Retreat of the Ten Thousand. What Quintilian says of CÆSAR's oratory, may be applied also to his historical composition: "it is adorned with a wonderful elegance of language, of which he was singularly studious." Like Xenophon, he possesses "that unaffected ease, which no affectation can ever attain;" but it may be questioned, whether he is equally faithful and candid in his narration.

Biographers

Rome produced no Plutarch. Its most celebrated Biographer was CORNELIUS NEPOS; whose lives of illustrious men are merely summaries of their principal actions, interspersed with judicious reflections. If this mode of composition exhibit far less genius than the seizing those characteristic traits which develop at once the minds of the person described, it is at least superior to the dull and plodding method of SUETONIUS, who heaps together every anecdote that he can collect, without selection, and with little remark, leaving it to his readers to form their judgment, as well as they can, out of a rude and undigested mass of materials.

It would extend this essay too far to draw the characters of modern political Historians; but we must just notice, that in recent times they have been enabled to extend, in some degree, the sphere of their inquiries, by means of that antiquarian learning which has so largely illustrated the diplomatic remains, the laws, and other records, public and private, of the more obscure ages. Among the most distinguished works of this kind, is ROBERTSON'S *History of the Reign of Charles V.*; and what this author has done for political History, has been imitated in respect to the History of Literature, by Mr. ROSCOE, in his *Life of Lorenzo de Medici*.

We have said that the means of cultivating History to advantage, relate either to the writer or reader of History: and having spoken at some length on the former branch, we shall have less to observe on the latter.

History.
II. Readers of History.

The plans of study proposed by different learned men are so very contradictory, that they cannot possibly be reconciled; and among a variety of conflicting opinions, the only reasonable rules to guide our discretion, must be drawn from a consideration of the proper objects of study, which are to improve either the morals, the understanding, or the taste. The first rule, then, in the study of History, is to discard those writers whose works breathe a spirit of decided immorality. Like some stigmatised or suspicious kinds of testimony, they may indeed be received in cases of extreme necessity, from the *penuria testium*: their pages may be cautiously opened, and closed again when the necessity ceases; but above all things they should be rarely intrusted to the juvenile reader,

Plans of study.
Objects of study.

"For in the morn and liquid dew of youth,
Contagious blishments are most imminent."

From this rule, no fascination of style, no liveliness of wit, no acuteness of argument, should suffice to plead an exception. On the other hand, a plain and homely writer will sometimes tell a tale pregnant with honourable and virtuous feelings. These incidents are to be met with in the accounts of ancient and modern nations, of barbarous and civilized ages; and wherever they occur, they should be treasured up and committed to memory; for the judgment can only be enriched by the multitude of examples and the clearness with which they are placed before us. It is therefore necessary, that the study of History should be comprehensive; that we should read many and different Historians, of many and different ages and countries; but yet this reading must be with selection and care. "Let not the tutor," says Montaigne, "so much imprint on his pupil's memory the date of the ruin of Carthage, as the manners of Hannibal and Scipio; nor so much where Marcellus died, as why it was unworthy of his duty, that he died there: for to some, History is a mere grammar study; to others, the very anatomy of philosophy, by which the most secret and abstruse parts of our human nature are laid open." Dates, however, and local accidental causes often constitute the principal criterion of the merit or demerit of an action. When we find an Historian careless of these things, we may be sure he is a bad guide: and it is of no small importance to determine how far a writer is to be trusted, especially where contradictory accounts of the same event are given by different authors. In such cases we should carefully observe the character of the Historian himself, which is not difficult to be discerned by an attentive perusal of his work. Is he bigoted or irreligious; credulous, or prejudiced, or insincere?—In all these cases a proportionate deduction is to be made from the weight of his testimony.

When we have well satisfied ourselves of the facts of History, they become light to our paths; but it is of infinite importance that we do not suffer ourselves to be dazzled by them. Nothing is so dangerous as a precedent falsely applied. We must see that the cases fit in all their circumstances, or we must not adopt them as an absolute rule of conduct. Guicciardini observes, on the conduct of Peter de Medici, in imitating his father, that it is very dangerous to govern one's self by particular examples. Oftentimes the distinctive trait in the original is lost in the copy; for the poet is abundantly just in his expression—*Imitatores, servum pecus*! It is therefore necessary to meditate deeply on what we read in History, and to connect causes and consequences well in our own minds. By so doing we shall store them at once in the memory and in the judgment for every great event; and every brilliant character will become, as it were, a centre around which numerous minor personages and occurrences will be grouped.

After determining the objects which we should have in view in the study of History, it will be less difficult to agree on the order of study, whether we regard the peculiar situation of the student, or the choice of books to be read. First, as to the situation of the student:

Order of study.

History.

it is manifest, that as the statesman requires a knowledge of politics, so the scholar does of literature ; the soldier of war ; the ecclesiastic of the church ; and the like : yet we may say that all alike should be versed in the study of human nature. In early age we read or sympathize with feelings, and passions, and sentiments, of which the seeds are sown in our own bosoms. It would seem, therefore, that the youth should be first tutored to the study of History by single pictures of eminent virtue or ability, which being insulated and detached from all preceding and subsequent matter, might easily fasten on his young mind, warm his heart, and be comprehended by his understanding. The moral nature of man develops itself first, and therefore first demands to be fed with high example, and animated by the sympathies, which, in our youthful imaginations, render us continent as Scipio, or persevering as Hannibal ; makes us act over the part of Lennidas, or of Wallace ; and persuade us that we could die like Bayard or Sidney, like Epaminondas or Wolfe. As we advance in life, we become more capable of comprehending the connection of causes and effects ; but still we can best understand the occurrences which happened in our own age and country : these therefore we should next be taught ; then what has happened to other eminent nations ; until, by extending the sphere of our knowledge, the whole map and chart of History lies open before us : after which we may, as circumstances direct, choose some particular portions for more minute and accurate investigation. Abstracts and epitomes of History are, generally speaking, brought into use in too early a stage of education. It matters little, that a lad of ten years old should be able to enumerate all the dynasties that have reigned since Nimrod, or to tell us in what Olympiad the first tragedy of Euripides was acted. These are mere exercises of the memory, like the multiplication table, but not so useful ; until, in a subsequent state of our studies, they enable us to class and arrange facts : but if they prevent us from acquiring more substantial knowledge, they are to be regarded less as helps, than as hinderances to learning.

Chronology
Geography,
&c.

The two studies, which have been called the eyes of History, are those which tend to ascertain times and places, namely, CHRONOLOGY and GEOGRAPHY. These have been so scientifically pursued that they may be said to have themselves attained the rank of sciences, and will therefore require consideration in separate Essays. But it is to be observed, that many studies may occasionally be called in aid of the Historian : such as *Astronomy*, on which both Chronology and Geography mainly depend. And again, *Natural Philosophy*, the discoveries in which enable us positively to decide on the truth or falsehood of many events recorded in History. So the *Natural History* of the human species may throw light on the migrations and unions of different races of men ; and these latter circumstances may be still further elucidated by *Grammar* in its largest extent ; including both the first principles of speech, and the minute comparison of languages. These incidental assistances, however, are too partial and indirect, to be much considered in the arrangement of the Historical library : but it is otherwise with what may be called the *Criticism of History*, namely Lectures and Essays on its general spirit and tendency ; on the modes of studying it ; and the like : to which we may add, finally, the works of *Reference* ; such as the Dictionaries of History, Biographical and Historical Charts, Chronological Tables, Atlases, Maps, and other valuable accessions to this important branch of human knowledge.

INTRODUCTORY CHAPTER.

PART II.

ON THE SEPARATION OF THE EARLY FACTS

OF

HISTORY FROM FABLE.

WE have now to speak of the rise and progress of History. This picture of man has shared the fate of its original. It has had its infancy of Fable; its youth of Poetry; its manhood of Thought and Intelligence, and Reflection; and it has sometimes declined into an old age of dulness, decrepitude, bigotry, and barbarism. The mind of the savage, like that of the infant, is a chaos of wonder, confusion, and uncertainty; and as soon as it passes from the impressions of animal want and gratification to any meditation on the past, or anticipation of the future, it touches at once on the borders of an ideal world, where shadow and substance are so strangely mingled, that the effort to distinguish them is beyond its power, and soon ceases to be beyond its inclination. Hence the few individuals who have energy enough to feel or to feign the inspiration of a loftier spirit, are soon listened to as oracles. Their obscure thoughts, expressed in language still more obscure, are imperfectly caught by their wondering hearers. Dreams and reveries, and insanity itself, become the substance of tradition. These wild recitals are crowded with the phantoms of a disordered imagination;—

History.

All th' unaccomplish'd works of nature's hand,
Abortive, monstrous, or unkindly mix'd;
Gorgons and hydens, and chimeras dire!

Above all, the mind labours with the too weighty thought of an UNKNOWN God, which, wanting the holy guidance of the Spirit of Truth, presents itself in a thousand distorted conceptions, and at length forms the substance of a more or less complex, a more or less extravagant MYTHOLOGY.

Of all profane History, without exception, the first beginnings are in great part, if not wholly, Mythological. The fabulous beings that are introduced as gods, demi-gods, heroes, &c. appear to be, in some instances, personifications of the great agencies of nature, the storm, and the whirlwind, the flood, and the flame; in some the sun and moon, the planets and fixed lights of the firmament; and in others men of extraordinary strength or skill, kings and warriors, conquerors and teachers, false prophets and the workers of false miracles. The imaginary acts of these supernatural

History. beings are commonly mixed up with shreds and patches of true History, with vague traditions of the creation, and the deluge, of an early state of innocence and a fall. In proportion as the mythologists acquire arts and letters, they multiply and diversify their fables. They envelope the truth in a new veil of fiction: they speak in parables, and are understood literally: they write in hieroglyphics, and the symbol is taken to be an exact picture. Finally, the poet comes in aid of the priest, and enriches the tale of wonder with all the charms of verse, and all the luxuriance of a fertile imagination. This had happened in most nations before History began to be cultivated; the first profane histories then must necessarily have been fabulous, and the periods at which it becomes possible to distinguish truth amidst the clouds of fable are very different in different countries.

History.

We begin with the History of Egypt, because we have in the sacred Scriptures the earliest and plainest account of its ancient state. Moses, the great Historian, to whom we owe those statements, was himself a native of that country; he was versed in all its learning, and he delivered his narrative to a people who had sojourned there (they and their ancestors) for many generations. The books of Moses are, moreover, the earliest specimens of alphabetic writing now extant, having been completed in the year before Christ, 1451, or nearly a thousand years previous to the birth of Herodotus, the father of Grecian History. From these most ancient historical records, we learn that the early name of Egypt was *Misraim*, which some suppose to have been derived from the second son of Noah: others, considering that *Misraim* is a word of dual termination, which they derive from *Masor*, a fortress, hold, that *Misraim* meant the two Egypts, upper and lower, and that the son of Ham was meant to be designated as the common ancestor of the inhabitants of both countries. It is not the province of the historian to discriminate between these conjectural explanations of the sacred text, any more than it is to endeavour to ascertain the limits of Egypt at the time it is first noticed by Moses. It is however necessary that we should adopt some rule for fixing the date of that and other events, not absolutely, but with reference to the present state of chronological information; and therefore we shall follow, on this and all other occasions, the Hebrew text as the more generally received. According to this text, Abraham went down into Egypt with a large retinue, in the year before Christ 1920, on account of a famine prevailing in the land of Canaan. It would seem, therefore, that the former country was at this period in a state of high cultivation, whereas the life of the Hebrew Patriarch was pastoral. In the time of Abraham, Egypt was a monarchy, governed by a king, who bore the name or title of Pharaoh; but no other circumstances, relative either to its religious or political state, appear with any clearness after a lapse of nearly 200 years, (viz. a. c. 1728.) We find merchants from Gilead trading with camels loaded with spices and drugs, who carry down Joseph and sell him as a slave to an officer of the king of Egypt, which king, like his predecessor, also bore the name of Pharaoh. Potiphar, the officer in question, was chief of the executioners of justice, or grand marshal of the kingdom; and it appears that Pharaoh had, among other principal officers, a chief butler, and a chief baker: these circumstances mark a considerable advance in the political institutions of the Egyptian monarchy; but it is to be remembered, that the period here spoken of was 620 years after the general deluge, a period of time within which it is easy to conceive that men may have been led, in situations as favourable as that of Egypt, to unite in society, to dispose themselves into ranks and orders, to pass laws, to build cities, to coin money, and to exhibit all those political phenomena which occur in the history of Joseph. This History shews that there was then a class of men in Egypt who professed supernatural arts, such as the interpretation of dreams, and it would seem that they were the priests; but what were their religious ceremonies or doctrines we do not learn. It is clear, however, that they possessed a portion of the lands, and that the rest were held in absolute property by the private occupiers, until by the procurement of Joseph, the paramount, or as we should say, the allodial property of the whole was transferred to the king, who, however, made no other use of that right than to place the former occupiers in the state of tenants *in capite*, (to speak the language of the feudal law,) bound, not indeed to military service, but to the payment of a

rent, or land-tax, of one-fifth of the produce, which Moses distinctly says, continued to be the law of Egypt down to his time. Among the arts in use in Egypt at that time, we find particular notice of embalment, and that it was practised by a class of men called, in our translation, "Physicians." The word, however, in the Septuagint is *εὐσεβιστῆς*, which implies solely a person employed in preserving or anointing bodies. For the learned Beza observes, that the verbs, or *ἐτάφη*, to bury, and *ἐνέθαλει*, to anoint for the funeral, are entirely distinct in signification. We find notice too of the use of chariots and waggons, vestures of fine linen, rings, gold chains, silver cups, and other traces of great civilization and opulence. And among their customs, we observe, that though they themselves possessed herds of cattle, yet the attendance on them was thought so servile as to be held an abomination; and probably for this reason the Egyptians also held it an abomination to eat with Joseph's brethren, who were by profession shepherds, and who, on that account, were planted as a colony apart from the natives, in the land of Goshen. In this situation the Hebrews, the descendants of Joseph's family, remained for 215 years, during which time they had multiplied exceedingly; but being considered by the Egyptians as an inferior caste, they had been grievously oppressed, employed in many laborious and servile works, and at length treated with the most horrid and revolting cruelty: nor will this circumstance appear surprising to those who are aware of the unnatural and brutal manner in which the despised caste of *Pariahs* are treated in India; nay, we wish we could not say that there are some civilised Europeans, who, to this day, think and speak of their fellow beings with the same unchristian arrogance; because they have had the misfortune to be born in slavery, and to inherit from their ancestors a sable complexion.

Man, proud man,
Drest in a little brief authority,
Plays such fantastic tricks before high Heaven
As make the angels weep.

Among other labours of the Israelites were the building of certain strong places, or "Treasure cities," as our translation has it, two of which are named in our Bible, viz. Pitham, or Heroopolis, and Raamses, or Goshen; but the Septuagint adds a third, viz. "On, which is Heliopolis." It is remarkable that there is no hint whatever in the Scriptures of the construction of the pyramids, which could therefore hardly have been effected by the labour of the Israelites, as has been supposed by some persons; but, on the contrary, would seem more probably to have been built subsequently to their quitting Egypt. For a similar reason we should be inclined to refer hieroglyphic writing, which we consider to be only a sort of mysterious cypher invented by the priests, to an origin later than the alphabetic writing of Moses. It is no part of our present object to pursue the History of the Israelites, further than as it is connected with that of Egypt. The name of Pharaoh was given to the kings of Egypt at the time of the return of the Jews from that country: and there were still among the Egyptians men who professed to exercise supernatural arts, and whose impostures appear to have been of greater variety than those mentioned at an early period. Five hundred and twenty years elapsed before the Jewish historians had again occasion to speak of Egypt; but in the year before Christ 971, Shishak, king of Egypt, invaded Judea, took Jerusalem, and carried off the riches of the temple and the palace. Again, 360 years afterwards, (viz. a. c. 610,) Pharaoh Necho, king of Egypt, being engaged in war against the Assyrian monarch, with whom Josiah, king of Judah, was allied, overcame, and killed the latter, and afterwards exacted a tribute from the Jews, which was not of long continuance, because "The king of Babylon took from the river of Egypt unto the river Euphrates, all that pertained to the king of Egypt." From these slight and incidental notices of the affairs of Egypt, we obtain little particular information, except that the forces of Shishak were numerous, and that he was assisted by auxiliary or dependent powers. "He came up against Jerusalem with 1200 chariots and 60,000 horsemen; and the people were without number that came with him out of Egypt; the Lubims, the Sukkims, and the Ethiopians."

History.

But we now come to authorities of a very different kind; and we must not be surprised to find a relation of very different events. These are chiefly to be found in the works of HERODOTUS and DIONORUS SICULUS, both foreigners, both deriving their information from the very class of men most likely to deceive, and most interested to deceive; both living at a time very far remote indeed from the events of which they speak; and what is most observable, differing to such a degree, that it is utterly impossible to reconcile their statements. HERODOTUS was born in the year B. C. 484, that is, as we have before observed, nearly 1000 years after the death of Moses. DIONORUS SICULUS was in all probability alive at, or a very few years prior to, the commencement of the Christian era. Both these historians visited Egypt. Diodorus fixes the time that he was there, in the 180th Olympiad, viz. between the years 54 and 58 before Christ. They relate the Egyptian History, not as a narrative to which they attach credit, but as information communicated to them by the priests of that country from tradition, and from the annals written in the sacred and hieroglyphical characters. From similar materials Manetho, who lived between the time of Herodotus and that of Diodorus, composed a History of Egypt, now lost; but from which we possess the lists of the sovereigns, who, as he pretends, reigned over Egypt. Manetho was high priest of Heliopolis in the time of Ptolemy Philadelphus, about 280 years before Christ: and that enlightened sovereign, who caused the sacred Scriptures of the Jews to be translated into Greek, engaged Manetho to write, in the same language, an account of the affairs of Egypt. The work was divided into three volumes, the first, containing eleven dynasties, besides the gods and heroes; the second, eight dynasties; the third, twelve; and the whole extending over a space not less than 53,535 years! These dynasties are preserved by different authors; but with considerable varieties of transcription. They are referred to by Josephus; they are epitomised by Julius Africanus; and from him, by Eusebius and Georgius Syncellus; the two latter of whom refer also to an ancient Egyptian chronicle which, probably, was only another mutilated abstract from Manetho. Until very lately, these extravagant calculations set all explanation at defiance; but the recent discoveries which have been made in the fabulous History of India, seem to throw considerable light on the construction of the narrative, as well as the doctrinal part, of the Egyptian traditions. We are assured by all those who have profoundly examined the Hindù Mythology, that the fundamental doctrine of its most recondite mysteries, is the belief in ONE GOD the creator and preserver of all things: such Jamblichus asserts to be the belief of the Egyptians, and such appears to be the case from the inscription mentioned by Plutarch, as existing in an Egyptian temple, "I AM ALL THAT HAS BEEN, IS, AND EVER SHALL BE:" expressions which forcibly bring to mind the 14th verse of the 3d chapter of Exodus, "Aod God said unto Moses, I AM THAT I AM: and he said, thus shalt thou say unto the children of Israel, I AM hath sent me unto you." But when those who had to preach this high mysterious truth, either perceived it grossly themselves, or wished to familiarise it to the gross conceptions of their hearers, when they personified the sun, and the moon, and the stars, as emanations of the divinity, as gods and sons of gods; they began narrowly to observe the movements of those great bodies, and discovered various periods of time during which each, as it were, reigned in some part of the heavens. It was an easy transition to place these celestial sovereigns on earthly thrones: it was a simple operation to compute their courses backwards, and to accumulate reign on reign, and dynasty on dynasty, until the fabulous history of the globe far outstripped its real existence. As astronomy first introduced this corruption into History, so astronomy will, probably, hereafter afford a solution of all the difficulties which it presents. Every nation which adopted the system of these fabulous sovereignties, placed their seat within its own territory; and as Idriss is said, by the Braminos, to have reigned in India, so Osiris (who is probably the same personage) is placed by Manetho among the divine sovereigns of Egypt. Before we enter upon the fancied exploits of the seven gods and nine demi-gods who form this list, or indeed before we take any notice of the early mortal dynasties, we shall at once come down to a point where we think it possible to reconcile all

the profane historians with the sacred; and to reason on their concurrent testimony with tolerable confidence. This point is the dynasty of Phœnician shepherd-kings, which, according to Africanus, is the 15th; and according to Eusebius, the 17th in Manetho's list. We conceive that there is strong reason to consider the Phœnician shepherds to be no other than the Jews, who were in fact a pastoral nation, from the neighbourhood of Phœnicia; and of whom the first chief was Joseph, probably, the *Saïtes* of Manetho, and certainly governor, under Pharaoh, of all Egypt. His family and descendants possessed the land of Goshen; they were an abomination to the Egyptians; the priests in particular must have had cause to hate them, and to misrepresent their conduct. The shepherd-kings, or king-shepherds, are accordingly described in the Egyptian accounts, as having been the oppressors instead of the oppressed. Their establishment in Egypt is said to have lasted 259 years, which is only 22 years more than the time calculated to have elapsed, from the time that Joseph was sold into Egypt to the Exodus of the Israelites out of that country. The chief sent of the shepherd-kings is said to be Avaris, which is considered to be the same as Raamses, one of the cities built or fortified for the Egyptian monarch by the Israelites. The shepherds are said to have retired in a body from Egypt, to the number of 240,000, by the way of the desert; to have entered Syria, and there to have built Jerusalem. We must always remember that this is the earliest account which we have of this event, except the narrative of Moses; that it was written about twelve hundred years after it happened; and that during all that time the traditions and records relating to it had been in the hands of men, who, as they had certainly corrupted religion in a very great degree, may well be conceived to have taken similar liberty with History. Though Diodorus Siculus was no stranger to the work of Manetho, he says nothing of a dynasty of shepherd-kings, but states the departure of the Israelites from Egypt as follows: "A plague having broken out in Egypt, many persons attributed the cause of the evil to the anger of the Divinity; for there were many strangers there from all parts, who used foreign rites in the sacred ministries and sacrifices, whence it came to pass that the ancient honours of the gods fell into neglect: and the original inhabitants began to fear, that unless they removed from among them the foreigners, they should never be relieved from their afflictions. The men of other nations therefore were expelled: and of these the noblest and bravest, under the guidance of Danaus, Cadmus, and other celebrated leaders, came into Greece and the parts adjacent; but the more numerous body were driven out into Judæa, a country adjoining to Egypt, but at that time wholly deserted. The leader of this colony was named Moses, a man of excellent wisdom and fortitude; who occupying that region built there many cities, and particularly the most celebrated of all, Jerusalem, with its temple." He goes on to say, that Moses instituted laws and religious ceremonies; taught the Unity of God; forbade images of the Divinity; and divided the people into twelve tribes; set apart a class of men for the priesthood; and established customs and modes of life different from those of all other nations, in order to keep his people separate and distinct: and in another passage he says that Moses pretended to be inspired by the God *Jaoh*. Justin, the abreviator of Troguus, in the age of Antoninus Pius, speaks still more particularly of Joseph's being sold into Egypt, and of Moses leading out the Israelites; mixing some fables with the truth, but plainly shewing that he, as well as Diodorus, had obtained some knowledge of the Jewish records.

We may then assume, that the expulsion of the Jews from Egypt is a fact sufficiently clear; and that, at the period when it happened, the Egyptian monarchy must have been considerably powerful, and considerably advanced in arts and civil policy. If we are right, in considering the shepherd-kings to be no other than the Israelites, we shall be much inclined to hold that all that is recorded by Herodotus and Diodorus Siculus, prior to the reign of Amasis, is to be treated as little better than mere fable. Amasis is found in the tables of Manetho, as succeeding the Phœnician and Grecian shepherds: and we have seen, that Diodorus assigns the same date to the emigrations of the Jewish and Grecian colonists, and attributes them to the same cause. It is easily to be believed, that the jealousy which operated against the increased numbers of the Jews, may have

History.

Shepherd-kings.

Expulsion of the Jews.

History.

led the Egyptians to expel other tribes; and it is remarkable, that the best chronologists place the arrival of Cecrops, Cadmus, and Danaus, with their respective followers, in different parts of Greece, much about this time; the earliest being only sixty-five years before, and the latest only six years after the departure of the Israelites. The foundation of Troy is also placed within nine years of the latter event; and it is quite certain, that the mythology, arts, and letters, both of the Trojans and Grecians, were of Egyptian origin. Justin mentions, as the reason for expelling the Jews, that they were infected with the plague; thus agreeing both with Scripture, and with Diodorus, in the fact of a plague having existed at this time in Egypt. He adds, that Moses, by stealth, carried away the sacred things of the Egyptians, and that the latter, seeking to recover them by force of arms, were driven back homeward by tempests; a mode of relating the scriptural story, which approaches as near to the truth as national pride would permit an Egyptian to record it. Tatian, Justin the Martyr, Clemens of Alexandria, and other ancient writers, as well as some moderns, have considered the expulsion of the shepherd-kings, and that of the Israelites, to be the same event: and, if we reject this supposition, in what way shall we be better able to reconcile truth with fable, or obscure and partial tradition with real history? It is either the voluntary falsehood of men, or their ignorance, which corrupts the truth: and the account of the shepherd-kings has been affected by both causes. The priests, who were the sole depositories of learning among the Egyptians, were interested to falsify the history of this great event. To the pride, which in all ages renders nations unwilling to acknowledge inferiority, were added the superstitious horror with which they must have viewed the contempt shewn to their idolatrous rites and ceremonies by the Jewish nation, and the strong interest which they had to maintain in the minds of the people at large, an antipathy toward the opponents of idolatry. The grounds of error and misconception must have accumulated to a great height by the time of Herodotus, and still more in subsequent ages. In another part of this work, some reasons will be adduced to prove, that alphabetic writing was early known to the Egyptians; that the first letters were called *acred*; and a subsequent set were denominated *common*; that the mythological fables were recorded in the former, which were only intelligible to the priests; and that these persons, for still greater concealment, afterwards adopted the Ethiopian symbols called *hieroglyphics*. Thus did those, who were for many ages the only historians of Egypt, adopt methods which tended more and more to involve their narratives in obscurity. Add to this, that though the sacerdotal caste was one and the same all over Egypt, every city, and almost every temple came, in process of time, to have its peculiar superstitions, which were carried to such a length, that every animal, and even some vegetables, had their worshippers; many of whom took up the quarrels of their respective divinities, so that the votaries of the ibis actually waged war against those of the crocodile. It is easily to be conceived, that this produced a similar conflict of traditions, each priest contending as strenuously for the authenticity of his legend as his senseless hearers did for the sanctity of their oaths and their omens. Finally, it is to be observed, that the nation itself was manifestly made up of many different tribes; the sovereigns of which were, at different periods, established at *This*, at *Memphis*, at *Elephantis*, at *Heracleopolis*, at *Diospolis*, at *Tanis*, at *Bubastis*, &c.; whence arose wars and revolutions, and that confusion of names and dates which was their necessary consequence. Amidst so many causes of obscurity and contradiction, Manetho appears to have given an account of the origin of the Jewish nation more nearly approaching the truth than might have been expected, when we consider that he lived 1200 years after the time of which he speaks. We have next to enquire in what part of the Egyptian History, as delivered by Herodotus, this great event is to be placed, since neither he nor Diodorus makes any mention of shepherd-kings; nor do these writers pretend to name all the sovereigns who reigned in Egypt. It must clearly have happened prior to the reign of *Proteus*, whom both Herodotus and Diodorus state to have lived during the Trojan war; that is to say, from the year a. c. 1193 to 1184. Now it is somewhat remarkable, that th-

table of Egyptian kings immediately succeeding the shepherds as cited by Josephus, from Manetho, makes up three hundred and nine years and five months, to the beginning of the reign of *Amenophis*, the last prince in this series. If, therefore, the shepherds were identical with the Israelites who left Egypt in 1491, *Amenophis* must have begun to reign in the year B. C. 1183, and consequently, if the dates be accurate, his predecessor, *Harmesses Miamun*, must have been the Proteus in question. The series cited by Josephus, agrees very nearly with the 18th dynasty of Manetho, as cited, with some slight variations, by Africanus and Eusebius. We shall therefore exhibit a comparative table of the three lists together, affixing to them the dates to which they belong on the above hypothesis:—

B. C.	Josephus.	Africanus.	Eusebius.
—	<i>Haliaphragnuthosis</i>		
1491.	<i>Tethmosis</i>	<i>Tethmosis</i>	<i>Amosis</i> .
1465.	<i>Chebron</i>	<i>Chebron</i>	<i>Chebron</i> .
1452.	<i>Amenophis</i>	<i>Amenophthis</i>	<i>Aumenophis</i> .
1432.	<i>Amesses</i> (a woman)	<i>Amesis</i>	
1412.	<i>Mephres</i>	<i>Misaphris</i>	<i>Miphris</i> .
1399.	<i>Mephramuthosis</i> ..	<i>Misphragmuthosis</i> ..	<i>Misphragmuthosis</i> .
1377.	<i>Thumosis</i>	<i>Tuthmosis</i>	<i>Tuthmosis</i> .
1368.	<i>Amenophis</i>	<i>Amenophis</i>	<i>Amenophis</i> .
1337.	<i>Orus</i>	<i>Horus</i>	<i>Horus</i> .
1300.	<i>Acenchres</i>	<i>Acherres</i>	<i>Achenceres</i> .
1288.	<i>Rathosis</i>	<i>Rathos</i>	<i>Athoris</i> .
1279.	<i>Acencheres</i>	<i>Chehres</i>	<i>Cencheres</i> .
1267.	<i>Acencheres</i>	<i>Acherres</i>	<i>Acherres</i> .
1255.	<i>Armais</i>	<i>Arneses</i>	<i>Arnes</i> .
1251.	<i>Ramesses</i>	<i>Rammesses</i>	
1249.	<i>Harmesses Miamun</i>		<i>Ammesses</i> .
1183.	<i>Amenophis</i>	<i>Amenoph</i>	<i>Memophis</i> .

In the table given by Syncellus, the kings from 33 to 48, both inclusive, nearly agree with the above lists; and we should therefore conclude, that all these statements were of common origin, and related to a dynasty which reigned at Diospolis between the periods of the expulsion of the Israelites and the siege of Troy.

It remains to be seen what light Herodotus and Diodorus throw on the ages before Proteus. Now, with the exception of Amasis, (probably the same as Amosis or Tethmosis,) neither of them mentions any one of the names in the above list. Herodotus mentions only Menes, Nitocris, Meris, Sesostris, and Pheron. Diodorus names Menes, Busiris the First, Busiris the Second, Osymandyas, Uchoreus, Myris, Sesosis the First, Sesosis the Second, Amasis, Actisanes, and Mendes; but they both agree that there were many intervening generations, and they both assign to the era of Menes or Menas, a very remote and incredible antiquity. This personage, they say, was the first mortal who reigned in Egypt. In like manner Menu is said to be the first lawgiver of India. Eratosthenes, who, in the time of Ptolemy Evergetes, gave a series of Egyptian kings, also begins with Menes, and such too is the beginning of the first dynasty, according to Manetho. Menes, in all the Egyptian genealogies, immediately succeeded the gods and demi-gods who reigned in that country. A very slight notice of these celestial sovereigns will suffice. Authors are agreed neither on their imaginary dates, nor on their descents, nor even on their exploits. Herodotus says, that there were eight great gods, from whom were produced twelve minor gods; that from Hercules there elapsed 17,000 years to the time of Amasis; and from Bacchus 15,000. In another place he

Ages before Proteus.

History. says, that from the first mortal king to Sethon, (who was contemporary with Sennacherib,) there had been 341 generations of kings, which he calculates to amount in all to 11,340 years: but he observes that the Grecian deities of the same name were believed to have lived much later, viz. Bacchus 1600 years, Hercules 900, and Pan 800, before his own time; a remark which alone would suffice to shew the utter confusion in which all the mythological fables were involved. Herodotus says, that *Menas* first confined the Nile by banks to the middle of the valley, and on the ground thus rescued from the water, built the city of Memphis. He was succeeded by 330 sovereigns, of whom 18 were Ethiopians, and one, *Nitocris*, was a woman. None of these monarchs, says he, were distinguished by any act of magnificence or renown, except *Mæris*, who erected some pyramids. Surely a more meagre account of the lapse of a thousand years cannot well be imagined! Diodorus says, that the gods and demi-gods reigned in Egypt near 18,000 years, and the mortals near 15,000; and that of the latter there were 470 native kings and five queens, besides the Persians, Macedonians, and other foreigners in latter times. *Menas*, he says, introduced luxury; he was succeeded by 52 descendants who did nothing memorable. Then came the first *Busiris*, whose eighth successor, of the same name, built Thebes, otherwise called the greater Diospolis. What time elapsed between this king and *Osymandyas*, the historian does not say; but he asserts that *Osymandyas* led an army of 400,000 foot, and 20,000 horse against the Bactrians, who, it seems, had some time before become tributary to Egypt, but had thought fit to revolt. How this march of near 2000 miles, to a country lying beyond the north of India, was effected, it would be vain to ask. Seven descendants of *Osymandyas* are passed over in silence to come to *Uchoreus*, the founder of Memphis, to which place succeeding kings repaired, abandoning Thebes, the former capital of the kingdom. The twelfth king, from *Uchoreus*, was *Myris*, who dug the lake of *Mæris* to carry off the superfluous waters of the Nile, and built two pyramids. Reckoning the generations, as Herodotus does, at the rate of three to every hundred years, we shall find the period between *Menas* and the last *Busiris* to be 2066 years; and that between *Osymandyas* and *Myris*, 699. It is needless to say that these dates are perfectly imaginary. If Egypt had possessed a high degree of civilisation, and had spread her conquests so far at so early a period, she must have civilised the whole world several thousand years ago; her own histories would have shewn the steps she took to acquire power and to diffuse knowledge; and those histories would have been corroborated by the records of all those numerous countries which must have been subject to her sway. Not one of these circumstances took place; and the Egyptians, with their vast pretensions to extensive conquest, remained to the last in ignorance even of the sources of the river whose banks they inhabited. The warlike exploits of *Osymandyas*, however, and the peaceful arts of *Mæris* were alike eclipsed by the celebrated *Sesostris*, or, as Diodorus calls him, *Sesoosis*. Herodotus simply says he lived after the monarchs, whom he had before mentioned; but Diodorus states, that seven generations intervened between him and *Myris*. In a future essay the exploits of *Sesostris* will be set forth more at large. Suffice it here to say, that he appears to have been the chosen hero of Egyptian fable, as Arthur was of the Armorican legends; Fingal, of the Gaelic songs; and Charlemagne, of the old French and Italian Romances. It is probable that some such person once lived, but when, it would be difficult to say. It is equally probable that he, in some manner or other, distinguished himself, particularly by liberality to the priests, a virtue which in their eyes would include all the others. If we were to indulge in any one hypothesis rather than another, we should say he was the Pharaoh, who, by the counsel of Joseph, first divided the lands among his subjects, reserving to himself an annual rent. "The priests," says Herodotus, "informed me that *Sesostris* made a regular distribution of the lands of Egypt. He assigned to each Egyptian a square piece of ground: and his revenues were drawn from the rent which each individual annually paid him." It will be remembered that the Pharaoh in question spared the lands of the priests, and fed them during the famine. Whether this monarch possessed any of the military talents so liberally bestowed on *Sesostris* we know not; but if not he

Osyman-
dyas

would not be a solitary instance of a Sovereign praised for qualities to which he was an entire stranger. As to some of the exploits related of this wonderful Sovereign, nothing can be more extravagant. Herodotus makes him conquer the Scythians and Thracians, to whom Diodorus, five hundred years afterwards, gratuitously adds India on both sides of the Ganges! The latter writer, however, ingenuously confesses, that the Egyptian Priests themselves did not agree in the tales which they related of this their hero. Only nine years are allowed for his distant expeditions, and decisive victories, and all the conquered nations are represented as bringing tribute to Egypt; but yet we, somewhat incoherently, find the great conqueror afterwards busied in building a wall to defend Egypt itself from the incursions of its nearest neighbours, the Syrians, and Arabians. It needs no serious argument to show, that much of the History of Sesostris is romance. The Egyptians, at various periods of their history, certainly spread their conquests as far as Jerusalem one way, and perhaps into Lybia and Ethiopia in other directions; but that they ever went much further, still less that they penetrated to Bactria and India there is not the slightest reason to believe: and though Herodotus speaks of pillars and statues erected in various parts of the world by Sesostris to commemorate his victories, the only one which he says he saw was in Palestine, and even of that he very probably may have misunderstood the inscription, which, he says, was in the sacred characters of Egypt.

Sesostris is said to have been succeeded by a son, whom Herodotus calls *Pheron*, but who, Diodorus says, took the name of his father. However, of him there is recorded nothing but an idle tale of the mode in which he was cured of blindness. Herodotus makes this Prince the immediate predecessor of *Proteus*; but Diodorus says he had a great number of successors who performed nothing worthy of note; and that it was not until many generations afterwards, that he was succeeded by *Anaxis*, who, for his tyranny, was dethroned by *Actisanes*, the Ethiopian; after whose death the Egyptians chose as King one of their countrymen named *Mendes*, who built the celebrated Labyrinth. After *Mendes*, he adds, there was no Sovereign in Egypt for five generations of men, (166 years,) and then the *Proteus* above mentioned, was elected King.

Such are, in brief, the inconsistent accounts of the two great Grecian historians. They only prove that the affairs of Egypt, prior to the Trojan war, were involved in impenetrable obscurity; and that of the few incidents related concerning those ages, those only which have some relation, more or less direct, to the narrative in the Bible, deserve the slightest attention. It is obvious that the Egyptian accounts set out in fable and falsehood. Manetho's enumeration of the divine Sovereigns, differs from the statement of Herodotus, inasmuch as the former inserts only seven Gods and nine Demi-gods in his list; but in neither historian can we suppose a sudden transition from truth to falsehood. What should all at once convert the fabling narrator of the reign of *Bacchus*, into the veracious annalist of the life of *Menes*? Besides the mere circumstance, that such vast and unaccountable chasms exist in the history is conclusive against it. It has never yet been found, at least since the human race was renewed after the Deluge, that many centuries have passed away without producing some events worthy of commemoration: and they who could record the trivial story of *Pheron*, would surely have found something worthy of notice in the thousand years which are said to have elapsed from *Menes* to *Nitocris*. The most extraordinary monuments of Egyptian power and industry, were the Pyramids; and those who carried back into a distant antiquity the actions of their Sovereigns, were likely to give a similar origin to these extraordinary structures. Accordingly we find some of them attributed to *Mæris*; but as Diodorus expressly assigns to many of them a date subsequent to the time of *Proteus*, we have little reason to doubt but that they were all built long after the Israelites quitted Egypt. The denomination given to them has received various explanations; but the most plausible is that which derives them from *Piramis*, a word applied, as Herodotus asserts, to the mortal Sovereigns of Egypt. This word, he says, signifies good, or virtuous; which may probably have been the original meaning of *Pharaoh*. The supposed antiquity of the pyramids, and of the

History. inscriptions on the obeliaks, have given occasion to a belief that the Egyptians had made great progress in the arts several thousand years ago; but the grounds of this reasoning being taken away, by the preceding observations, we remain exactly where the scriptural accounts left us on this subject; that is to say, we find that Egypt was a Monarchy, in the time of Abraham; and that it had made still further advances in civilisation, in the course of the three following generations. But what was the extent of the first Egyptian Monarchy; and where was its seat? These are questions which it is absolutely impossible to answer, in the present state of historical knowledge. It seems probable that Upper Egypt was inhabited before the low country, and consequently that Thebes was a Royal seat before Memphis; which, as Herodotus observes, was only secured by artificial banks from the ravages of the Nile. It is reasonable to suppose that men first stationed themselves in the part of the country least liable to inundation; and afterwards descended the stream to cultivate the richer alluvial soil. The whole country was probably divided into petty Sovereignities, until either the King of Thebes, or of Memphis, was sufficiently powerful to extend his dominion from the cataracts to the sea. Among other actions of Sesostris, is an uncertain account of his having founded a colony at Colchis, which seems to have arisen out of a mere conjecture on the part of Herodotus. So little, in general, were the Egyptians disposed either to colonize or to make conquests in distant parts of the world, that all their most important institutions appear to have been framed with a view to attach the inhabitants to the soil. Before the time of Joseph it was not probable, we might almost say it was impossible, that they should ever have sent out large armies. In his time, they were an agricultural people; the Priests were proprietors of a considerable portion of the lands: and we find the King possessing himself of a fixed revenue in the form of a land-rent. According to Herodotus, the soldiery were, at a subsequent period, paid in land. In short, agriculture was the chief object and support of all their institutions: nor did they merely cultivate corn, but other esculent vegetables, in great abundance. Commerce does not appear to have engaged their attention, except as receiving what was brought to them from abroad; nor do we find them engaging in maritime concerns, although lying upon two seas. The cultivation and improvement of their own country, however, required a knowledge of various studies; and they were skilled in land-measurement, in the arts of forming dykes and embankments, in those of making bricks, of building houses, of weaving linen, of working in gold and silver, and of coining money: and where all these arts are known to be practised, the existence of many others may be with certainty inferred. In particular we may reasonably believe that some mode of communicating thought, by written language, existed in Egypt at the period of which we now speak: yet even this inference is not quite irresistible: since the Mexicans and Peruvians had attained nearly as great a degree of civilisation, without the use of letters. It is remarkable that we find several customs in Egypt, the origin of which is not given by their own writers; but which appear to refer to events commemorated in Sacred History. The instance of circumcision is a remarkable one. Palladius asserts, on the authority of some Grecian authors, that the Egyptians used annually to make experiments on the different kinds of seeds, placing them, for a certain number of days, in a moist situation, until the rising of the dog-star, when they judged from their dryness or humidity, what species were likely to be plentiful and what scarce in the course of the next season. This custom may not improbably have originated in the predictions of Joseph. The prohibition of feeding on unclean animals, common to them with the Jews, whether a matter of divine or human origin, was evidently conducive, as all divine laws must be, and as all human laws are intended to be, to the welfare of the people on whom it was imposed: different kinds of animal food were more or less apt to generate the leprosy, a disorder to which Egypt has always been peculiarly liable, and with which many of the Israelites might have been tainted when they left that country. The Egyptian leprosy has been observed to be hereditary, at least to the third or fourth generation: and it is possible that this circumstance may have been what was particularly alluded to in the menace, held out in the second Commandment, against that idolatry, to which Egypt was peculiarly addicted. What

First inhabitants.

Arts.

we find respecting the early customs of the Egyptians, in the Greek writers, is not at all to be relied on. Diodorus Siculus presents us with a sort of romance evidently meant to picture out the ideal perfectibility of a government in which the Priests were to direct every thing by their counsels; but it would be as reasonable to consider Sir Thomas More's *Utopia*, or Fenelon's *Telemachus*, a true history, as this account a just description. The most accurate notions on this subject may be formed by considering the laws, delivered by Moses to the Jews, which in numberless instances must have been directed to wean them from the influence of that evil example which they had received in Egypt, their house of bondage as a nation, but the scene of sensuality, and consequent object of regret, to many of them as individuals.

From Egypt we turn our views at once to India, a country similar to Egypt in its pretensions to an incredible antiquity, in the principal features of its early fables, in the prevalence of an idolatry shocking to reason, and in the division of castes which contributed to perpetuate all its abuses, moral and political. Of India we obtain from Herodotus little, if any, information: he had in fact never even heard of the Ganges. The first Grecian writer, who professedly treated of that country at any length, was Megasthenes, who wrote about the year B. C. 300, but whose work is lost. The earliest classical writers extant on the affairs of India are *Diodorus Siculus* and *Strabo*, about the commencement of the Christian era; *Curtius* and *Pliny* in the first century, and *Arrian* in the second. In Sacred History we find India mentioned rather as a boundary of the dominion of Ahasuerus, than as a country at that time much known; and this occurs in the Book of Esther, which is supposed to have been written about, or somewhat before the time of Herodotus. Modern times have opened to us a vast fund of historical knowledge in the books of the Indians themselves, as well as of their neighbours the Persians; but what degree of antiquity should be attributed to these records is a question of very considerable obscurity. Those which are considered to be the most ancient are written in a dialect and character called the *Sanscrit*, which has no doubt ceased to be a living language in India for many centuries; but there is great reason to believe that many of them are fabrications of much later date than they purport to bear: and the very anxiety of Europeans to procure a sight of these curious volumes has probably encouraged the Indians to practise frauds of this nature to a great extent. Fabrications of Sanscrit works are the more easy, inasmuch as the originals are in the exclusive keeping of the *Brahmins* or Priests, who were alone capable of decyphering them, until lately, when a very few Europeans succeeded in obtaining a knowledge of the Sanscrit language. The most ancient of these books are the four Vedas, which do not appear to have been yet perused by any Europeans; and which are said to be written in a style which had already become obsolete when the *Puranas* were composed, of which latter there are many, explanatory of the sacred doctrines and traditions of the Indians. There are also some historical and mythological Poems, particularly the *Mahabharat* and the *Ramayana*, which have been in part translated into English. Some of the Mohammedan Sovereigns of India also procured translations to be made of the early Indian Histories. When the celebrated Akbar led his troops into Cashmere, about A. D. 1555, the natives presented him with a Sanscrit book, entitled *Raj-Turungee*, containing the History of their Princes for more than 4000 years. It set out with the account of an foundation of the whole country, except the mountains. When the waters had subsided, says this history, *Kushup* brought the Brahmins to inhabit Cashmeer. After a time they elected a King, whose successors continued to reign uninterruptedly until the time of Owgnund, who was killed in battle. This, however, is a very moderate specimen of the length of time over which most of their annals extend. They commonly begin with mythological fables of the successive revolutions of the globe, which are reckoned by millions of years, and thence gradually descend to something like the common and natural estimate of human generations; still with such uncertainty in the early stages, that it is extremely difficult to find any on which the least reliance can be placed.

We shall therefore not commence with any of these records, of which the date and the contents

History.

are so extremely obscure, but shall proceed in the first place to consider what may be collected of the ancient state of India, from Diodorus Siculus, Strabo, &c.; and shall then endeavour to correct and enlarge this view by a reference to what has been learnt in more modern times. That there never was any great expedition from the western parts of the world into India before the time of Alexander, still less any extension of the Indian dominion over any part of Europe or Africa, is reasonably to be inferred from this, that Alexander's incursion, short as it was, formed an era in Geography, and opened to the Europeans a knowledge of India, which has ever since been increasing. Megasthenes, whose History of India is cited by Strabo, obtained all his information from that source.

Diodorus Siculus.

Diodorus Siculus from this and subsequent authorities, had collected a very accurate knowledge of India; and it is remarkable how similar the portrait which he draws of Indian manners and habits, is to those which prevail at the present moment. He says, that according to the accounts of the Indians themselves, the *aborigines* of that country were a half barbarous people, living dispersed in villages, when Bacchus invaded it from the West, and introduced arts and civilisation. That Bacchus then established a Sovereignty; which, at his death, he left to his sons, who reigned there in like manner, and were succeeded by their descendants for several generations, until at length Monarchy was abolished, and a popular government adopted in most parts of India, though some districts retained Royalty down to the time of Alexander. In mythological story, the conquest of a country by one of the Gods, almost always signifies the introduction of his worship into that country. Now Bacchus had been previously stated by Diodorus to be the same as the Egyptian Osiris, and the Egyptians represented Osiris to have made an expedition first into Ethiopia, and afterwards into India; from all which fables we may gather that the worship of Osiris, or Bacchus, was communicated from Egypt to India, as we have before seen that it was to Greece. It would be extremely difficult to assign, with any probability, an exact date to this event; but it seems most likely to have been after the invention of alphabetic writing, and before the introduction of hieroglyphics from Ethiopia into Egypt; because we do not find in India the latter to have ever existed; whereas there is an alphabet which may not improbably have been formed from the sacred letters of the Egyptians. Again, this event must have taken place before the Egyptians had so much multiplied the worship of animals, as they did in the later ages of their idolatry. We find the worship of the cow in India, agreeing with that of the sacred bull of Memphis; but there is no trace of any divine honours having ever been paid in India to cats or dogs, much less to onions or other vegetables. The idolatry of the Indians appears to have taken a different direction. They multiplied their Deities, not in the figures of breasts and fishes, but of men and women, sometimes of monstrous shapes, as when they placed the head of an elephant on the body of Ganesa to imply wisdom, or gave Carticeya a number of hands as significant of strength; but more frequently these divinities were distinguished merely by some peculiar mark or attribute. The *Lotus*, or water lily, is among these, and has been supposed by some writers to allude to the ark; but it must be remembered that the Egyptians in very early times made of the lotus a sweetish bread, so that this flower was as natural a type of plenty amongst them as ears of wheat became afterwards in Greece. Osiris is said by Diodorus to be the sun; and in India the sun is worshipped under the name of Iswara, which seems to be a word of the same origin. The expedition of Osiris too, having in his train a number of Ethiopian Satyrs, seems to bear a great resemblance to the story of Rama, who was assisted in his expedition against the Isle of Lanka, or Ceylon, by a body of monkeys. Diodorus observes that there is much confusion among the Egyptian Deities, and the same may be said of those of India. This conformity, or rather identity, between the mythological systems of India and Egypt does not indeed determine which received its system from the other; and as Sir W. Jones observes, "It may be a material question whether the Egyptians communicated their mythology and philosophy to the Hindûs, or conversely;" but we have seen that the former is certainly traced to the time of Moses; whereas we have hitherto no

Idols.

accurate knowledge of the latter before the age of Alexander. Prior to that time, indeed, there was a vague notion among the Greeks of some communication between Ethiopia and India; but this probably arose, in part, from the circumstance that the people in both countries were literally Ethiopian, that is *black-faced*. In fact, many of the ancients believed, that the continent of India reached to Africa; as in the later ages it was thought to reach to America, whence our common expression, the West Indies, was first applied to the American Islands. What appears upon the whole most probable is, that some fugitives from Egypt, at an early period, carried arts and a mythological system from Egypt to India, where, as in Egypt, they established hereditary classes in society; the most sacred being the Priests, the next the military class, and these two having under them two others to perform the more mechanical and more laborious offices of society. We know that the sacerdotal class, among the Egyptians, was a separate one, in the time of Joseph; but there is no positive ground to believe that the military class was so, till afterwards; and as to the subordinate classes we do not find that they were ever distinguished in that country, as they have been in India into endless subdivisions; every one hereditary, and every one dedicated to the exclusive pursuit of some occupation in society. On the subject of these castes great diversity exists among the Indian books, and in the practices of different parts of India: and we may believe that at various periods they have undergone great revolutions. According to Diodorus, there were, in his time, *seven* tribes, viz. the philosophers, the husbandmen, the shepherds, the artificers, the soldiers, the overseers, and senators; but the general doctrine of the modern *Brahmins* is, that there were but *four* original castes, the *Brahmin*, or sacerdotal; *Chetteree*, or military; *Bire*, or agriculturist and traders; and *Sooder*, or labourers; but that, by a criminal deviation from the purity of the ancient law, there arose another vast multitude called *Burran Sunker*, which was produced by the illegal conjunction of persons of different castes, and which is distinguished according to the varieties of that conjunction into various tribes, or sub-castes as they may be called, differing in rank and occupation; besides all which there is an unfortunate body of men who are held in abhorrence by all, as an unclean and polluted race, called *Chandalas*, or *Pariars*. It may be observed that a fourfold distinction of society, not very dissimilar to the rude outline of the Indian system, existed at one time in Europe. The *Clergy* asserted an independence of the Laity, and a sacredness of character not unlike that of the Brahmins; they were the sole depositaries of learning, they were the Lawyers and Counsellors of the State; and by their spiritual authority they were enabled to direct all earthly power, public and domestic. The *Nobles*, were the most eminent warriors. The *Franklins* and *Burgesses* by degrees grew into consequence, as a third estate: and lastly, the *Labourers* were uniformly held in a state of villenage, or domestic slavery. To complete this picture, even the *Pariars* found a counterpart in those unhappy persons, who often for slight causes were *excommunicated* and cast out into a state of exclusion from all society. The fundamental principles of the Christian religion were not susceptible of so gross a perversion as was the Indian idolatry; and therefore the distinctions just noticed either faded away entirely, or accommodated themselves to the successive changes in the wants and habits of society. Upon the whole, therefore, we may not unreasonably infer, that the distinctions of caste took their rise in India from similar sources, as the distinction of orders in Europe, and were founded in an age of similar barbarism. We may well doubt that they ever existed in the theoretical simplicity asserted by the Brahmins, as the ancient law: and we may rather conclude that the higher castes were originally foreign Priests and conquerors, and the lower castes, the barbarous aboriginal tribes, asserted by Diodorus, to have inhabited India before the time of Bacchus. There are two great religions, or rather idolatrous systems which appear to have anciently divided India, that of Buddha and that of Brahma. It would seem that Buddha was a real personage; and as far as can now be collected, his doctrines were the less gross, and his ceremonies the less barbarous. Brahma appears to have been a mere name of the Deity from whom the Brahmins boasted their descent. Which of these two were the primary religion of India it is now difficult to ascertain. We should incline to think that the

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Castes.

Two great
sects.

History. Brahminical system was the elder; and that Buddha, revolting at the cruelty of some of its practices, formed a sect which was eventually driven out of India, and carried its doctrines to Ceylon, to China, to Tâtary, and perhaps to Scandinavia. It is not easy to say when the separation of the Buddhists from the Brahmins took place. As far as we can judge from the picture drawn by Diodorus, they were indiscriminately mixed together in his time; for he mentions some customs which belong to the one sect, and some which are peculiar to the other; but does not hint at any distinction between them.

Doctrines. The Brahmins teach a mysterious doctrine to the initiated; but to the vulgar, a system of most gross and extravagant superstition. The Deity they say is one. His mysterious unity is indicated by the word *Aum*, which they never presume to utter, but which perhaps is nothing more than the old Egyptian word *Om*, the *Snn*. The three letters A, U, and M, are said to indicate a triple nature in the Divinity, as the Creator, Preserver, and Destroyer; called *Brahma*, *Vishnu*, and *Siven*; each of whom has had various incarnations, and numerous descendants. The incarnations called *Avatars*, are all of a wild and fanciful nature: and the confusion which exists in the genealogies of these divinities, is utterly inextricable; the offspring being confounded with the parent, and the marriages, contests and other incidents being involved in endless allegory and fable. Add to this, that as various great men have at times assumed the name of the Gods, (a custom which is even now in use,) their real actions have been mixed with the fabulous exploits of the divinities, and tended greatly to increase the general confusion. We have seen that Diodorus believed the whole of India to have been anciently ruled by one Sovereign; but there is no certainty that such a state of things ever existed. Sir William Jones expresses an opinion "that in some early age the Hindûs were splendid in arts and arms, happy in government, wise in legislation, and eminent in various knowledge;" but unfortunately for this hypothesis, he adds, that "their civil history beyond the middle of the XIXth century from the present period, is involved in a cloud of fables." This being the case, we know not how it will be possible to trace amidst the obscurity the proofs of their imaginary splendour. We find here the same sources of confusion as in Egypt. Each petty Sovereignty furnishes a dynasty: and the genealogies of the different dynasties, some of which are derived from the sun and the moon, are altogether irreconcilable. The Buddhists are anathematised by the Brahmins; and among the latter the followers of Vishnu are as much at war with each other, as the Egyptians who worshipped the Ichneumon were with those who venerated the Crocodile. Sir W. Jones observes that we have four media to satisfy our curiosity respecting the ancient state of India, viz. languages, religion, antiquities, and works of science. We know not what languages the Greeks found in use when they invaded India; but the names of men and places which they mention seem to be Sanscrit; and Sir William is of opinion that the Sanscrit was introduced into India in some remote age and mixed with the pure Indian language, which he seems to think of Tâtarian origin. He attributes the introduction of the Sanscrit to conquest; but it is still more likely to have been effected by the exertions of those who were artful enough to procure the adoption of their superstitions. If so, the origin of the Sanscrit language is perhaps to be found in the old Egyptian. The learned author above cited asserts that the language and literature of Abyssinia bear a manifest affinity with those of Asia, and that some of the Indian inscriptions are composed in part of Ethiopic letters. Of the Hindû religion we have already spoken. The antiquities, including architecture and sculpture, are certainly curious, more especially from the similarity which appears to exist between some of the ancient statues, and the African form, tending strongly to corroborate the idea of some early connection with that part of the world; yet this goes but a little way toward fixing the period of such an intercourse. Of their works on science and art, any more than of their religious tracts, it is manifestly impossible to ascertain the date: and the circumstance that their oldest law books contain rules for the interest of money, proves nothing; since we cannot be sure that this way not have been an interpolation. After all we are thrown back to the Grecian authors, with little more light than they can afford as to the times much anterior to their era.

It is well known that the Indian writers in general divide the duration of the world into

four Yugs or Ages, like the golden, silver, brazen, and iron ages, of Grecian and Roman fable. They by no means agree in the periods which they assign to each Yug. One estimate however is as follows :

	Years.
Satya Yug	3,200,000.
Treta Yug	2,400,000.
Dwapar Yug	1,600,000.
Cali Yug	400,000.

It seems quite idle to attempt to reconcile either of the three first Yugs with any actual chronology ; more especially as they are filled, like the early periods of Egyptian fable, with reigns and exploits of Gods and Demi-gods. The only question is, whether any probable commencement can be assigned the Cali Yug at present subsisting. Some persons who reason on the astronomical works of the Indians, assign the year *s. c.* 3102 to the epoch in question, and contend that astronomy was well known in India at that time : but this fact is positively denied by others, who say that *Parasara* is the most ancient Indian writer on astronomy, whose works are now extant ; that he lived about the year *s. c.* 1153 ; and that he was ignorant of the precession of the equinoxes, the signs of the zodiac, or even the days of the week. Others again state the Cali Yug to begin *s. c.* 1078 : and others adopt other periods. Little stress can be laid on the astronomical argument, but we should rather prefer the historical records, meagre and uncertain as they confessedly are, when by comparison and adaptation any reasonable narrative can be drawn from them. Yet these soon fail us when we ascend beyond the time of Alexander, contemporary with whom was *Chandragupta*, the *Sandracottus* of the Grecian historians. In the 9th volume of the *Asiatic Researches*, we find a table of the Kings of Magad'ha, Emperors of India, which ascends from this Sovereign to *Sahadeva*, *s. c.* 1370 : and though much confidence cannot be placed in those tables, yet it is possible, that up to that period, or even earlier, the Brahmins may have flourished in India : of which country they uniformly state, that they are not the aboriginal inhabitants : and this supposition would harmonize well with the idea, that they, and perhaps some of the *Chetteree* class, or warriors, formed one of those offshoots of Egyptian population, which the jealous policy of the ancient Pharaohs induced to quit their country, about the time of Moses. The similarity of language before alluded to, and the vague memory of ancient traditions, both in Egypt and India, seem to indicate that they were rather persuaded than compelled to this expedition : that they first penetrated into Ethiopia, and there perhaps obtained an auxiliary force of barbarous and ape-faced men, described as Satyrs and monkeys, with whose aid they established themselves on some part of the Indian coast ;—a long and perilous navigation in those days, and one which they, perhaps, possessed neither the means nor the inclination to retrace, when once they had come, like the Israelites, into a land flowing with milk and honey ; where they were recognised by the savage natives as a superior race of men, sons of the sun and of the moon ; and where their King at once entered, like the Kings of Egypt, into the *allodial* possession of the whole territory. Upon this last point Diodorus is an express authority. He says, “the whole land is the King’s : and it is not lawful for any private man to possess any portion of it.” Here too, as in Egypt, the only land, not Royal, was that of the Priests. The earth in general was described as the wife of the Sovereign, and the sacerdotal lands as his sister. Hence the passage in an old Sanscrit inscription, (*Asiatic Researches*, p. 423,) “In this world is only one *sister* of all Kings, namely land, which has been conferred on Priests ; she must not be enjoyed nor espoused.” From the other lands too, in India, as in Egypt, the King drew his revenues in the shape of a rent, being a proportion of the produce ; an additional circumstance to show that the emigration was probably posterior to the time of Joseph : to which we may add, that the Indians do not use circumcision, a rite introduced, it would seem, into Egypt,

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Arta.

Revolts
against
caste.

in imitation of the Israelites. On the other hand, they practice the Phallus worship, which DioJorus expressly says, the Greeks received from Egypt. In their creed, as in that of the Egyptians, the metempsychosis forms a prominent feature. They have the art of making sun-dried bricks like those on which the Israelites were employed. They probably brought with them the art of weaving fine linen, practised in the time of Joseph, and applied by them to the manufacture of cotton, a plant anciently unknown to Egypt. Herodotus says, the Priests and the soldiery were the only ranks honourably distinguished in Egypt; and Plutarch observes, that the Kings must be of the one or the other of these classes. Such was certainly the case with the Indians from the beginning; and they appear to have kept the two other classes, for a time strictly separate. In Egypt too, as in India, the Priests assumed a right, not only to counsel, but to ensue the King, and even to direct the most common actions of his life. In both countries the Sovereign often attempted to shake off this slavery, and to weaken the power of the Priests by setting their institutions at defiance. An attempt of this kind seems obscurely hinted at in the Preface to Halhed's *Code of Gentoo Laws*. The Pundits, or learned Brahmins who drew up that Preface, after stating the origin of the four original castes from the different parts of their great Deity *Brahma*, viz. the Brahmin from his mouth, the Chetteree from his arms, the Blee from his thighs, and the Sooder from his feet; go on to say, that for some period after the creation of the world, there was neither magistrate nor punishment, and no man committed crimes: wickedness, however, at length arising, *Brahma*, the Creator, issued his order to a Chetteree named *Beiroja* to assume the magistracy; but he and his descendants, for three generations, all declined so weighty a charge. *Anung*, the fourth in descent, assumed it awhile, but resigned it to his son *Neit-man*, who, in like manner, after a time, withdrew to devote himself to religion; when, the kingdom being left without a magistrate, the Brahmins raised *Bein*, the son of *Neit-man*, to the throne. This personage they represent to have acted, as Cheops the Egyptian Sovereign did, who, according to Herodotus, "harred the avenues to every temple, and forbade the Egyptians to offer sacrifices." In like manner the Pundits say, that *Bein* issued a proclamation throughout his kingdom, that no man should perform the *jugg*, nor the *poojah*, nor any such works of piety; and that he tolerated the mixture of castes, which produced the *Burrin Sunker*. For these impieties the Brahmins put him to death, but in a mysterious manner produced from his dead body a son named *Pert-hoo*, who was more obedient to the Brahmins; and who, consulting with them, established regulations for the different tribes of the *Burrin Sunker*, which they were never to overpass. It is easy to see, under the veil of this allegory, the ineffectual attempt of some enlightened Sovereign of the military caste to emancipate himself and his people from the power of the Priests; an attempt which only ended in giving new weight to their tyranny, and more degrading forms to their superstition. The general feelings of human nature, however, have often revolted against the oppressive distinction of caste. Thus the military nation of the *Mahrattas* has been formed out of three inferior castes, who were anciently restrained to the occupations of farming, and keeping sheep and cows. Thus too, the *Sikhs* have more entirely thrown off the Brahminical system. Nor has this happened only in latter ages. At very early periods individuals started up in various parts of India, who founded numerous sects on the principle of abolition of castes. The most remarkable of these was *Buddha*, the great conflict between whose followers and those of the Brahminical system appears to have taken place in Ceylon, about the year B. C. 542, from which the Ceylonese, who are Buddhists, date their present era. We find no trace of his name in any European writer before *Clemens Alexandrinus*, (about A. D. 200), who says, "there are likewise among the Indians, persons obeying the precepts of *Butta* (*Birra*), whom they honour as a God for the excellence of his venerableness." Long before, indeed, it was known that there were two classes of the philosophic tribe, one of whom called by the Grecian writers in general, *Brachmanes*; the other is called by Megasthenes and Strabo, *Germanes*, and by Porphyry, *Samanari*, possibly from *Samana*, a name given to *Buddha* by the Ceylonese. It is remarkable, that *Buddha* is venerated, though in

an inferior degree by the Brahmins themselves; although in later times his followers have been persecuted by them. There is no trace, however, of open warfare between the two sects on the continent of India; but the former were always considered as the orthodox sect throughout India proper; and the latter appear to have dispersed themselves, at various periods and in all directions, from that central point; carrying with them images of Buddha, as an incarnation of the Supreme God, and mixing up with their worship of him more or less of the old Brahminical, or (as we should say) Egyptian mythology. Hence he has been traced not only in Ceylon, but in Siam, Pegu, Ava, China, Tartary, and even in Scandinavia, under the names of Bud, Pot, Fo, Woden, Odin, &c. The Brahmins, on the contrary, never migrated; and the attempt to subdue Ceylon was not considered by them as passing the sacred limits of their empire. As this event took place *a. c.* 542, we may be satisfied that the Buddhists had been established long before in Ceylon, where they formed the predominant sect; and hence it is also likely that their migrations to different parts of the continent were antecedent to this period.

If we are right in these conjectures, the annals of Egypt and India united furnish us with two great facts in the history of mankind, namely, that a complete system of idolatry was carried from Egypt to India subsequently to the age of Joseph, that is to say, after the year *a. c.* 1635; and a modification of that system was carried from India to the north-western extremity of Europe, and to the north-eastern extremity of Asia, before the year *a. c.* 542. Hence the incredible exploits of Sesostris, Odin, &c., &c., not only become to a certain degree intelligible, but assume, within moderate limits, a place in chronology: and hence, too, we may account for that very remarkable fact, that time is found to be distinguished into weeks, and the days of the week to be dedicated to the same or analogous deities; among nations apparently so unconnected and so unacquainted with each other, as the Indians, the Scandinavians, and the Romans: viz.,

Andity War.....	Dies Solis, the Sun's day.
Soma War.....	Dies Lunæ, the Moon's day.
Mungela War.....	Martis Dies, Tuisco's day.
Boodha War.....	Mercurii Dies, Woden's day.
Vrihaspat War.....	Jovis Dies, Thor's day.
Shukra War.....	Veneris Dies, Frea's day.
Shenisker War.....	Saturai Dies, Seater's day.

Now, on looking to the Divine commandments given by Moses to the Israelites, nothing is more evident than that their first and principal object was to detach that chosen people from the idolatry which they had witnessed in the land of Egypt. The Egyptians had already begun to have "other gods" beside the Creator; they had made idols, "the likenesses of things in heaven above, and in the earth beneath, and in the waters under the earth;" they had "taken the name of the Lord God in vain," by applying it to the Sun and the Moon, and the visible planets, Mars, and Mercury, Jupiter, and Venus, and Saturn; and, lastly, they had dedicated every day, in rotation, to these false and fabulous gods; whereas, to the great Creator alone was any day to be devoted, and that day was not to be a day of obscene rejoicing, but of pious rest, "the Sabbath" of the week; remembered in order "to be kept holy." Thus was the true religion rendered the means of exempting mankind from a yoke as perpetual as it was debasing, alike to the intellect and to the morals.

We have dwelt thus long on the early history of Egypt and of India, not only because they both pretend to so high and extravagant an antiquity, but because, amidst their monstrous fictions, we think we perceive something like a light breaking in upon the obscurity, both of their own and other records. We think, too, that this examination strongly illustrates the childish credulity of modern philosophers, who, in their zeal to discredit the Scripture history, have set up in opposition to it, records, of high antiquity and perfect credibility, which are one entire chaos

History. of monstrous fiction, and in which it is scarcely possible to ascertain the real date or origin. Thus, the poem called the *Raymayuna*, though founded on an event which took place less than sixty years before the birth of Herodotus, is related with an infinitely greater mixture of fable, than either the *Iliad* or the *Odyssey*. The attacking sovereign is represented as an incarnation of Vishnu, and the king of Ceylon as a demon called *Ravana*: and together with the real events of this war, whatever they may have been, are mixed up all the old traditionary fables, invented by the Egyptian priests, a thousand years before, respecting *Osiris*. It is manifest that this incoherent medley could not have been put together until some centuries after the event which it pretends to record: most probably it is subsequent to the Christian era; and yet this is the most ancient historical poem in the Sanscrit language.

China. Another country, the unfathomable antiquity of whose annals was, for a long time, vaunted by writers who affected to doubt whether Christ ever preached in Judea, is the strange and anomalous empire of China. We were expected to believe that this people, not sufficiently cultivated to adopt alphabetic writing, was in possession of a complete body of literature thousands of years before letters were known in western Europe. We were told, in the words of an Italian writer, that "the history of this nation, the most ancient and most polished on earth, would compensate the sterility of that of most other nations." In fine, what says the luminary of modern French literature, the celebrated *Voltaire*? "Shall we dare," exclaims he with indignation, "to speak of the Chinese without referring to their own annals?—It is evident, that the empire of China was formed above four thousand years ago.—If any annals bear the stamp of certainty, it is those of the Chinese—the Chinese empire was subsisting in splendour when the Chaldeans began those nineteen hundred years of astronomical observations which *Calisthenes* sent into Greece." Such was the opinion of a man who dared to assume the direction of historical belief in the age in which he lived. The lowest student in History, who reads for solid information, would be ashamed to utter such a rhapsody. Let us see what authorities we can find for Chinese history devoid of fable. The Greek and Roman authors here afford us little light or assistance. All that they seem to have known was, that there were people far to the east, who were called *Seres*, and who manufactured silk, a commodity extremely rare at that time in Europe; the silk worm's eggs being first brought to this part of the world about the middle of the fifth century. It is stated, that the *Seres* twice sent embassies to Rome, viz., in the year a. c. 24, and in a. d. 273; but it is by no means probable that these were Chinese; indeed, *Pausanias* mentions a nation of that name upon the *Ganges*. The *Serica* which *Ptolemy* describes was a Scythian or Tartarian country to the north-west of the country of the *Sina*, from which latter our modern name of China is derived; and both *Serica* and the country of the *Sina* are included in *Shen-si*, one of the northern provinces of the present Chinese empire.

In the commencement of our inquiries into the information of the Chinese themselves, we meet with a startling fact. It is asserted, that so late as a. c. 246, or 213, or as others say, 187, the reigning emperor ordered all the books then extant to be burnt, except those of law and physic. Such an edict might not have been of very difficult execution in a country like China, where, from the very nature of the writing, it is the labour of a life to learn to read with accuracy, and where the individuals possessing any but common books of accounts, belong to the learned class; and are therefore individually known to the government. However, it is probable, that the edict itself is a fable, invented to account for the want of earlier records. The earliest historical work extant is that of *She-Ma-Tsien*, who wrote a. c. 37, and who professes to have framed his work partly from tradition, and partly from some imperfect fragments of works which had escaped the general conflagration. He has moreover the candour to own, that he had not found it possible to ascend with certainty 800 years beyond the times in which he wrote. Consistently with this, we find, that though books of law are said to have been spared, yet *Sir George Staunton*, the celebrated translator of the Chinese Penal Code, could obtain authentic intelligence of no compilation earlier than that of *Lee Quee*, who is supposed to have lived a. c. 250. A collection of

laws, however, made at that time, presupposes, that the people had been united under regular government for some considerable time previously; and we may, in the present instance, safely conclude, that such was the case with China for 600 or 800 years before the Christian era. This computation, however, stops exceedingly short of what some of the Chinese are said to maintain. They hold, it seems, that the world had existed from the beginning of its creation, six ages, or 64,800 years, when their first Emperor Ya was born. It is probable, that these extravagances are the mere echo of Indian traditions, introduced at different times by the Buddhist missionaries. It is commonly said, that Buddha is worshipped in China under the name of Fo; but, as far as we can discover, it would appear that there are two kinds of idolatry in China, both derived from the same source. That of the sovereign and magistrates seems to be the purer kind. *Kien Lung*, the late emperor, in a valedictory address to his subjects on resigning the throne to his son *Ping-Shin*, speaks only of THE SUPREME BEING, as the object to which his prayers were addressed; but still there are certain ceremonies, which are performed at stated periods by all persons in authority, and which seem to be derived from the religion of Buddha. The common idol *Fo*, however, is worshipped with a great variety of superstitious usages by the lower classes of people: and the priests of this idolatry are tolerated by law, though under certain restrictions, as if their faith were considered to be different from the established religion of the state.

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Extrava-
gant Chro-
nology.

It was probably from the Buddhists that all those opinions and practices of the Chinese were derived, which made some persons consider them to be a colony of Egyptians; an hypothesis attacked and completely overturned by M. De Pauw. It is needless to add, that the Chinese themselves knew as little of their imaginary migration from Egypt, as the Egyptian priests in the time of Herodotus and Diodorus did of the existence of China, which they otherwise would have doubtless included among the pretended conquests of Sesostris. Some writers have supposed that Noah in his old age retired to China, and that he was identical with Fohi; but this is just as little consistent with the Chinese accounts, which say nothing of any flood in the time of Fohi, whom they consider not as the head of a family of eight persons, but as the sovereign of an established monarchy. At what time Fohi lived, if he ever lived at all, is very doubtful. One of his successors, Yao, is placed by some writers in the year B. C. 2357, by others in 1357: a difference of a thousand years in such a matter sufficiently evinces its total obscurity. From Yao to *Ping Yang*, who began to reign B. C. 770, M. de Guignes has given an abstract of the Chinese history, taken principally from the *Shu-king*, a work held in some measure sacred. The inferences which he draws from the whole are striking. "This part of their history," says he, "is entirely destitute of facts, extremely uncertain, and one might say completely null, if it were not for a few moral discourses inserted in it here and there. It plainly demonstrates, that whilst there subsisted in other parts of the world several large empires, and even after several kingdoms had disappeared from the face of the globe, the empire of China, according to the statements of its own historians, was of very trifling importance indeed. It was only composed of a few hordes, by no means numerous, living amidst barbarous nations, and moving to one place or another, according as circumstances, or the advantages presented by those migrations might dictate: in a word, that this empire, far from having existed, as has been pretended, 3000 years before Jesus Christ, has not been united together, in a durable manner, above 529 years." M. de Guignes observes, that this inference is to be drawn from the statements, mossier as they for the most part are, of the Chinese writers themselves. In proof of this, we may read what they say of *Yen-Yang*, the first sovereign of the Teheou dynasty, whose reign began B. C. 1122. "This prince and his son *You-Yang* reigned over the country round about *Sy-gan-fou*, in the province of *Chen-ry*. They did not occupy a very extensive district; for the greater part of what now forms that province, was possessed by barbarians. In general there were no cities, and of small towns and villages there were very few: there were also large tracts of land which have not been brought into culture till of late. China, properly speaking, was not furnished with cities till long after

Early state.

History. that time: and it was the *Tsui* and the *Han* who subsequently built them, to keep in subjection the barbarians whom they had conquered." The successor of Vou Vang was named *Ching Fang*: he consulted the *oracles* to know where he should fix his residence: and the oracle having very wisely determined that a place called *Fong* was the middle of the world, the king went thither, and built a city in *five days*. This was *n. c.* 1109, and of course the pretended city was little better than a Tartar camp. In fact, the Chinese of that time were a number of roving tribes, about as polished as the Saxons during the heptarchy. Of the present fifteen provinces, ten were wholly occupied by savages who had never been subjected to any yoke, and the other five were occupied, partly by pastoral tribes, and partly by the inhabitants of a few cities, which, with their neighbouring lands, were dignified with the name of kingdoms. It is not easy to say at what periods, and by what degrees, these petty kingdoms were united so as to form the present extensive empire of China; but it is most certain, that that empire is not now, and never has been, in any other than a very low state of civilization. Much has been said of the Chinese astronomy, and Father Du Halde builds confidently upon an eclipse of the sun, said to have been observed by them *n. c.* 2155; but it is tolerably certain that this eclipse was the invention of a very recent writer; and that the astronomical knowledge of the Chinese was extremely limited; for when the Jesuits first came amongst them, they were utterly unable to calculate eclipses, or indeed to make any celestial observations whatever. We may apply to the Chinese what we have said of the Egyptians; if their civilization and power had been so early, it would have been known to other ancient nations. But the bulk of the Chinese nation appears to be of Scythian or Tartar origin, and the Scythians themselves were unknown till about the year *n. c.* 637, when, under the command of their king Madyes, they broke into Media, killed Cyaxares, and advanced with their victorious hordes to the confines of Egypt. This Madyes is by some called Indotyus, and seems to be the same person who in the Tartar histories is called Ogus Khan, and is said to have conquered Cathay, or part of China. The Chinese themselves place their first great Emperor *Fohi*, in the province of Shen-si, which, as above mentioned, forms the north-western part of the present empire, and includes the ancient Serica and the country of the Sinae. Previously to him indeed they mention some few other sovereigns, who lived before men were united into regular society, or knew how to build so much as a hut or cottage, or even to strike fire from flints. Nevertheless, these wondrous monarchs were great astronomers and geometricians; and by the advice of their wise counsellors, established fairs and markets for the promotion of commerce. *Fohi*, however, who was a divinely begotten personage, carried political science a great deal further, for he taught his subjects to live in towns, invented a symbolical mode of writing, and composed, or rather copied in it a code of laws which he had the good fortune to see inscribed on the back of a dragon-horse, as it arose from the bottom of a lake by the side of which he was walking. He also invented music, and dress-making, the custom of sacrificing six different kinds of animals at the solstices, and of distinguishing persons by different names. Moreover he was the first sovereign who discovered the utility of naming a prime minister, and of establishing mandarins to govern his provinces. All this, it must be owned, was a great deal for one king to accomplish; but then he reigned a hundred and fifteen years, according to some of his biographers: while others more sensibly admit, that the exact length of his reign is unknown. The only fact that we can discern with any real sort of distinctness in this monarch's history is, that the Chinese empire, in its first origo, was formed by an union of four tribes, since it is said that this was the number of mandarins, each of whom had a province allotted to him to govern. The succeeding emperors for some time were great inventors in art and science. *Shin Nung*, the successor of *Fohi*, reigned 140 years, during which time he occupied himself in discovering the practice of physic, the art of making salt from sea-water, and various other useful matters, particularly the construction of ploughs, an art however in which he did not show much genius, and to which unfortunately no succeeding monarch has sufficiently attended; for modern travellers observe that the present Chinese plough is the most rude and inefficient instrument that can well be imagined; that

Chinese
astronomy.

Fohi.

the Chinese never plough above four or five inches deep, and seldom so much; and that two-thirds of the land under tillage is cultivated with the spade or the hoe. *Whang Ti*, the third of these early emperors, was no less accomplished than his predecessors. He spoke, say the historians, as soon as he was weaned from the breast. He was elected to the throne at twelve years of age, and soon afterwards discovered the compass. It is unnecessary to pursue the detail of his inventions, and those of his ministers, of whom he had six, little inferior to himself in originality. We must not, however, forget to notice that one of these ministers invented the gamut, and another the art of ringing little bells, a favourite entertainment of the Chinese. Though *Wang Ti* reigned only a hundred years, yet his discoveries were much more numerous, and evinced a much greater facility of talent, than those of both his predecessors united. His descendants, eighty-five in number, reigned over China for 2457 years, in the earlier periods of which time their principal inconvenience arose from the bad practices of certain magicians, who disturbed the order of sacrifices, and frightened the people with spectres and goblins. On the other hand, we find the successive emperors by no means inattentive to the good example of their ancestor, but inventing over again many of the things which he had invented before. Some grave writers bestow great pains in controverting these puerilities. For our own part, we think it quite sufficient to produce a short sample of them, and to let them speak for themselves. Yao, of whom we have before spoken, was the fourth in succession from *Whang Ti*; and the Chinese historians themselves agree that before his time their chronology is not to be depended on; but *Père Fouquet* with much greater reason asserts, that genuine Chinese history does not ascend above four centuries beyond the Christian era. Doubtless, the preceding portion contains some glimmerings of truth: we may perceive in it some vague notion of the first origin of society, we may see wandering tribes like those of North America, induced to settle on the banks of some great river, growing formidable by union; gradually enlarging their dominion; becoming an agricultural people; receiving the first rudiments of civilization, imperfect arts, and awkward, inconvenient letters; but dwarfed in intellect, and arrested in the natural progress toward improvement, by the very institutions which they consider as the acme of human wisdom.

From China our view naturally carries us over the continent to the north and west of that empire. Above a thousand years after civilization had begun to spread itself along the coasts of the Mediterranean, and while the great empires of Assyria and Persia were growing up and falling to pieces, the immense region, which reaches from the sea of Okotok to the British ocean, and from the north of India to the Polar regions, by far the largest compact portion of the habitable world, was either desert, or only occupied by wandering tribes; of whom, some subsisted by fishing and hunting, and others gradually adopted a rude sort of pastoral life. The most general name of these tribes, in ancient times, was *Scythæ* or Scythians, whom we are now in the habit of considering as the origin of the Tartars; but there were many others, as the *Getæ* and *Massageta*, ancestors of the Goths, the *Sauromata*, or Sarmatians, of the Slavonian nations, the *Ugri*, or *Unni*, of the Huns, &c. The population of some of these tribes becoming at length redundant, casual famine driving them abroad, or the hope of plunder and conquest inciting them, they at different periods, and in various directions, burst forth from their homes, often repelled, but more frequently overrunning and subduing countries richer and more polished than their own. It has pleased some fanciful speculators, in modern times, to discover among these barbarous savages, the origin and cradle of all the arts and sciences; and they have in these wild plains erected an Utopian empire of light and splendour, while all the countries known to history, sacred or profane, were lost in gloom. This extravagant notion still less deserves examination, than the pretended antiquity of the empires of China, India, and Egypt. We shall begin, as before, with the earliest accounts, on which the least reliance is to be placed. It is generally supposed, that the Gog and Magog, mentioned by the prophet Ezeckiel, were the *Getæ* and *Massageta*. However that may be, it is certain that the Scythians first became known

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Scythia, or
Tartary.

History. to the Grecian writers in consequence of their invading the territory of Media, and from thence overrunning Upper Asia and Syria, as far as the very confines of Egypt. From hence, however, they were afterwards obliged to return, and were finally conquered by Cyaxares, king of the Medes, who at first had opposed their progress without success. The whole duration of this their expedition, occupied several years, some say not less than twenty-eight; and their final overthrow took place a short time before the celebrated eclipse of the sun, which prevented a battle between the Medes and the Lydians, and which Sir Isaac Newton places a. c. 585. About two years prior to that period, the prophet Ezekiel had described "Gog, the land of Magog, the chief prince of Meshech and Tubal," sometimes using the word Gog as a noun of multitude, and sometimes Magog, as if he meant to express by either term indifferently the same nation, or by both terms two tribes of an united race. In prophesying their defeat and repulse, he says, they are "a great company and a mighty army,"—"all of them riding upon horses,"—"all of them clothed with all sorts of armour, even a great company, with bucklers and shields, all of them handling swords,"—"with "horns in the left hand and arrows in the right hand,"—"with "hand-staves," and with "spears." This description agrees remarkably with that which Herodotus gives of the Massagetas, who, he says, "resemble the Scythians both in their food and clothing;"—"they fight on horseback and on foot, and are both ways formidable; they have spears and arrows, and battle-axes (probably the hand-staves of the Bible): their spears, the points of their arrows, and their battle-axes, are made of brass; their helmets, their belts, and their breast-plates are decorated with gold." These nations, therefore, must have had some skill in metallurgy and other arts; but still they were not a settled people: they lived in waggons (from whence one tribe was called *Hamaxobii*), and Herodotus expressly asserts, that the Massagetas "sowed no grain, but subsisted entirely upon cattle, and upon the fish which the river Araxes abundantly supplied;" and that "milk also constituted a part of their diet." The accounts given by the Scythians themselves of their origin, plainly showed that in the time of the Grecians they had neither records nor traditions of any antiquity to refer to. Madyes, who led them into Upper Asia, was said to be the grandson of Sagillus, the fourth in succession from Scythes, the ancestor of the whole Scythian nation: and Scythes they represented as the son of Jupiter or Hercules, by a woman with the body of a serpent. He had two sons, Palos and Napos, who divided his empire. By the former we are perhaps to understand the ancestors of the Polish nation. Among the Scythian tribes, as in most distant extremities of the earth, the ancients had placed singular beings, partly human and partly monstrous. Thus we find in that country the Oigurs, who afterwards became the Ogres or giants of our fairy tales. There also were the Pygmies, who fought with the cranes; which fable has been supposed to relate to a war between the Moguls and some other Tartars. The *Pygmaei* are described as a small but remarkably strong race of men; and it is singular that the same tradition exists to this day in Scotland concerning the *Peeltis*, or Picts, whose name may be of the same origin. The cranes was a name given to the Massagetas, who subsisted, as has been seen, partly on fish and partly on hunting; and were, consequently, to be found, like cranes, in the marshes during the summer, and in the woods during the winter. Other Pygmies, who were probably nothing but monkeys, were placed by the ancients in Ethiopia, because that also was a country little known, and therefore, to a proverb, fertile in monsters. In the farther Scythia, too, we find the one-eyed *Arimaspi*, and the *Griphi*, alluded to by Milton, in his description of Satan "half on foot, half flying:"

"As when a Griffin, through the wilderness,
With winged course, o'er hill and moory dale,
Pursues the Arimaspiæ, who by stealth
Had from his woful custody purloin'd
The guarded gold."

Religion

The religious opinions of the Scythians have not been clearly explained. According to Herodotus

and other authors, they worshipped many of the same gods and goddesses as the Greeks, but under other names, as follows : History.

Vesta.....	Tabiti.
Jupiter.....	Papeus.
The Earth.....	Apia.
Apollo.....	Octosyrus.
Venus.....	Strippasa.
Neptune.....	Thamimasades.

They also worshipped Vulcan, Mars, and Diana: and they had a peculiar deity called *Zamolxis*. Some pretend that this last-mentioned personage was a mortal. He was, say they, a Geta, or Goth, by nation, the slave of Pythagoras, whom he accompanied into Egypt; and afterwards returning to his native land, he civilized his countrymen. Herodotus, however, makes him to live before Pythagoras; so that he was possibly no more than a Buddhist from India, or perhaps the name of Zamolxis was given to Buddha himself. It is most probable that various tribes received their idols from different sources: some therefore might have been of Phœnician origin, derived through the colonists at Colchis; but there is certainly good ground to believe that many came from India. We have seen that the Buddhists had communicated their doctrines to the neighbouring nations, at least as early as the seventh century before Christ. Hence not only is the Sanscrit mythology to be found under various modifications from the Ganges eastward to China, and northward to Tibet; but among the Mongol Tartars, subject to the Russian empire, are traditions of the cosmogony abounding with terms evidently Sanscrit. It is not unlikely that the celebrated *Odin*, or *Woden*, was identical with Zamolxis; for the people who came from the neighbourhood of the Euxine sea to the shores of the Baltic, brought with them the worship of Woden, and were therefore said by their descendants to have been led by that deity. It is recorded, that the ancient Getæ consigned the souls of the deceased to Zamolxis, and so did the Scandinavians to Odin, in words to this effect, "Odin receive thee! mayest thou be with Odin." That Odin was considered the same as Mercury by the Roman authors is well known; and the coincidence of *Bodha* *War* with *Mercurii dies*, and with *Woden's day*, cannot be accidental; more especially as it is only part of a systematic division of time (namely, the division into weeks), which in the whole, and in all its parts, is perfectly accordant. The barbarous Scythians and Scandinavians, indeed, corrupted the mild doctrines of Buddha, which forbade all sanguinary sacrifices; for these nations even practised human sacrifices: and yet if we rightly consider this point, we shall perceive, that, shocking as it is, it is yet a step toward the humanizing of savages; for the mere brute man listens only to his ferocious passions, and horrid appetites, and slays and *devours* all the enemies he can conquer; but the priest persuading him to select only the best and bravest as sacrifices to his protecting deity, and promising him that after death he shall be rewarded, by quaffing ale with Odin, in Valhalla, from the skulls of the victims, thereby in fact preserves numberless lives, and puts an end to the cannibalism which has justly been looked on as the last degradation of human nature. The existence of human sacrifices, therefore, among these savage tribes, is no proof that their first notions of religion were not derived from the Buddhists, although one of the marked distinctions of these latter from the Brahmins was an abhorrence of the sacrifice of animals. We see that Christianity itself, when planted among savages, is too apt to be mixed up with their old idolatrous rites; and before the doctrines of Buddha had reached the savages of Denmark and Sweden, they may have gone through numerous degradations, passing from one race to another, over wild and extensive regions, and during whole ages of barbarism.

As to the stories which are related of Woden, it cannot be expected that we should enter into a minute detail of them. He was, say the Gothic writers, a king of the *Asæ*, who dwelt at *Argard*, His origin.

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between the Euxine and the Caspian seas, where in fact there was anciently a city called by Strabo *Aspuria*, the metropolis of a province denominated *Asia*. Woden foreseeing, by the art of magic, in which he particularly excelled, that he and his posterity should reign for many ages in the northern parts of the world, he set off on his expedition, and fortunately conquered all the kingdoms that lay in his way until he reached Sweden, where, probably, captivated with the genial warmth of the climate, he fixed his abode, and dying there, was worshipped by his followers as a god. His course does not appear to have been very direct; for he first subdued all the country from the north of the Euxine to the Baltic, then embarking, he went by sea to the north of Germany, and there made himself master of Saxony, Westphalia, and Franconia; and afterwards returning, took possession of Jutland, from whence he crossed over to Sweden. All that can be collected from this incredible tale is, that the same Scythian tribes, or at least the same priests and teachers, spread their rites and customs, at successive periods, through all the countries here named, and that they originally came from the above country. The date of Woden's expedition is fixed by the Danish writers near 1100 years before the Christian era: most modern writers, however, bring it down to a. c. 66, when Pompey defeated Mithridates in Upper Armenia; but as we do not believe in the existence of Woden as an individual, neither do we think that the time or circumstances of that event at all correspond with the notion of any such expedition. Mithridates was the most learned, the most polished, and the most magnificent sovereign of his day; and those who had been accustomed to the splendour and elegance of his court, who had viewed his statues of Minerva, Mars, and Apollo, of pure gold and exquisite workmanship; his own statue eight cubits high, of the same metal; his two thousand cups of onyx, set in gold; and all the other marks of wealth and power, of taste and voluptuousness, which he constantly displayed, could have had little appetite for the bleak and miserable life of shivering savages in Sweden. Therefore, let us confidently conclude that no such expedition was ever undertaken, but merely, that at a time, probably some centuries before Pompey, the superstition which had previously found its way from Egypt to India, was thence transmitted to the Scythians, and spread amongst them from tribe to tribe, until it reached the very northern parts of Europe.

Expedition of Woden incredible.

It may easily be inferred, that there is really very little credible history of the Scythian or Gothic nations before they embraced Christianity, except in so far as they may have come into contact with the Greeks and Romans. Hence the Danish history, which begins with one *Dan*, a. c. 1050, and the Swedish, which sets out from a. c. 2000, might, from this circumstance alone, be accounted fabulous; even if they were not loaded, as they are, with giants, dragons, and the other concomitants of their old idolatrous superstitions. In the course of the tenth and eleventh centuries after Christ, Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Russia, and Poland, became Christian. Before that time they had no means of history, but the songs of their scalds or bards, and the sacred mysterious letters called *Runic*, which latter they used in their spells and enchantments, but whether they even employed them for the purpose of recording events, does not appear. No books written in that character exist, nor are any preserved in translation. Some inscriptions on stone have been preserved, which are supposed to be Runic, and as Woden is said to have brought the Runic letters out of Asia, it might be well to compare them with the oldest Sanscrit characters now to be found in India. As to our Saxon ancestors, who also claim descent from Woden, their chronology differed extremely from that of their Danish brethren. Hengist, who came to Britain A. D. 449, pretended to be only the great-grandson of this divine hero, who must therefore have lived above 1300 years later than by the Danish account. It does not, however, appear that either Hengist or the Danes were any great arithmeticians: and as no author of common sense of the present day would think of writing the history of the American tribes for a single century from their own traditions; so that is by no means to be called History, which is recorded from the dreams of the Scandinavian scalds, or built on some indistinct traditions of these Saxon freebooters. There are two principal modes of tracing the connexion of nations

where credible records fail; one is by a comparison of their physical conformation, the other of their language. Thus, the descriptive portrait of Attila, the formidable chief of the Huns, surnamed "The Scourge of God," as drawn by contemporary writers, about A. D. 450, proves that he was of the same race as the present Calmucks; and thus Sir W. Jones assigns strong reason to believe that the pure *Hindi*, or aboriginal language of India, was of an origin totally different from that of the *Sanscrit*; thereby confirming the general inference which we have drawn from Diodorus and other writers, that the laws and religion of that country, preserved in Sanscrit records, were at least not the production of the original inhabitants, but were brought to them from some distant region. The same comparison of language has recently proved that the traditions relative to a cosmogony, which exist among the Mongol Tartars subject to the Russian empire, abound with Sanscrit terms. Upon the whole, therefore, we may conclude, with some confidence, that the same idolatrous system which found its way first from Egypt to India, was communicated from the latter country, at least as early as the seventh century before Christ, to the neighbouring nations; and thence gradually spread to the shores of the northern Pacific ocean on the one side, and on the other to those of the Baltic.

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In conformity with general custom, we distinguish the Celtic nations from the Scythian, or Celtic Gothic: yet it may not perhaps be easy to draw the line of that distinction with any great accuracy. The languages called Celtic, in modern times, such as the Welsh, Irish, Highland Scotch, and Breton, do indeed vary much in their inflections from those which are of Gothic origin; but whether there be a radical difference between them may well be doubted. Neither is it very clear what title the dialects, just noticed, have to the exclusive denomination of Celtic; or within what limits that term was anciently applied, either to language, or to nations. If we listen to one class of antiquaries, we find that all Europe was called *Celtica*; and that the groundwork of all modern tongues, nay, some say of the Hebrew itself, was Celtic. Another set of writers pretend, that the Celts were a race alike inferior in mind and body to the valiant and enlightened Goths, before whom they always retreated westward, till they were at last shut up within those narrow limits, where the dialects called Celtic are still spoken. History supports neither of these statements. We speak not of wild traditions, recorded a thousand years, or more, after the alleged event; but of contemporary writing. From such sources, little is known of the Celts before the time of Julius Cæsar, who speaks of them as possessing only a part of Gaul. However, it is probable that the whole of that country was first named from them. Diodorus says that the Romans commonly called all the inhabitants of Celtic Gauls (*γαλαται*); but he himself gives that name only to the inhabitants of the south, west, and north of France, and of the adjoining countries, "as far," he says, "as to Scythia." It does not appear that they possessed letters, except such as the tribes subdued by the Romans had received from their conquerors. Priests they had, called druids; and poets or traditionary historians, called bards but their religious ceremonies were bloody and horrible, offering up to their imaginary deities human victims, together with their other sacrifices. Such was the state of these nations about, or very shortly before the birth of Christ: prior to which period it is vain to seek for any distinct traces of their history. Yet, that the British idolatry had a connexion with that of Egypt and Greece, is clear from various statements: and hence we are led to conclude, that it was immediately derived from the Phœnicians who, in very early ages, traded to Cornwall for tin; and whose idolatry was a cognate branch of the same superstition which first worshipped the great lights of heaven as visible types of the Deity; and afterwards, by an imperceptible transition, came to consider them as ruling intelligences themselves; and as gods, differing in character, rank, and power. Hence the monuments called druidical, which yet remain in various parts of Europe, and particularly the stupendous one, called by the Saxons Stonehenge, are of a circular form; and the entrance, and what is supposed to be the grand altar, lie reciprocally east and west. The druids, or priests, who formed here, as in the countries which we have before noticed, an hereditary class, probably introduced agriculture and metallurgy: both of which were practised in Britain prior to the

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Roman invasion. In fine, we trace the Celts, or Gauls, mixing with other nations in distant parts of Europe; as the Celto-Scythians, on the borders of Asia; the Celt-Iberians, in the north of Spain; and the Gallo-Grecians, in Greece; but whether the Asiatic Cimmerians, in the Crimea; the inhabitants of Holstein, formerly called the Cimbric Chersonese; the Cimmerians of Homer, who are supposed to have lived on the north-western coast of Italy; and the Cymry of Wales, agreed as much in origin as they seemed to do in name, and are also to be reckoned of the Celtic race, are questions which may admit of much doubt; and whose solution would throw little light on any points of History really important.

Babylonians and Assyrians.

As we began our historical survey with Egypt, because the sacred scriptures furnish us with the earliest accounts of its ancient state as a kingdom; so we now revert, and for a similar reason, to the Babylonian and Assyrian empires, which in all historical records are much blended together. These empires, whether distinct or united, possessed in very early times two vast cities, Babylon on the Euphrates, and Nineveh on the Tigris. The first is usually considered to be the same with Babel, mentioned in the 10th and 11th chapters of Genesis, and indeed is so translated by the Septuagint. It is not here the place to enter into any argument on the personal identity of Nimrod, or Nebrod, whether intended by the sacred writer to mean an individual, or a tribe; nor shall we dispute on the different expositions which have been given of the confusion of lip or of language. Suffice it to observe, that in the days of Moses, both Babylon and Nineveh existed, and were referred to as well known cities; and that the former was remarkable for a very lofty, tower and was built of brick, cemented together by a hard bituminous slime. It appears, too, that Amraphel, king of Shinar (the Babylonian or Assyrian territory), was about the year *B. C.* 1913, a sort of tributary or vassal to the king of Elam, or Persia; after which we hear no more of the Assyrians in Jewish history, till the year *B. C.* 771, when *Pul*, king of Assyria, invaded Samaria, and exacted from Menahem a tribute of 1000 talents of silver. It is to be observed, that the early date here given to the political establishments in the land of Shinar, is rendered probable by the nature of the soil and climate, and by the facilities which these afforded for building; the one supplying brick and cement, and the other hardening them by mere exposure to the air. With respect to the fertility of the soil, it is remarkable that Herodotus himself compares it to that of Egypt, the seat, as we have seen, of another of the most ancient monarchies in the world. When we turn from the Mosaic accounts to those of the Babylonians themselves, we are instantly encountered with fables the most extravagant and contradictory. Berosus, a priest of that nation, who lived in the time of Alexander the Great, carries back the antiquity of the Babylonian empire 150,000 years; Ctesias of Cnidus, who was physician to the younger Cyrus, and who is followed by Diodorus Siculus, gives to the Assyrian empire, which includes the Babylonian, a duration of 1400 years; and lastly, Herodotus tells us, that it had existed only 520 years when it was subverted by the Medes.

It remains to see how this obscure interval is filled up by these contradictory writers. Of Berosus, and his 150,000 years, it is needless to take any notice; but Diodorus sets out with the exploits of *Ninus*, the founder of Nineveh, and son of *Belus*. *Belus*, however, he shortly afterwards tells us, is the Babylonian Jupiter, to whom the celebrated tower in Babylon was dedicated. Now *Bel*, or *Baal*, among the Syrians and Assyrians, simply signified *The Lord*, and must have originally meant the one true God, the Lord of all things. The tower, according to Herodotus, consisted of eight stories, in the highest of which no image was placed; and therefore, in the mysteries known only to the Chaldeans, or sacerdotal order, it was probably dedicated to the spiritual Creator, whilst the seven lower stories were respectively dedicated to the seven great visible objects of his power, the sun and moon, and five planets. The tower itself, we are told by Diodorus, was used by the Chaldeans for astronomical purposes; to which they soon joined astrology: and thus confounded true with false science, as they had before confounded true with false religion.

As *Belus* was an imaginary being, so it is probable was his son *Ninus*, to whom are assigned

the building of Nineveh, and the performance of many great and incredible exploits. The same History. we may still more confidently say of *Semiramis*, the queen who is stated to have succeeded Ninus in the throne, and to have built Babylon, a city far superior to Nineveh in magnitude and extent: but as we find this lady worshipped as the celestial Venus, we may conclude that the outline of her story is purely mythological. This is the more easily to be believed, because there are no facts connecting her pretended exploits with any thing else, either in the Babylonian, or any other history. She is said, after spreading the bounds of her empire to an immense extent, to have marched against the king of India with a force of three million infantry, half a million cavalry, a hundred thousand chariots, &c. &c.: yet her conquests were like those of Sesostris; they vanished and were obliterated like a dream. The Indian chronicles do not even name the king who had the glory of repulsing this tremendous invasion; nor do we find any of the natural consequences of such a greatness as is attributed to Semiramis, occurring in the lapse of several centuries from her death to the reign of Sardanapalus. This prince was certainly conquered about B. C. 820, by two chieftains, who had revolted from his authority, namely, Arhaces, a Mede, and Nebuchadnezzar, a Babylonian; but whether all that we read of his voluptuousness, and of his voluntarily burning himself with his wives, his concubines, and his treasure, be not fabulous, may very well be considered as matter of doubt. Shortly after this period, the light of history becomes tolerably clear. Ptolemy has handed down a series of astronomical observations made by the Chaldeans, beginning with the era of Nabonassar, B. C. 747. It is pretended, that Callisthenes sent to Alexander the Great a series of similar observations, going back 1,907 years; but probably either this story is altogether unfounded, or the pretended observations were themselves a fabrication; for even in the time of Nabonassar, the calculations were so incorrect as to occasion an error of twenty-five days in the first century. Berosus, in order to support his fabulous chronology, pretends that Nabonassar burnt all the records prior to his reign. It is curious enough to observe a similar tale invented in China, for a similar purpose. That the Assyrian kings, who about this time resided at Nineveh, were very powerful, there can be no doubt, since one of them, Sennacherib, B. C. 710, lost an immense army on occasion of his expedition against Jerusalem. About a century after this event, the famous Nebuchadnezzar became the greatest sovereign of his time; and enlarged and beautified Babylon, on a plan which, had it been fully executed, would have made that city the most magnificent ever seen on the face of the earth.

We have observed that the king of Elam, or Persia, was the paramount sovereign of those five Medes and Persians. kings with whom Abraham fought B. C. 1913; but kingdoms in those days must have been very petty chieftainships; and Elam itself, which afterwards gave name to Persia, was probably no more than the country known in later times by the name of Elymais, which comprehended great part of Susiana, the modern Khosistan. The extension and contraction of geographical names, in their application to territory, at various periods of History, is one of the most disturbing circumstances to the mind, in its formation of historical notions and judgments. Chedorlaomer, king of Elam, must have had very few forces at his command, since he was defeated and slain by Abraham with only 318 men; and from this time, the history of Persia remains in great obscurity till B. C. 536, when Cyrus the Great began to reign; at which time the Persians, divided into twelve tribes, amounted only to 120,000 men. The Medes, as Herodotus informs us, were anciently called *Arii*; a name still traceable in the modern *Airan*, or *Iran*, by which the inhabitants of Persia in general distinguish their country. The history of these nations, like that of the Babylonians and Assyrians, is much blended together in ancient records, and the whole has become still more confused, by the different manner in which it has been treated by different classes of writers. The Persian language itself has undergone at least three changes: the most ancient form being that of the *Zend*, which is supposed to have prevailed till Arbaces the Mede threw off the Assyrian yoke; the second the *Pehlavi*, which reached down to the Mohammedan conquest, A. D. 641; and the third the modern Persian, which contains a great mixture of Arabic. The

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latest and best writer on this subject, Sir J. MALCOLM, admits that the Persians themselves possess no documents that merit the name of History antecedent to the fall of the Arsacide, A. D. 226. The fragments of earlier tradition were collected together by the Mohammedan poet FERDOSI,* about A. D. 1000, but they present only a rhapsody of fables, among which it is extremely difficult to distinguish even the vestige of truth. His poem entitled the Shah Nameh opens with the reign of *Kiumers*, the first king of Persia, whose son *Scamuck* being killed by the demon *Râmen*, the Persian monarch sends his troops under the command of his grandson *Hoshung* to encounter the demons. *Hoshung*, being victorious, succeeds to the throne on the death of his grandfather, reigns for forty years over seven kingdoms, invents agriculture, metallurgy, and weaving, and introduces the worship of fire as an emblem of the divinity. It has been questioned who *Hoshung* was; but as it is admitted that the most ancient Persian traditions represent Kiumers not as the first king but the first man, so *Hoshung*, the inventor of so many arts, and the founder of a new religion, can be nothing but the personification of a body of men who in a long course of time succeeded in civilizing more barbarous tribes. The barbarians so civilized are in most early traditions described as demons, or monsters; hence nothing is to be inferred from the story of *Hoshung* but that the fire-worshippers, or Magi, taught arts as well as religion to the savages in their vicinity, and gradually extended the dominion of their own tribe over six others. As the Assyrian idolatry seems to have been less gross than the Egyptian, so the Persian fire-worship was certainly more refined than the Assyrian devotion to idols. It more distinctly recognised the ONE God, whose existence, we have seen, was the recondite doctrine of all the learned polytheists: but it recognised the truth under a veil of falsehood; it degraded spirit to body, the immaterial and eternal to the perishable and material. This doctrine is popularly attributed to Zerdusht, or Zoroaster, as its first teacher; but who he was or when he lived it is quite impossible to discover, some making him contemporary with Darius Hystaspes, some identical with Moses, and others with Abraham. His religion and philosophy are supposed to be set forth in the Zend Avesta, which however appears to be nothing more than the most refined part of the doctrines of the ancient Magi, as held long prior to the time of Herodotus. That writer says, "I speak from my own knowledge, when I say that the Persians have among them neither statues, temples, nor altars; the use of which they censure as impious and as a gross violation of reason, probably because, in opposition to the Greeks, they do not believe that the gods partake of our human nature:" and Cicero says, that, at the instigation of the Magi, Xerxes burnt the temples of the Greeks, because they confined within walls the deities who ought to be free from every kind of restraint, and whose temple and residence is the universe itself. The worship of fire, as an emblem of the divinity, was, however, extended so as to comprehend the sun, and moon, and the firmament; to which Herodotus, perhaps incorrectly, adds earth, water, and the winds. A singular circumstance occurs in the fabulous history of *Tahmuraz*, the son of *Hoshung*. This prince conquered the demons, but spared them on condition of their teaching him letters. The explanation which we would offer of this fable is, that the art of alphabetic writing was introduced into Persia long subsequent to the fire-worship, the original superstition of that country, and that it probably came from the frontier tribes of India, some of whom the Persians may have in early time subdued; nor was this the only custom derived from the same source. *Jemshid*, the fabulous son of *Tahmuraz*, is said to have reigned 700 years, to have attained great wealth and splendour by aid of the demons, and to have divided his people into four classes, answering to the four original castes of the Brahmans. In the latter part of his reign he oppressed the Magi, and, as a punishment for his impieties, he was dethroned by *Zohak*, or the dragon. Hence we may conclude that the

* The authors of the French *Dictionnaire Historique* say that M. Langlet, who in 1788 published, in a collection of tales, &c., from the Arabic and Persian, an *Analysis* of Ferdozi's great poem the *Shah Nameh*, first made that poet known; but the fact is that an English translation in verse of eight books of the *Shah Nameh* had been long before executed, and was published in that very year by JOSEPH CHAMBERLAIN, Esq.

dynasty typified by Jemshid, was that which was overthrown by the Assyrian domination; and that prior to its fall it was weakened by intestine divisions between the followers of the pure Magian doctrines, and the sects which had been introduced, together with letters and the division of castes, from India; these circumstances, therefore, occurred prior to the year a. c. 1340, if Herodotus be correct in assigning to the Assyrian dominion 520 years, ending with the revolt of Arbaces, which happened a. c. 820, or as some say a. c. 770. Even these dates would not disagree with what we have before said of the introduction of letters and idolatry from Egypt into India after a. c. 1635, and their spreading from thence over great part of the continent, in the course of the succeeding thousand years. However, it is extremely probable that the Medes and Persians were not so long as 520 years under the Assyrian yoke. The hero, who first threw off that yoke, cannot be mistaken. He is called by Diodorus, Arbaces; by Velleius Paterculus, Pharnaces; and is indisputably the Peridoun of Persian legends, whose exploits, his changing himself into a dragon, &c., &c., form the subject of three books of the Shah Nameh. After this period it becomes easy even to identify individual princes, as *Cai-Cobad* with the Arsæus of Ctesias, and the Deioeces of Herodotus; *Cai Caus*, with *Cyaxares*; and finally *Khosrou*, with *Cyrus*.

Between Egypt and Assyria were situated several countries which partook of the idolatry of both. Diodorus observes, and his remark has been in a great measure applicable to the state of things from his time to the present period, that the Arabians were never wholly subjected to any foreign yoke. In the Persians, and other histories, we sometimes hear of a king of Arabia; but there is no credible evidence that the inhabitants of that country were ever more united than they are at the present moment. Among the more ancient of these tribes were the Amalekites, whom some assert to have been the shepherd kings of Egypt. All the Arabians, however, agreed not only in the worship of the sun, moon, and five planets, but also of the fixed stars, above all which, however, they recognised the ONE GOD. They had images of inferior beings which they considered to be angels or demi-gods; but as it does not appear that they ever personified any of these divinities as mortals, so their early history is devoid of those fabulous dynasties which, as we have seen in the pretended records of many other nations, were nothing more than astronomical fæets allegorized. Adjoining to the Arabians were the Syrians, and beyond these, on the sea-coast, were the Phœnicians. Both these nations very early entered into the idolatrous system, of which the foundation was common to the Egyptians and Assyrians, but the great number of their deities, and diversity of their rites, appear to have been derived principally from Egypt. Diodorus mentions a tradition that the Phœnicians, who first brought alphabetic writing into Greece, were not the inventors of it, but learnt the use of letters from the Syrians; and as the latter people were often confounded with the Jews, it is possible that the Phœnician letters were really derived from Judea, though the more common opinion among ancient writers is that they came from Egypt. Certain it is, that in a very early age, the Phœnicians had made great advances in all the arts, and distinguished themselves exceedingly in navigation and commerce. Tyre, which is supposed to have been less ancient than Sidon, was nevertheless a great and distinguished kingdom, when Solomon ascended the throne of Israel, a. c. 1014. How long it had been growing up to that importance, cannot now be traced. The Phœnician records, no longer extant, gave it a duration of 30,000 years: but the fabulous histories of Greece represent it to have been built by Agenor, an Egyptian, whom some chronologers place a. c. 1497, and whose son Cadmus first introduced letters into Greece. Agenor, says Apollodorus, was a son of Neptune, by Lihya, daughter of Epaphus, an Egyptian king; that is, he came by sea to Phœnicia, from that part of Egypt which bordered on Lybia. Josephus, indeed, places the building of Tyre much later; viz., only 240 years before the building of Solomon's temple, or a. c. 1245, being about the time which some assign to the expedition of Jason and the Argonauts to Colchis. However the fact may be, as to the building of Tyre, it is tolerably certain that the arrival of the Egyptian settlers in Phœnicia must have been much earlier than the latter date. Since, according to all history, the Phœnicians had long previously sent out colonies into many parts of Greece, and other coasts of the Mediterranean; and the Argonautic expedition itself was no doubt the origin of the Phœnician colony, which, in the time of Herodotus, existed at Colchis, in the Euxine Sea.

Arabians,
Syrians,
Phœni-
cians.

History.

Grecians.

This naturally leads us to the origin of those splendid states which have left behind them imperishable monuments of their taste and genius, the ancient Grecians. It is admitted by all their writers that the original inhabitants of Greece were mere savages, feeding on acorns, living in caves, and clothing themselves in skins of beasts, till they received either directly from Egypt, or indirectly through Phœnicia, the rudiments of art and science, and therewith a general system of idolatry. The first colony of adventurers is said to have been commanded by Cecrops, and to have consisted of Saites from Egypt, who established themselves at Athens. This event is calculated to have taken place *n. c.* 1582; or, according to others, 1556. Even then the persecution of the Israelites in Egypt had begun; and it was still going on when Lelex brought another colony of Egyptians into the Peloponnesus. The introduction of the important art of alphabetic writing into Greece is universally attributed to Cadmus, who, though of Egyptian origin, came directly from Phœnicia. This circumstance is commonly placed two years before the departure of the Israelites from Egypt, but it may not improbably have been as shortly after it; and if so, the Mosaic writings may well be supposed to have laid the very foundations of Grecian literature. At all events, the near coincidence of time between the first appearance of letters in Greece and the first known use of them, in writing the Sacred Scriptures, is a fact no less curious than interesting. No sooner were letters introduced than there followed poets,—Orpheus, and Musæus, and Linus,—who are said to have tamed the savage beasts of the forest, and charmed the very trees and rocks by the power of song.

*Sylvestres homines sacre, interpretes Deorum,
Cædibus et victis fœdo deterruit Orpheus,
Dictus ob hoc lenire tigres rabidosque leones.*

A very marked distinction appears between the process of civilization which took place in Greece, and that which was pursued in Egypt, and in India. In both the latter, the priests formed an hereditary and sacred caste; in the former, they appear to have been mere individuals, or at most small fraternities. Another marked distinction was that the civilizers and civilized, the colonists and natives in Greece, were all speedily amalgamated together and formed one common nation, instead of constituting as in India a military and a labouring caste for ever distinct. It is beyond a doubt that they brought with them their Jove, and Apollo, and Hercules, and all the train of the greater gods and goddesses, some of which by their names seem to have been imported from Egypt, and others from Phœnicia. Nevertheless they represented them all as having lived in Greece: they found there a high mountain for them to dwell on; and introduced them as persons of the drama into all their tales of the heroic times. The coincidence of many of these tales with those which are to this day current in India, seems to point to a common origin, which it should seem can only have been in Egypt, and which would therefore infer that those tales existed, at least in a rude outline, so early as the residence of the Israelites in Egypt. The Grecians no doubt amplified and enriched these fables with all the stores of taste and genius; but it was long before they could persuade themselves to "stoop to truth." Homer, who is supposed to have written nearly 700 years after the arrival of Cecrops in Greece, takes the liberty of introducing gods and goddesses into his tale, without any authority but his own imagination; and it was 450 years later before the father of History, Herodotus, appeared. Hence we must not be surprised to find many Joves, Apollos, and Herculeses, appearing throughout what is called the heroic age. It would be but a waste of time to endeavour to identify the different deities of Greece according to the supposed times of their pretended exploits. We may only observe, that if the arrival of Ceres at Athens, to teach the culture of corn, is fixed *s. c.* 1383, it is probably because the solemn worship of that goddess, in the Eleusinian mysteries, was at that time first established there. So if Janus arrives shortly afterwards in Italy, it is because a body of his worshippers (for every idolator has his favourite idol) about that time established themselves on the hill which afterwards they called Janiculum, from this deity, who seems to be identical with the Indian Ganesa. It will be needless, and indeed we might almost say it would be endless, to go through all the fables of the heroic age, which seem to have very early occasioned the expression of *Græcia mendax*. Suffice it to say, that the kingdoms of Argos and Attica are almost the only ones asserted, and

that with very little probability, to have been founded before the arrival of the Egyptian colonies. Argos is said to have been a monarchy governed for no less than 543 years by the Inachidæ (who of course could neither read nor write, nor keep any account of time) before the arrival of Danaus, who, with his fifty daughters, set aside the descendants of Inachus without the least ceremony. The same improbability applies to the domination of Ogyges, the great Boeotian sovereign of Attica, in whose time happened a deluge, which laid that country waste for 200 years. The family of Lelex, it is stated, continued to reign in Lacedæmon for 400 years, when they were deposed by the Heraclidæ. Meanwhile we have the destruction of Argos by Perseus, of Thebes by the Seven famous Chiefs, and of Troy by the combined forces of all the Grecian kings.

The proper history of Rome begins without any other mixture of fable than what arises from the meagreness and obscurity of ancient records. This defect is fairly confessed by its great historian, Livy; but he does not pretend either to give to his country an existence of many thousands of years, or to mix up with its events the exploits of supposed gods and demi-gods. It has been before observed that he rather too easily credits the fable of Eneas's arrival in Italy, which other writers have satisfactorily disproved. We must be satisfied with the antiquity to which Livy carries up the Roman history, and not attempt to investigate the records of the Latin monarchy, which was established 614 years before the building of Rome, and which claims as its founder the god Janus, of whom we have before spoken.

The great rival of Rome was Carthage, in regard to whose history the Romans appear to have acted with a perfidy utterly disgraceful to them as a nation. All their own writers deal in perpetual declarations against the Punicæ fides; but they took care to deprive posterity of all means of appreciating the justice or injustice of that complaint. It is now impossible to ascertain the time when Carthage was founded; but it was probably anterior to the destruction of Troy, as stated by Philistus, the Syracusan, who wrote *b. c.* 350. The founders, according to him; were two Phœnicians named Charchedon and Zorus, from the former of whom the city took its Greek name of Charchedon. This is the earliest and best account yet remaining, and is cited as credible by Eusebius; but we must remark, that Philistus himself lived near 900 years after the supposed event; and that according to him, Carthage must have been almost 500 years more ancient than Rome. The arrival of Dido, a Tyrian princess, at this spot, and her enlarging the city, are believed to have taken place about 300 years after the destruction of Troy: and of course it is thought that Virgil's account of her adventures with Eneas is a gross anachronism. There is, perhaps, no people the loss of whose records is so much to be regretted as those of a nation which not only possessed a political constitution which was the admiration of Aristotle, but were at the head of very large confederacies of foreign states, and who established colonies both in Africa and Europe; some of which, as Cadix and Port Mahon, remain to this day. Much dispute prevails with respect to the great expedition undertaken by Hanno the Carthaginian, at the head of 30,000 men, with a view partly to colonisation, and partly to discover new countries and modes of commerce. It is clear that this large armament, consisting of sixty vessels, passed the Straits of Gibraltar, and founded several cities on the western shore: but whether they proceeded as far as Sierra Leone, or only reached the river of Nun, on the Moorish coast, is matter of contest.

Besides the Carthaginians and their dependents, there was no great nation in Africa known to the ancients, except that of the Ethiopians; but of these, the early history is singularly confused. In Scripture, we hear of them only as connected with the Egyptians. Homer seems to have thought them a very different people, innocent, and therefore favourites of the gods; but probably his notion, that the divinities went to feast among them, arose merely from an astronomical allegory, of the sun's declining in winter toward the south. Herodotus considers them as civilized by the Egyptians; but Diodorus is of the contrary opinion. It must be observed, that the name Ethiopians was loosely given to all the dwellers beyond the desert, though Ethiopia Proper included only Nubia and part of Abyssinia.

The rest of Africa was so wholly unknown to the ancients, and is, to this day, so destitute of any history of its own, that it is unnecessary to speak of it otherwise than as a land which fabled travellers

History. had filled with monsters of all kinds; hence we find pygmies here, as in Scythia: and as there were supposed to be, in the northern regions, monstrous Arimaspians, so here were no less portentous human beings; the *Cynanotgi*, with dog's heads; the *Blemmyes*, who had no heads at all; and many other such wild productions of the imagination.

America. That there was in the western ocean a rich and happy island, or large continent, was a vague tradition or superstition among ancient nations; but of its history no one pretended to have the slightest knowledge. We can hardly think that the notions which they entertained of it were any thing more than the mere dreams which all rude people have of some happier clime and country than their own, at a distance beyond the limits of sea, or mountain, or desert, to them impassable. This traditionary belief, however, was generally prevalent, down to the time of the actual discovery of the western hemisphere. One of the most ancient poems now extant in the old English language is founded entirely on it; beginning

*Far in sea by west of Spain
Is a land hight Cockaigne.*

This land of Cockaigne, or Coquinn, from whence our word Cockney is derived, was the supposed seat of idleness and sensual pleasure: the graver philosophical poets placed in the same situation the abodes of spiritual purity and celestial happiness. While however this vast land remained for so many centuries cut off from all intercourse with the rest of the world, it was occupied throughout its whole extent by numerous tribes, of whom some down to the present day exist in a state of barbarism; but two nations, those of Mexico and Peru, had each established a mighty empire, and had made considerable advances in some ornamental as well as some useful arts. Their progress, however, was greatly impeded by the total want of letters, for their picture writing could give no details of time and place, and their knotted words were mere memoria technica to the individual. The wildest traditions abounded amongst them; such as that their chiefs were descended from the sun and moon, and to these great objects of visible power and brightness they paid a barbarous worship. Some authors have endeavoured from these circumstances to trace a connection between the Peruvians and Egyptians; but we own the similitude appears to us to be too slight to build any rational hypothesis upon; and we rather leave all speculations on the origin of these nations to a time when physical science may have furnished better grounds for the foundation of a just theory.

SUB-INTRODUCTION

TO THIS DIVISION.

OF THE CLAIMS AND USES OF SACRED HISTORY.

SACRED HISTORY is that narrative of events, commencing from the creation of the World, which is recorded in the Bible, and is so called, because it is assumed to be written under Divine superintendence, and is evidently associated with the being, perfections, and plans of Deity. All other History details facts simply, but Sacred History combines them with the doctrine of Providence, and demonstrates the event to be coincident with the purposes of an infinite mind. Sacred History. Defined.

The connection of every mode of communicating the will of God to man with moral and eternal purposes, is a feature of Divine Revelation never to be overlooked; and Sacred History is but a part of that Revelation. In preparing mankind for another world, the Universal Parent has adopted and recorded a certain process with individuals, with families, and with nations in this: and as the distinctive Claims and Uses of Sacred History originate from its connection with the general subject of Revelation, we may be permitted to advert to that subject briefly, while further than this it is not here our province to pursue the argument.

It is a striking fact, that upon the great subject of morals, Philosophers who were agreed upon the whole, as to the amount of individual and social duties, were at variance with regard to the basis on which they should be constructed. Unless men coöper in their standard of moral duties, they must be doubtful as to the extent of their obligation; and when the most eminent of mankind were found to question what was the rule by which they ought to be guided, variance and opposition among those who looked up to them as teachers, became inevitable. When once the passions are moved, cool and rational discussion ceases: and when the individual becomes anxious to support the system which he has adopted, and is prejudiced against every argument which tends to render it doubtful, he but increases the distance from his object the further he pursues it. The great ends for which the disputants set out, the universal duties and benefit of mankind, are lost in the disputations between the Grove, the Porch, and the Lycæum. The object becomes less to elicit truth, than to establish a party. Besides which, what standard can be obtained? Is it nature? She is found under the government of the passions, rather than of the reason, and those passions manifest themselves to be corrupt. Is it the fitness of things? How shall this apply to the savage, who has no means of comparison? The most intellectual, as they possess the greatest power of ascertaining what is fit and harmonious, ought, on this principle, to be the most moral; but they are not so. Is it conscience? Alas, who is not aware that this moral power may be vitiated? that conscience may be depraved, perverted, extinguished? Is it philosophy? Philosophers are not agreed on this momentous point. Where is the standard, then? Socrates observes, there can be none unless it be revealed; and he, therefore, expected a Divine teacher. This is the tribute of reason, to the necessity of Revelation. Necessity of Revelation.

Sacred
History

But morals are not the only subject of human investigation that require Revelation. God has connected them with the most interesting and the most ancient records of the human race. The origin and destination of the material universe lie hid in shadows, which no light can disperse, but "the day-spring from on high." Some Philosophers contended that the beautiful order of nature was the result of chance; and that the grand machinery, so admirably filling up all the purposes of its construction, was nothing more than an effect produced by the fortuitous concurrence of certain solid and indivisible bodies, necessarily moved by the force of their natural gravity. This was the doctrine of the Epicureans. And Cicero justly asks, "if this concurrence of atoms can make a world, why does it never form a portico, a temple, a house, or a city, which are certainly much easier to be effected?"* Others held the eternity of the world. Among these, Aristotle has been classed. But his representations are so different on various occasions, that one can hardly decide, whether he meant to say, the matter out of which the universe was composed was eternal, or the form itself in which it subsists. The latter has been generally understood: and if so, he maintained his position in the face of reason and of facts; for it is reasonable to conclude, that whatever is eternal should be also unchangeable; and it is the fact, that the material world, which he assumes to be eternal, is every day undergoing some alteration.

Egyptians.

The Egyptians held, according to Diodorus Siculus, that man sprang from the earth, when it was in a mire, and almost fluid state, as insects exude from the mud of the Nile, when the intense heat of the sun causes putrescences to be formed out of it. Why marshy places, acted upon by the heat, do not produce men and women now, if this hypothesis be rational, remains to be explained: as also, since none of those productions are to be met with in the present day, and the laws of nature are assumed by such reasoners to be immutable, when, and from what cause, the earth lost her power to generate human beings, while she retains that of producing vegetables. Amidst these and other contradictory theories, the result of much study, and defended with no inconsiderable zeal, was it not essential to man's happiness that the questions, 'Whence am I? What am I,' should be answered? 'Whence are the existences around me? What is required of me? Whither am I tending? In what shall these things terminate?'—The greater part of the observances of the Ancients so completely originated in tradition, that their most distinguished men confessed they were unable to account for usages which they practised. Plato, Pythagoras, and Porphyry, expressed their astonishment at the universal prevalence of sacrifice, and their entire ignorance as to its origination. Whatever related to futurity, as it could be reasoned upon with so little satisfaction, was examined in its traditional shape, and adopted with an eagerness that proved at once the importance of the subject, and the scantiness of their information. "Being of Beings," said Aristotle, "have mercy upon me!" What would such a Philosopher have given for "a sure word of prophecy?" And can it be imagined that the Parent of the universe should leave his children destitute of that information which is so essential to their present well-being, their comfort in dying moments, and their interests in eternity? If Revelation be necessary (and after such considerations, furnished by reason, philosophy, facts, the concurrent testimony of antiquity, and the actual condition of human nature, the position is no longer problematical,) can it be imagined that such a Revelation has not been granted? and if it has been given, where shall we look for it but as it rises in the fountains of Sacred History? For all its doctrines are essentially connected with its FACTS.

The Bible.

If the question of Revelation be conceded, it will then be seen, upon the widest scrutiny, that no pretensions to it have been tenable, not to say established, but those advanced by the Bible. The Hindoo institutions, usually deemed the most philosophical and intellectual, have no sustainable antiquity in comparison with those of Moses. The boasted Koran of Mohammed is evidently of later date—borrowed in its most important facts and precepts from the book which it attempts to rival: the whole work is too contracted to apply to universal man; too mean to support the claim of

* Cic. de Nat. Deor. li. 37.

Inspiration ; and too sensual to emanate from the pure and infinite Spirit. Other assumptions, among different nations, when brought to the test, will be found to be no less defective : and if placed in comparison with Scripture, will only confirm its Claims. Sacred History.

The question of *Inspiration* arises out of Revelation, and is inseparable from it. Revelation Inspiration. must be either immediate or transmissive : it must be communicated to the human race one by one, individually and immediately ; or be committed to a few, by them written down, and thus circulated and perpetuated. The first supposition requires perpetual Inspiration in respect of every man ; the last is that which is claimed by the Bible, and connected with the character of Sacred History. We cannot have a Revelation without Inspiration. All that reason could achieve has been attempted by Philosophers of various ages and countries ; and the Sacred Historians could have no advantage over others, excepting on this ground. Whatever superiority of information distinguishes the Bible, must be Inspiration—whatever Inspiration rests upon the whole, must belong to its History, as a part of that whole ;—and in so far as this is true, it not only gives the facts recorded a superhuman authority, but imparts a different character to the Historians themselves. The character of the *Narrator* in all History stands first in point of order. He must possess integrity, or we cannot rely upon his representations ; wisdom, or we cannot confide in his discrimination ; an unbiassed mind, or we shall only obtain partial statements. The Narrator in this case is *God himself*, the Fountain of Truth ; to whom Narrator. all things are open, who is incapable of error, and whose authority is impressed upon the whole communication. The Historian becomes no more than the medium through which Inspiration acts ; and all his faculties are under the direction of a power superior to themselves. His memory acquires a supernatural extent ; while “ all things are brought to his remembrance ” in their order, and are recorded with an accuracy unattainable in any other way, unimaginable on any other principle. They are not original Authors, but Scribes to the Great Narrator. And if the principle be not carried so far—if in cases of which they were eye-witnesses they may be said to be Authors—the admission of their statements into Revelation supposes that their natural faculties were under a superior influence, preserving them from those errors to which human infirmity, with the very best intentions, renders the mere human Historian liable. This superintendence comports with leaving the writer to choose his own words, and retain his own style and manner. It is obvious, with regard to the Prophets, that, although they record events so evidently out of the reach of human presence at the time when they wrote ;—events unconnected with any existing train of circumstances which could give countenance to them as probable, much less enable them to embody them from futurity ;—nevertheless they retained their several peculiarities of style, and are as distinguishable from each other in manner and language as any other writers. Prophecy puts their Inspiration beyond doubt ; and the retention of their peculiarities by each, as clearly evinces that Inspiration does not necessarily interrupt the usual manner of the Historian.

Even had it been otherwise, and were we required to waive the plea of Inspiration altogether, the natural character of the Sacred Historians ranks them with the first of human beings. Character of the Sacred Historians. In point of grandeur and sublimity of conception, of the power of discrimination, of unaffected simplicity, of ingenuous disinterestedness, of unbending integrity, of successful execution, they are unrivalled ; and it is only necessary to compare their productions with the most admired labours of antiquity, to assign to them unhesitatingly the preference. From the enactments of Moses, almost all legislation has been drawn, both as to principle and to form ; and where any departure from his grand outline is attempted, the change has been perceptibly for the worse : while the most elegant Critic of the heathen world has produced the opening of his narrative, as the most striking specimen of the true sublime which could be presented.—“ God said—what ? Be light—and light was. Be earth—and it was so.” Few will dispute the authority of Longinus on such a subject ; and none can doubt his taste and judgment. If Sacred History be tried by the character of its Narrators, it wears the marks of undoubted authenticity.

Sacred
History.
Events nar-
rated.

Let it be tried by the *events narrated*, another important criterion of History. The earliest and most interesting events form the subject of its record. It begins where Revelation must be supposed to commence its testimony, with the origin of the visible creation. The first inquiries of man are directed towards the material universe, himself constituting so noble a part of it, and its destinies being so inseparably associated with his own. Urged by a nobler impulse than curiosity, he endeavours to retrace the stream of time to its fountain, and to penetrate even to the Infinite Cause, by whom all events are generated. What was to the Philosopher a subject of speculation, giving birth to numberless and contradictory hypotheses, is to Moses simply a subject of History. The first sentence of his narrative unveils the hidden and eternal cause, settles the disputes of Philosophy, assumes the fact of the Creation, declares the Creator, and proceeds to a detail of the circumstances attending this stupendous transaction. "In the beginning, God created the heavens and the earth;"—a grandeur of expression, not inferior, perhaps, to the celebrated passage so distinguished by Looginus. Around this revealed truth, as a central point, the scattered schemes of Philosophy rally; correcting their errors, reconciling their differences, and contributing their researches: Science finds the base upon which to place a fulcrum that can raise the world; History discovers the spring of the ever-flowing tide of time; and Chronology the *punctum stans*, the fixed, determinate, immovable point, whence all her dates are deduced, and to which all divisions of time are to be referred. This great fact being established, the Historian proceeds briefly, yet distinctly, to enumerate the leading particulars of this operation; passes on to a consideration of man's primeval state; unfolds the facts attending his degradation, leading to the miseries to which he is exposed, and accounting for the thousand natural shocks that "flesh is heir to."—The narrative thus instantly connects itself with the scheme chosen for his recovery, into which all other events necessarily resolve themselves; and the grand march of Providence is distinctly visible, through all the shadows of ages; from the chorus of the sons of God at the birth of nature, to the final shout of the Archangel, and the trumpet which shall awaken the dead.

Collateral
evidences.

To go over the various periods of this history is not the business of a preliminary dissertation: but to advert to them thus generally, at this early stage of the discussion, is sufficient to establish the position, that the events recorded are such, in their nature, as might be expected from Revelation, and as are suitable to the dignity and the purposes of History. To apply to them the general rule of historical judgment, they have all the *collateral evidences* of which such facts could be capable. Moses has no contemporary Historian; the most ancient writers fall centuries after him; and he records events which took place centuries before his birth. The Deluge forms the common epoch from which all nations commence their records; and, under different names, Noah is the first Monarch announced in History. Traditions relative to the Creation agree with the narrative of Moses, in all essential points, and even in form, whatever speculations and fables may disfigure the simple account. Historians, and Poets more ancient than Historians, drew from this common source. Traditions of the Fall are to be traced over all the East, and among the Western nations; they traverse the North, and occupy the South; they have penetrated the wilds of America, and are planted in the islands of the Pacific Ocean: in truth, the forms of worship and observances added to these traditions, every where authenticate the Mosaic Narrative; and from their universality, which would have been impossible had they not originated in fact, a sanction is given to Sacred History, which could scarcely have been expected, and which is altogether unexceptionable, because it is indirect in its nature, and infinitely diversified in its form.

Sacred
History a
clue to all
other

It is no small collateral proof of the truth of Sacred History, that it furnishes a *clue* to many facts, which, although known, could not have been understood without its assistance. It serves to correct other Historians, and in every instance into which the Sacred Writings and general History come into contact, it is to them what the chronometer is to the common watch; it measures the same period, but does it with superior precision; it relates the same events, but with greater

accuracy. Still further, as the floating traditions of the heathen world bear upon the facts recorded in the Scriptures; so, by a reaction, Sacred History develops the hidden import of many an ancient institution, the intention of which was not comprehended by those who lived under it, nor could it be otherwise understood; and gives consistency and reality to the traditions of antiquity. It brings distant occurrences to bear upon each other; it discloses political interests jarring among themselves, all tending to the harmony of the universe, and the ultimate amelioration of the human race. It supplies, in short, to time what gravity is to space—the *principle* which holds and draws every thing together.

Sacred
History.

If we examine the *manner* of narration; one of the most striking features of Sacred History, which, while it demonstrates its authenticity, renders it invaluable, is the *fidelity* with which it relates occurrences offensive to the existing powers, and not always honourable to the Historian himself. Patriotism is evidently a moral principle highly appreciated by Moses: yet he disguises nothing that reflects disgrace upon his country. While he could even desire to sacrifice himself for the interests of the people whom he governed; yet he never conceals and never palliates their rebellions, their ingratitude, and their rices. Self-love cannot be supposed to have been extinguished in the bosom of the Historian; yet he records his own failings and infirmities, with the same simplicity and sincerity with which he wrote down the sins of his countrymen. What a principle must that have been, which could thus absorb the prejudices of the writer, and induce him, with whatever painful feelings, to give his testimony alike against himself and his people! This faithfulness is especially exhibited in the *Biography* of the Old and New Testaments. It is more difficult to be honest in this, than in almost any other species of writing. In History the disgraces of a country are borne by multitudes; the guilt of a people, large in itself, is so divided among them, that the individual participation appears comparatively small, while our self-love induces us to take more than our share of its honours: but in Biography the attention is fixed upon an individual; to whom the whole praise or blame exclusively belongs. The writer also, in most instances, stands in some personal relation to him. If as a friend, he too frequently gives the *beau ideal*, the creature of his own imagination, instead of the living being, whose characteristics he professes to have marked as they arose, and to have written down in all the reality of their existence. If as an enemy, it is difficult for him to perceive, and still more difficult to record, real excellencies. He sometimes dips his pen, not in ink, but in the gall which flows from an envious heart; and in no instance fails to give a tone to his narrative corresponding with the actual state of his feelings in respect of his subject.

Fidelity of
Narration.

Biography.

In this, as in all other cases, Sacred History maintains its high purity of character; and the same inflexible adherence to facts, and the same simplicity of detail, pervades its Biography. The writer is indeed always a "man of like passions with others," but his passions are subordinate to sincerity and truth. Abraham, "the friend of God," shall be placed before us in all the poeillaninity of his equivocation, as well as in all the strength of his faith;—Balaam, the adversary of Israel, shall be delineated by the Jewish Historian in all the intellectual grandeur of his mind; and his sins, and his talents, shall be given in the same clear, untrifled, undisguised language.

We have noticed the moral purposes to which it is one of the decided excellencies of the Scriptures to subordinate every thing. Hence the space assigned to the life of Abraham in the book of Genesis, and to that of the Jews as a people in the subsequent portions of Scripture History. Upon that people were suspended the moral destinies of the world. But the most important objects that are held in view are never inconsistently pursued. They mislead us in nothing, they disguise from us nothing, to subserve *any* purpose. Unquestionably, the great object for which the whole narrative is placed before us, is to impress the claims of truth and virtue on the mind, and to win us to the path of wisdom by exhibiting its rewards. But the difficulties of a wise and virtuous course are not disguised. The total failures of some who have entered upon it: the partial failures of all. Cain, and Esau, and Lot's Wife, and Balaam, and Saul, stand in faithful record of a total

Frankness
of Scrip-
ture in
every thing.

Sacred
History.

departure from what most men would have thought the fear of God;—while the Scripture History of Noah, and of Abraham, and of Lot, and of David, and of Solomon, as faithfully exhibits the temptations that have charms for us all, and the failures of God's most favoured children. The whole Bible breathes the same tone of noble frankness. In the New Testament we have a Judas and a Peter; a Demas and a Barnabas; a Simon Magus and an Apostle Paul! One is constantly reminded of God, who CANNOT lie.

And why—perhaps we may be permitted to ask in this place—does the Holy Spirit of God, whom we have seen to be the real Historian of this volume, thus appear almost solicitous to detach our entire confidence from its greatest names? Because, in point of fact, even they were not worthy of *that* confidence—because other names less worthy had then claimed our unqualified imitation with some sort of specious precedent; but above all, because there was “a Name above every name,” toward which human attention was at last to be directed, and in which the most unhesitating confidence might be placed with safety.

Rules of
trying
Sacred His-
tory.

The *rules* of interpreting Sacred History must arise out of itself, and the peculiarity of its character. If its pretensions be established, so is its authority. It must be permitted to assume its own principles, and to furnish the data upon which it should be judged. To every Science something is conceded, as the axioms whence its truths are demonstrable, or the reasoning process cannot advance, nor any certain deductions be made. Its claims as Revelation are first to be examined; and if these be granted upon satisfactory evidence, it must state its own principles; it must be compared with itself; and it must be judged by its agreement, or the contrary, with its own pretensions. This mode of investigation applies as well to its History as to any branch of its information; with this difference, that on certain doctrines, or descriptions relative to the Deity, to eternity, and to spiritual subjects, we can have no other evidence than that which arises from the consistency of its own testimony, the harmony of the parts of the system with each other, and with the whole, and the inherent dignity of the subjects themselves: but its History is capable of corroboration, from many collateral circumstances, and from external and foreign testimony. While, therefore, it must be judged upon its own principles, it does not shrink from critical examination; and we should avail ourselves of the confirmations afforded by contemporary Historians, so far as they reach, and of the most ancient writers, relative to more remote facts, which they only learned from tradition.

Its charac-
teristics.

Already its *characteristics* have been adverted to; and those points in which it is distinguished from all other History are of no small moment, in forming our judgment respecting its excellence and superiority. It is more *extensive* than any other record. It has rolled back the cloud which hung over the earliest periods of time, and unveiled the fountain of being. It deduces the human race from one man, and not only traces all nations to a common stock, but discloses the political origin of the most distinguished among them. This is not the place to enumerate these, as they sprang from the sons of Noah, and were dispersed from the plains of Shinar, over the world: it is sufficient, at present, to advert to the fact. Herodotus, the father of Grecian History, did not flourish until after the regular records of the Bible had closed with the captivity of Judah; and Orpheus, if he ever existed, lived probably in the days of David or Solomon. Homer did not write until about eight centuries and a half before the Christian era. The earliest records of Egypt, of China, and of those nations which have assumed the remotest antiquity, have convicted themselves of misrepresentation in point of Chronology; and by comparing their assumed dates with known ones, especially with astronomical observations which they have recorded, it is demonstrable that no historical fact exists which can be traced further than about two centuries later than Noah; while the usual origin of Ancient History is at least eleven hundred years later than Moses; or even calculating the traditions of the earliest Grecian Poets, Hesiod himself did not write until seven centuries after the birth of the Jewish Legislator; that is, about fourteen centuries after the Flood;

the renowned Grecian Historian not flourishing until nearly nineteen hundred years subsequent to that grand event. Sacred History begins not with the narrative of any particular people, but is a history of the whole human race, until long after, when they were dispersed abroad, and the vast family of mankind divided into nations, it selected the illustrious ancestor of the Jews, and confined its attention principally to that people, as the stock whence the Messiah should spring, "in whom all nations of the earth are to be blessed." Such is the extensive character of Sacred History; and upon the principles already laid down, for reasons arising out of its Inspiration, it must be more certain than human record.

Sacred
History.

It may be asked, how far its belief is matter of Reason, and how far matter of Faith? This is an important inquiry; for Sacred History, being such as we have described, is the object of both. On points purely rational, its belief is undoubtedly as much matter of Reason as any other History. Most events are in the ordinary course of Nature: its record of them is simple testimony, subject to the rules applicable to any other record. Here one naturally inquires, whether the writer witnessed what he relates? If so, whether he were a competent judge of that which he witnessed? If he were not an eye-witness, through what medium he received his information? Whether the sources whence he derived it, were to be relied upon? In almost every case, these questions are rendered unnecessary by the fact, that the writer himself witnessed the event, that he recorded it at the time, and that his simple narrative gives no opinion, but leaves every man to make his own reflections upon it. The History grew, therefore, after the book of Genesis (and it might be shown through what channel Moses probably received his information of the facts therein recorded,) under the hand of the Jewish Legislator and succeeding rulers of that nation, from year to year, until it acquired the bulk and harmony in which it is now presented to us.

Matter of
Reason.

There are, however, parts of the History, the belief of which, as they relate to events out of the ordinary course of Nature, and to spiritual subjects, must be matter of Faith. In these we must repose upon the tried veracity of the Historian; at the same time remembering whom he introduces as the agent. Doubtless with God all things are possible. It remains, therefore, only to satisfy ourselves as to the fact of his interference. The laws of Nature are nothing more than her ordinary course, and they originate in the Divine volitions. The will of God is the great law, by which the whole machinery of the universe is governed. It would be too much to presume, either that these things are unalterable in themselves, or that they had never deviated from the course which we see them take, when the testimony of men of acknowledged veracity in every other case, is direct to the contrary. Miracles are capable of evidence; and when we say, that these things are subjects of Faith, we by no means wish to exclude the exercise of Reason. In short, in relation to the Scriptures, there must be an union of both. Revelation does not violate Reason, but exceeds it: Faith is, in this respect, but Reason matured; carried into an element purer than her own, and ripened into Religion. As sense rises to Reason, and Reason soars beyond the sphere of sense: Faith is but the higher sense; and, of stronger proof than Reason, takes her flight where Reason cannot reach. These are the gradations by which we ascend to the invisible God, from the footstool of his works, to the throne of his glory.

Matter of
Faith.

A question remains, whether there are degrees of Credibility in Sacred History; and if so, what they are; to what extent they reach; and by what standard they are to be measured. The answer to this inquiry must depend, first, upon the concession or denial of its character as a Revelation; as conducted under Divine superintendence, or as left to itself. If the fact of its Inspiration be granted, it is futile to speak of degrees of Credibility: the evidence belonging to the subject is complete in all its parts; every thing becomes absolutely certain; every thing must be admitted as infallibly true. Upon this point, we have given neither a sparing, nor a doubtful opinion. We have argued its Inspiration, and have intimated its corresponding claims.

Degrees of
Credibility.

It may nevertheless be conceded, and this will be found to be the fact, that there is stronger evidence for those portions of Sacred History which most require it, than for others in which we

Sacred
History.

have either an inferior interest, or are capable of gathering testimonies nearer home, or from existing circumstances. The Pentateuch, for instance, as relating to a remoter antiquity than any other portion, and to events connected with the very birth of time, comes before us guaranteed by a more ample scope of evidence, than any subsequent part of the Bible. It is also no less true, that certain leading facts in these books are more strongly attested in themselves, and more supported by collateral evidence, than others of less moment to the world. Such as the Creation, the Fall, the Flood, the Dispersion of the People, the Birth and Life of Abraham, the History of Joseph, the Miracles of Moses in Egypt, &c. ; all of which are preserved in various ancient records under different forms. Other facts are not weakened by the strength peculiarly attached to these ; their prominence arising from their preeminent importance in themselves, and to mankind. And it is evident, that if the remarks which have been made, apply to the Bible at large, they have peculiar force when directed to the New Testament. But this subject will be fully treated in a future Essay, on the Historical Evidences of Christianity.

Its penetra-
tion.

There are peculiarities belonging to Sacred History, so remote from every thing seen among men, and such an unearthly character is given even to its relation of ordinary concerns, that the most superficial observer can scarcely fail to distinguish it from every human production. Its true and faithful portraiture of our own nature, its appeal to the heart of the reader, alone suffices to establish this observation. There is a knowledge of the human heart, a master-key to its subtlest recesses, which not only surpasses human penetration in its origin, but astonishes while it terrifies the individual whose bosom is laid open to his own inspection ; and who finds himself a stranger, where he had thought himself most at home. Perhaps this is a fact more striking than even its impartial delineation of the character of others—and certainly infinitely more important to us. Not a lurking passion is suffered to remain undetected in its living pictures. Motives which we should be ashamed to avow, are dragged before our conscience, in the history of another: and while his sentence is passed, we feel a personal condemnation. This is, indeed, the true and highest Use of History : to speak to the heart through the understanding ; to make every character that is brought before us, promote the formation and consolidation of our own.

ENCYCLOPÆDIA METROPOLITANA;

OR, THE

UNIVERSAL DICTIONARY OF KNOWLEDGE,

ON AN ORIGINAL PLAN.

Third Division.

HISTORY.

CHAPTER I.

ANTEDILUVIAN PERIOD.

History.
History
from
the Bible.

Is the principles advanced in our Introductory Essays are just, it will follow, that we have no History of many hundred years from the beginning of time, excepting that which is contained in the Scriptures. The distinction of Sacred and Profane History is inapplicable to facts at this period, one source of authentic information alone subsisting; we may enter, therefore, at once upon our design, by breaking up the fountains of all human events, as they are discovered by Moses. At the same time, we shall not overlook those traditional circumstances which bear upon these earliest records, and which are noticed and presented, under various forms, by the poets and historians of remotest antiquity. These, confessedly later than Moses, amidst all the variations of their respective fables, have agreeing features, which show their alliance to each other, and betray the common source whence they were borrowed.

Creation.

The world was created; and was not, as some of the heathen philosophers affirmed, eternal. It was the result of design; and not, as the Epicureans held, the fortuitous combination of atoms impelled together by their own gravity—the production of chance. It was the work of one Being, infinite in power, wisdom, and goodness. "In the beginning, God created the heaven and the earth." Whether the matter of the world were before the era of this great transaction, in a chaotic state, has been the subject of much dispute in all ages: it seems most consonant with the simplicity of the only authentic record upon this subject, to conclude that the materials were created, at the time when they were employed to frame this beautiful structure of the universe. This could be effected by Omnipotence, and in a moment: and it seems to us the most natural

construction of the Mosaic account that so it was. The state of primeval matter was confused, the elements of all things commingled in an indistinguishable and inert mass—covered with darkness—empty, unformed, unfathomable.

The period at which this beginning is to be fixed is not now an object of inquiry: it would lead us too far, and it will find its proper place of discussion in our separate paper upon CHRONOLOGY. It may suffice for the present to observe, that the pretensions of the Chaldeans, Egyptians, and Chinese, are unsupported by any rational evidence; that some of their remotest dates may be traced to certain events recorded in the Scriptures, and consequently falling within its system of chronology; and that considerable confusion has arisen by regarding these ancient records as relating to remote sovereignties, when in many instances they respected particular families which governed at the same time several principalities (answerable to the Saxon Heptarchy), but which were represented by the Egyptians as successive, while they were in truth contemporary. Bochart indeed has shown that the earthly reigns assigned to the Egyptian gods, the oldest of their dynasties, extend not beyond the time of Joseph.

The idea of an original chaos, without any very material variation, except as to form and expression, has been adopted by the most ancient writers, as well by the poets, as by historians and philosophers. Orpheus and Hesiod, among the first; Sanchoniathon, Moses, and Manetho, among the second; and among the last, by no less a person than Plato himself; who says, that "chaos, or first matter, was the *ῥύος*, stock, out of which every thing was composed." These writers, indeed, differed as to the first principle, whether it were

Azothob-
vian period.
A. M.
1.
—
A. C.
4004.

Chrono-
logy.

Chaos

History. water or fire, or a commixture of elements—a sort of fluid earth—and the last seems to have been the prevailing opinion of the poets; whose general conclusions on this subject may be found concentrated in the eloquent opening of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*.

Progressive creation. The work of creation was progressive. The whole was reduced to order in six days. The agency employed in the Word of God—"He spake, and it was done; he commanded, and it stood fast;" and the "Spirit of God moved upon the face of the waters." These representations accord also with the mighty *fiat* imagined in antiquity, expressed by Ovid; traced to Moses; applauded by Longinus; and, with the universal idea of a first principle, called by some a *crind*; by others, *lore*; impregnating the chaos, and giving birth to nature. We cannot consent to understand the six days mystically. The simplicity of the terms requires a plain and literal interpretation. He who formed matter out of nothing in an instant could, by the same power with which he constituted the materials, have given form to the creation. But he chose to interpose a sensible space of time between those works, which he could as easily have effected by a single act of his will.

The first impression made upon matter by the Creator was the communication of a rapid motion to a portion of it, which constituted *light*. And this is mentioned before the creation of the sun or of the stars. Some have conceived that the sun was then in existence, but had not yet become visible, except through a dense atmosphere, which gave this appearance of a diffused twilight, while the body whence it emanated was unseen. We adhere still to the literal history, and in so doing must conclude, that it was the diffusion of that light which was afterwards collected into one body—the sun. The means by which such a result was effected must be unknown to us, who are not yet agreed as to the sun itself, what is its nature, and how it produces or communicates light. The fact is simply we have light mentioned on the first day, and the creation of the sun on the fourth. After the grant of light, we have the division of it from darkness; the names of Day and of Night imposed; "and the evening was, and the morning was—one day." This mode of reckoning from the evening to the morning, and of placing the darkness first, accords with all the usages of antiquity, and gave birth to its mythological representation of *night* as the elder-born of nature. This was the work of the first day.

Second day. On the second day an *expansion* was made; for so the word (רָחַץ) rendered "firmament" signifies, and seems to refer to the atmosphere cohering the globe, possessing density sufficient to support the clouds; drawing up particles of water, until the accumulation is too great for it to sustain, and then suffering them to fall in showers of rain. This appears to be the import of the separation which it was said to make between the higher and the lower waters; useless, indeed, there is reference to an accumulation of waters in the heavens, supposed by some to have subsisted originally, and to have been expended at the deluge. The Seventy have rendered it by a word signifying *solidity*, which is rendered which we have preferred is literal, and seems perfectly accordant with the existing phenomena of nature.

The work of creation proceeded on the third day, to gather the waters, before universally diffused, into their grand receptacles, imposing upon them the name of "seas;" and to render the earth, thus made visible, and which now received its distinctive appellation, capable of producing, at the divine mandate, herbs, plants, trees, the innumerable varieties of vegetation; each possessing in itself the seeds of reproduction, and bearing the fruits correspondent with its kind.

On the fourth day the sun and moon were created, which are described by the historian, according to their visible appearance, as "the greater and the lesser lights"—his language being accommodated to the popular sense, rather than confined to philosophical precision: the moon, although much less than the sun, approaching so near us, appears of almost equal magnitude; and, far inferior in dimension to those heavenly and distant bodies which are so insignificant to the naked eye, she yet occupies a more important and useful station to us, in her immediate connexion with the globe which we inhabit. Such a mode of expression, conformed to ordinary appearances, is perfectly allowable, interferes with no system of philosophy, and is rendered more valuable, as it sinks to the level of the meanest comprehension. The heavenly bodies are evidently represented, in their immediate relation to us when their uses are specified, "to give light upon the earth"—to distinguish between day and night—to measure out, and to regulate the seasons of the year. The ancients regarded them as signs of another order, and built upon this imagination the splendid, imposing, but unphilosophical and futile theory of astrology. "He made the stars also;" but whether on that day, or whether the account extends to the entire universe; to the sun, moon, and earth only; or only to the solar system, of which our globe is a part, and which some celebrated writers have considered as most probable—the history does not determine. Of the same order is the inquiry, whether angels were created on the first day, and as the first work of that day?—or whether they subsisted before, and were called into being at some unknown and more remote period selected from eternity? We only know that they witnessed the process of the creation—which, indeed, they might have done had they been only the first-created on the first day. Of their creation Moses does not speak; but Job assures us (or rather God, addressing himself to Job), that at the creation of the earth "the morning-stars sang together, and all the sons of God shouted for joy." Our speculations must be utterly unavailing upon a subject, respecting which the historian himself is wholly silent.

The fifth day produced from the waters the inhabitants of the deep, the fowls of heaven—and, perhaps, insects are intended by "the moving creature that hath life," as found in connexion with winged animals; the first of those which inhabit the water being only wings adapted to the element to which they are confined.

On the sixth day all terrestrial animals were formed—both beasts and reptiles; then, also, man was made "of the dust of the earth," and animated with "a living soul."

As this creation of man was the most sublime work, and the very end of all other of the divine operations, a more enlarged account is given of it than of any of the rest; the historian resuming it, after he appeared to

Antediluvian period.
Third day.

Fourth day

Order of creation.
First day.

Fifth day.

Sixth day.

History.
Diverse
Images.

have rested from his short, but comprehensive narrative. The particulars stated are few, but they are most interesting. "God created man in his own image." There were striking points of resemblance between what we know of man, in his original state, from this historical record, and what we conceive of Deity, as essential to his nature and sovereignty. In his intellectual endowments, in his dominion, in his felicity, he was made after the image of God; but we apprehend the point of resemblance particularly intended is his purity. "Male and female created he them." In regard to this clause of the record, it evidently implies, that whatever is intended by the image of God is alike applicable to both sexes: he was created male and female; but *man* is his general title; and man, in this sexual distinction, is formed after the divine resemblance. From these expressions arose the monstrous fable, imagined by the Jewish rabbins, adopted by Plato, and very generally diffused in tradition, that the first man united in one person both sexes—(*androgynos*)—a singular and striking evidence this, that the history of Moses had not only been traditionally circulated in substance, but received even in form, since in *expressions* were so misunderstood and misapplied.

Woman.

The woman was formed out of the side of the man; but at what time is not absolutely fixed. He was first created; he was placed in the station which he was to occupy; he was there long enough to feel the barrenness of solitude, and to learn that it was not good for him to be alone. Cast into a deep sleep, the Creator took one of his ribs and fashioned it into woman. For reasons which cannot be fathomed he chose means to produce an end to which they were in themselves wholly inadequate; he who employed six days in the creation could have effected it at once; and he who formed the female from a rib, in the ordinary process of nature by which man is yet produced, evinces no less an act of creation, and from materials as disproportionate to the work.

t'completion.

"Thus the heavens and the earth were finished, and all the host of them." When the great design was completed, God was said to rest from his work; an expression, doubtless, accommodated to the common forms of speech, and our conception: for "the Creator of the ends of the earth, feinteth not; neither is weary." In commemoration of this consummation of his plan, "God blessed the seventh day, and sanctified it." This fact is established by observances kept up until the resurrection of Christ—by the separation of a seventh part of our time still, to religious purposes; although, for sufficient reasons, the day has been changed; and by the otherwise inexplicable circumstance of the universal practice, from time immemorial, of considering the number seven, as a number of perfection. The food allotted to man, was vegetable;—"every herb bearing seed, which is upon the face of all the earth" and the "fruit of every tree." The ancients all agreed in this fact. Poetry and philosophy contended that man lived upon the produce of the earth only. Pythagoras built his plea for abstinence from flesh, as much on this tradition as upon his doctrine of metempsychosis.

Eden.

Man thus created, male and female, was placed in a garden "eastward in Eden." The human race were all derived from two persons, Adam and Eve; who were endowed with all perfections of mind and of

body, and encircled with every arrangement of circumstances which could conduce to their felicity; heaven within, and paradise around. Some have imagined that the whole of these representations are allegorical, and that there never was a local paradise. If these incipient records are allegorical, all that follows may be so, for any sufficient reason that can be assigned for the contrary. But to put this speculation at rest, it is evident, that subsequent parts of the Bible speak of those events, and others which followed, as facts—that the apostle Paul so reasons upon them, and traces analogies between them, the scheme of salvation, and the person of Christ; and that to regard these narratives as metaphorical representations of man's primitive state, is to destroy the authenticity of the history, and to leave us without a record of the most important transactions in the infancy of time; and in which the human race has the deepest interest. Others, have transferred this blissful habitation, from the earth to we know not what unknown regions,—in the moon—the immeasurable expansion of space—the third heavens.

Antediluvian period.

Not all geographical.

There are several places which have borne the name of Eden; some have been mentioned in the Scriptures; others by different writers. These sometimes appear under a little variation, being written Adan, and Eden, as well as Eden. It seems to have been a name applied to various situations distinguished for beauty in themselves, or for their superiority over surrounding scenery; thus perpetuating, through all generations, and in all countries, the memory of this original garden of delight. The name of paradise has the same universality of application.

Several Edens.

It is evident that the historian speaks of it as a place upon earth; and distinguishes its locality by assigning countries and rivers as its boundaries, which were well known in his day, at least traditionally, and for ages afterwards.

Local.

The conjectures as to its situation have been unbounded. Asia, Africa, and Europe, have all been honoured with the imputation of bearing it on their bosom; and America, since her discovery, has not been excluded a share in the distinction. Persons have been misled, sometimes by similarity of names given to rivers and districts in different countries; others by geographical resemblances of certain portions of the earth to the sketch of the site of Eden, as given by Moses; others, again, by the produce of certain spots abounding with gold or precious stones—conforming, in their imagination, the particular gems of the selected country to the unknown words by which the riches of paradise are described, and which are rendered in our translation, "bellum and the onyx-stone."

Conjectures as to its situation.

The general opinion seems to lean towards Persia, which Sir William Jones is inclined to think was the fountain of knowledge to the world. But it is impossible to arrive at any certain conclusion on this point. The deluge must have made such an alteration on the face of the earth, as to have swept away all traces of local scenery. And here we differ in fact from the respectable and learned writers of the Ancient Universal History, who impugn this argument, and maintain "that Moses described things as they were supposed to be when he wrote." To constitute a correct history, especially with its distinct claims to

Cannot be determined.

History.

inspiration, he must have designed to describe the place as it really was originally situated. And we have said, that its boundaries were *traditionally* well known in his day, because they may be supposed to have been so distinctly marked as to be easily traced until Noah; by whom the knowledge of them generally might afterwards be transmitted through his family, although no features of the actual scenery remained; and with sufficient distinctness to guide their posterity of the earlier times, so far towards the spot where Eden once stood, as to enable them to fix upon some existing rivers to denote generally what could not be precisely determined. For when the garden itself perished, it seems reasonable to conclude that its express local boundaries should also disappear.

Heathen testimonies to these facts.

Tradition furnishes among the heathens abundant testimonies, both to this garden, and the blissful condition of its innocent inhabitants. Who can doubt that the golden age, celebrated with so much poetry itself, originated so universally by philosophy itself, first, in the state of primal felicity appertaining to the progenitors of the human race? The Elysian fields, and the garden of Adonis, seem to refer to their paradise; for Bochart shows that the name *Elysian* is Phœnician, and of similar import with the Hebrew term *Eden*, implying a garden of delight. To these we may add the garden of the Hesperides, the Fortunate Islands, Ogygia, Tiphonæ, and other celebrated bowers of happiness, conceived by the ancients, whose substance, if they were more than shadows, must be looked for in the paradise of Moses.

Marriage.

It may be necessary to add, that from the fact of the conjugal union of Adam and Eve, and the circumstances in which it originated, the historian takes occasion to establish a grand article of jurisprudence, as it has proved in the event, by its adoption into all well-cultivated states, regarding marriage; which demonstrates that the law of morals and the law of nature are in fact coincident; and that we come nearer the one, as to its detail we approximate to the other. "Therefore, shall a man leave his father and his mother, and shall cleave unto his wife; and they shall be one flesh." It is remarkable that Jesus Christ adopts this sentiment, and with it the express language; thereby giving his august and indisputable sanction to the Mosiac History as a narrative of facts, in form as well as in substance, when he quotes this passage literally, and affirms that the departure from it in some respects in the law of Moses was compelled by the peculiar circumstances of the case, and "the hardness of heart" (to use his own terms) of the people over whom this distinguished legislator presided; but that the institution, as here recited, is the genuine law of morals, and should be that of society, as conformed to the law of nature, "from the beginning."

State of innocence.

The state of Innocence is justly described as one of great simplicity, as well as purity. "They were both naked, the man and his wife, and were not ashamed." Such a representation accords with the circumstances supposed; and no other could be imagined conformable to truth. Plato, probably gathering this fact from tradition, but certainly adopting it, from whatever source he derived it, as amongst the features of that state of primal innocence which he imagines to be the golden age, describes the first inhabitants of the

world in similar language. "They lived," said he, "naked and exposed—uncovered to the seasons," for no storms were there! (*γυμνοὶ ἐν αἰσ ἀέρωντο ὑπερ-λευστοί καὶ τῶν αἰσθημάτων*). The earth was then also represented as producing spontaneously all necessary things; a renewal of which Virgil anticipates in the latter days, in the eclogue *Pollio*, and in language taken partly from the prophetic descriptions of the future reign of the Messiah; known to him, possibly, through the Greek translation; and certainly from the fables of the poets relative to the golden age, which he expects to be revived, and which we now see sprang from tradition, flowing from this primal state. That he refers to those delineations of the golden age is evident, when he describes his hero as one

Austrian period.

quo ferrea primùm
Desinet, ac toto surgit genis ævæ mœdo—

"by whom the iron years shall cease, and the golden age arise upon all the world;"—and as one of its principal features, he supposes

omnis feret omnis tellus
Non rastro patietur humus, non vinea falcem—

"every land shall produce all necessary things; the ground shall not endure the harrow, nor shall the vine need the pruning-hook."—Inspired by his subject, he seems to have caught the spirit of prophecy, while he details also the ancient representations of man's original state—

At tibi prima, puer, nullo munuscula cultu,
Krassus hederas possim cum baccare, tellus,
Mistatque ridens colubæ fundat acantho.

— nec magnos mercentur armenta iuvencos.

"The earth shall pour before thee, sweet boy, without culture, her smiling first-fruits: the timid herds shall not fear the formidable lions."—The golden age, so conceived, is evidently borrowed from the paradisaical state.

Such was the primal state of man.—He named the various animals as they were summoned before him, by some kind of immediate intuition, without which it would also be difficult to account for the origin of speech. He received the partner of his life and fortunes in the way which has been described; who proved, alas! the companion not only of his weal, but of his woe. His habitation was paradise; his occupation to "dress the garden, and to keep it"; his food was the spontaneous bounty of the earth; his prohibition, one only law—that, of a single tree in Eden, "he should not eat." The prohibition was a test of obedience—the penalty was death. The test was conformable to the simplicity of man's original state; and it is difficult to conceive what other test could have been applied to a moral agent in such a situation. It must be a test addressed to the reason, for to it alone could temptation attach. In all its simplicity, it was a covenant acknowledging the sovereignty of the Creator and the allegiance of the creature; demanding the seal of obedience, involving the happiness or misery of the subject, and attaching to it penalties and rewards. In proportion to the simplicity of the law was the criminality of the breach of it; its violation was an impeachment of divine truth, a suspicion of the wisdom and goodness of God;—a

The fall.

History. defiance of his authority, a dissatisfaction with their state, an ambition to surpass it; the breach of a positive law, with all its obligations, and an open renunciation of their allegiance to the Creator. We have ventured these remarks upon the facts about to be stated, because their simplicity has been objected against the Mosaic History by those who have not considered that the spirit of disobedience did not depend upon the extent of the actual offence, and that the act must of necessity conform to the simplicity of the state in which the moral agents were placed.

Mosaic History. The history of this melancholy transaction cannot be better given than in the words of Moses.—“Now the serpent was more subtle than any beast of the field which the Lord God had made. And he said unto the woman, Yes, hath God said, ye shall not eat of every tree of the garden? And the woman said unto the serpent, We may eat of the fruit of the trees of the garden: but of the fruit of the tree which is in the midst of the garden, God hath said, ye shall not eat of it, neither shall ye touch it, lest ye die. And the serpent said unto the woman, Ye shall not surely die: for God doth know, that, in the day ye eat thereof, then your eyes shall be opened; and ye shall be as gods, knowing good and evil. And when the woman saw that the tree was good for food, and that it was pleasant to the eyes, and a tree to be desired to make one wise, she took of the fruit thereof, and did eat; and gave unto her husband with her, and he did eat.”

Remarks. Such is the history—which we cannot conceive to be allegorical for reasons already assigned; the simplicity of which accords, as we have shown, with the primal state of man; and if it be rejected, we have no History whatever of what we were, or the way in which we became what we are. The serpent, described only by his subtlety, was originally a very different animal from what he now is—and he is still, in some countries, a very beautiful one. Some species of serpents bred in Arabia and Egypt have an unusual brilliancy, and are of a golden colour, reflecting the sunbeams with amazing splendour. The fiery, flying serpents, which are supposed to have been in this order, are called by Moses by the same name (in Num. xxi. 6.) as is applied to the highest orders of angelical existences—*seraphim* (שֵׁרָפִים)—an appellation which would never have been selected to describe celestial beings, had not the creature itself been transcendently beautiful. The serpent could be no more than the organ of an invisible agent; and we have here the first intimation of a spiritual being, fallen from rectitude, became the tempter of innocence; having loved others in his ruin, desirous to augment his victims; and subsequently spoken of in the Scriptures under the form in which he seduced our first parents.

Speech of the serpent. That the serpent should speak is a difficulty which has induced some to suppose that all animals had originally the gift of speech; others, that no speaking took place, but that the motions of the animal indicated his intentions; and others, that he spoke, and accounted for it as the virtue of the tree which he recommended, and of which he professed to have eaten. Moses said—he spake: to the rest we can say nothing, since it is not for us to supply what the history has left untold.

Trees—of life and knowledge. As to the trees, it is probable, that the one was planted as the preservative of man's immortality; its fruit being designed to invigorate him, and ward off

decay: the other, being the test of his allegiance, in Antediluvian period. allusion to that, and to the consequences of his disobedience, was denominated “the tree of knowledge of good and evil.”

Man transgressed—and felt the first consciousness of Sentence, guilt. Summoned by his Creator, he could not deny his offence; but he endeavoured to transfer the blame to the woman, by whom it was cast upon the serpent: each excusing themselves by referring to the organ of their rebellion, neither denying the fact. Sentence was passed upon the serpent, that he should be degraded from the rank which he held in the creation, whatever it was, and become a grovelling reptile; upon the woman, that the pangs of child-bearing should be entailed upon her, and her posterity; upon the man, that he should be driven from paradise, exposed to hardship, earn his bread by the sweat of his brow, and labour upon the soil which was cursed for his sake; upon both, that they should die, and return to their dust.

Such was the fall; of the consequences of which Conscience became immediately sensible in various ways. Shame took possession of them; their bodies no longer were guarded against the elements, which now changed; they needed a covering, and received it, from interwoven leaves and the skins of beasts. They were expelled Eden, and forbidden ever to return; a fiery guard of cherubim was placed to guard the hallowed spot, and its original possessors became (what men have ever since been) pilgrims upon the earth.

The principal features of this disastrous event are Tradition. preserved in tradition. Plato represents them in his Symposia. “Porus being drunk with nectar, enters the garden of Jupiter, is circumvented by Penia, and thence cast out.” This fable is mentioned by Origen, as referring to the fall. The deterioration of human affairs is generally stated by the ancients, in the golden age yielding first to that of silver, finally to that of iron. The history of Adam and Eve, of the tree, of the serpent of the circumstances of the fall, is blended with Grecian ceremonies; the very name of Eve being preserved in their observances, and the symbol of the serpent, employed in their mysteries. It is even to be traced amidst the traditions of Peru, and of the Philippine Isles; thus penetrating the idolatrous recesses of the new world.^a

The historian does not determine the residence of the Cain and first parents of the human race, after they were expelled paradise—it is probable that they would not wander far from a spot so endeared to them by recollections at once pleasing and painful; and tradition seems to fix their earliest abode somewhere in India.

The first-born of Adam was Cain—the second, probably about a year later, Abel. The name of the first, *possession*, indicates the fond expectations of the mother—that of the second, *vanity*, seems to intimate some early disappointment of her hopes. The youths grew up to manhood; they chose their occupations; the one was a husbandman, the other a shepherd. How long they lived together before the fatal catastrophe which rendered the one the first victim of death, and the other a murderer, cannot be decided: it may be inferred that several years had

^a See the testimonies of Maimonides, Sanchezianus, Plutarch; collected by Le Moine, Grotius, and others.

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elapsed before this event, since Cain expressed apprehensions subsequently, which implied some considerable population on the earth. The brothers brought an offering each to God; the one appears to be an acknowledgment of the Creator, in the presentation of the fruits of the earth; the other a sacrifice, offered as the apostle assures us in faith, and therefore acceptable, and looking forward to the great atonement which should eventually be made for sin.* The characters of these brothers were very different. In the gracious expostulations of the Deity with Cain, and in the express testimony of St. John, connected with that of St. Paul, we are assured of what the tenor of the history would have allowed us fairly to infer, that the one was righteous, and the other wicked; Abel obtaining the witness of God in his favour. The offering of Cain was rejected, while that of his brother was regarded with approbation. The bad passions of this wicked man became infuriated, and were written in dark and legible characters upon his countenance. A conference between God and this rebel took place. Who shall say in what way it was conducted? for who can tell the inconceivable and innumerable channels of access which the Father of Spirits has to the spirits which he created? It seems to have been by an audible voice; it appears as though Deity had not yet left off conversing with his fallen creature immediately. Every appeal was made to his reason, and to his conscience; and every appeal was in vain. He was told of the equality of divine dispensations; of the equity of the divine character; his pretensions as the first-born were allowed, and the homage of his brother guaranteed; the unreasonableness of his displeasure was stated; and of the perilous circumstances in which his untamed passions placed him, he was admonished. All proved unavailing. Sin had "conceived," and it "brought forth death." Smothering in his own dark bosom his malignant design, Cain invited his brother Abel into the field; and, when they were distant from human habitations, assaulted and slew him. This was the first appearance of man's last enemy; and could mortality assume a more terrific shape than murder? Murder by the hand of a brother? We must not trust ourselves to detail all the emotions which we cannot but associate with this transaction. What family became fatherless in consequence of this fratricide, the historian has not said—his narrative is brief, and he hastens on to events more nearly approaching his own times: but it is not likely that Abel should have been unmarried, or his marriage unfruitful, although the history is silent on these particulars; especially as it is evident the world had no inconsiderable population at that time.

Sentence of Cain.

This atrocious crime could not be concealed. The eye of God was alike upon the murderer and his victim; the earth drank, for the first time, human blood; but not before its voice had pierced the heavens. The murderer was sentenced to quit for ever the domestic circle which he had diminished, and the advantages of society, whose laws, written upon the heart, he had broken; and to wander a vagabond over the face of the earth, rendered, as to the spots which he had been accustomed to cultivate, barren; hated, feared and

shunned by all. A dreadful sentence; and felt deeply by the fratricide.—His apprehensions were excited, lest he should meet the retribution of death for his crime; and this fear, while it speaks to the multiplied population of the earth, appears to us to imply posterity from Abel, who would of course be most likely to visit the blood of their parent upon the head of his murderer. We will only stop to remark, that, supposing this to have taken place about the 130th year of the world (and that longevity of which we are about to speak demands this concession, since Adam begat Seth, the son next to Abel, at that time), and granting that Adam and Eve had no other children than Cain and Abel, excepting two daughters as their wives, a considerable population will have arisen in that space from these connexions. It has been calculated, that, "supposing them to have been married in the 19th year of the world, they might easily have had eight children, both male and female, in the 25th year. In the 50th year, there might proceed from them, in a right line, 64 persons. In the 74th year, there could be 572; in the 98th year, 4096; and in the 122nd year 32,768." If the "other children born (during that time) of Cain and Abel be added, their children, and the children of their children," the calculator supposes that "in the 122nd year, the produce would amount to, at least, 421,164 persons."† It is unnecessary to contend for the whole of this calculation: remitting much of it as conjectural, enough remains to justify the fear of Cain, especially in respect of the descendants of Abel, and to prove that the world could not be at that time very thinly peopled.

Driven from his home, he went out, and his first settlement was said to be in the land of Nod—on the east of Eden. Now as the word Nod, signifies a wanderer, we are inclined to render the passage, "he went out from the presence of the Lord" (that is, from the spot where he had been judged and sentenced), "and dwelt," or sojourned, "a vagabond, on the east of Eden." Without naming the place, the historian will then be understood only to state that he first pitched his tent in the direction specified. After some years' wandering from place to place, a state not unfavourable to population, as he would have, probably, issued in various stations where he had fixed for a season, he became so multiplied, that he "built a city," and called it "after the name of his son Enosh." His immediate posterity are slightly sketched by the historian: and the manner and time of his death unrecorded. Josephus affirms that his punishment wrought no repentance; but that he became more hardened in sin as he advanced in years. This, Moses has not said; and we will not load the wicked with guilt not imputed to them by Infinite Truth. It is certain that he was the first who built a city—a defended place: that his descendant, Lamech, whose inexplicable history we cannot undertake to unravel, was the first who set the example of polygamy; and to these indications of a depraved state of society—man obliged to fence himself against man, and giving scope to unbridled passions, which, in every instance,

Antediluvian period.

* Dissert. Chronol. &c. i. in the Journal de Paris, Jan. 1712, tom. ii. p. 6. Petrus, Doct. Temp. tom. ii. cap. 14. Stillingfleet, Orig. Sac. lib. i. cap. 4. Saurin's Disc. v.

* See Magee on the Attonement.

History. led to domestic contention and calamity—the useful and enchanting arts, “the artificer in brass and in iron,” and the inventor “of the harp and the organ,” do not form a counterbalance.

Enoch's translation. On the illustrious list of antediluvian patriarchs, the name of Enoch stands pre-eminent, on account of his translation. Although Moses expresses himself with a brevity according with the conciseness of his history, we can have no difficulty in understanding the expression—“he was not, for God took him;” since the writer of the epistle to the Hebrews assures us, “he was translated, that he should not see death.” As easy of interpretation is the beautiful figure employed to describe a holy life—“he walked with God;” explained by the same inspired commentator, with the like force and propriety, “for before his translation, he had this testimony, that he pleased God.” We may easily conceive of what importance such a triumph over mortality would be, in that early age, when death had but just commenced his ravages. It afforded, at one and the same time, an evidence of the immortality of the soul, and of the resurrection of the body. Almost the same reasons obtained for the translation of Elijah, in an age of darkness and apostacy. A singular chain of circumstances is afforded, by regarding each of the heads of the several dispensations of God's will, as affording similar evidence. Enoch, as standing at the head of the patriarchal dispensation,—Moses, of the law,—Elijah, of the prophets,—Jesus, of the gospel. In each of these cases is furnished a distinguished pledge of victory over death. Enoch is translated,—Moses is removed by a death, considered in all its circumstances, not inferior to translation,—Elijah is taken into heaven without dying,—Jesus dies, and rises the third day, “the first-fruits of those that sleep.”

Death of Adam and Eve. The father of mankind died at the advanced age of nine hundred and thirty years. *When* the partner of his bliss and laid reaped the bitter fruit of her transgression, or *where* they were buried, is not recorded.

Antediluvian longevity. One thing only requires, at this stage of the history, to be noted: and that is, the extraordinary age of the antediluvian patriarchs. Admitting the fact, physiologists have endeavored to account for it in various ways. By some it has been supposed to arise from temperance and simplicity of diet: by others, from the salubrity of the vegetable food of those days: others, again have imputed it to the constitutional stamina and organization of these men. Yet Shem, who was born before the flood, and had these advantages, fell short of the life of his ancestors 300 years. To original strength of constitution we may add a temperance which was probably destroyed at the deluge—and we must refer all to His sovereignty, who willed that human life should be shortened. Feeling these difficulties, some writers have conjectured that the years ascribed to these first men were lunar and not solar. It is a sufficient answer to this theory to observe, that on this calculation, their lives are reduced to a shorter period than our own; and some of them must have been fathers under, or about, six years of age. The fact affirmed in the Mosiac history is, however, not without powerful traditional support. Josephus enumerates the testimonies of Manetho, Berosus, Moschus, Hecataeus, Jerome the Egyptian, the writers of the Plineian antiquities, Hesiod, Hecataeus, Hellanicus,

Acusilanus, Ephorus, and Nicholas, who generally agreed that “the ancients lived a *thousand years*.” **Antediluvian period.**

We now come to an union between the wicked descendants of Cain, who retained the evil qualities of their evil progenitor, and the children of Seth, who began early “to call upon the name of the Lord,” and who preserved the worship of the true God in their families. These are called “the sons of God,” the former, “the daughters of men,” by the strong figures usual in eastern composition. The holy seed were seduced by the beauty of the degenerate stock. From this fatal commerce sprang “mighty men,” and “men of renown”—“there were” also “giants in those days”—and the whole “earth was” quickly “filled with violence.”

We understand by the term “giants,” not merely men of violence but of extraordinary bulk and stature. It is not necessary to suppose that *all* were such: but that there were giants in those days, and probably many of them. Tradition again corresponds with the Mosiac record. Pausanias, Philostratus, and Pliny, speak decidedly on this subject.†

As the result of the inauspicious union between the descendants of Seth and of Cain, fraud, and rapine, and all possible evils predominated. And with the narrative of Moses all antiquity agrees. Catullus and Ovid gave a frightful picture of this early depravity; and in terms which seem borrowed from the Scriptures.‡

This universal depravation opens the way for the tremendous scenery of the deluge: an epoch in History of the first importance; as all the authenticated records of profane History fall within the period as which it is said to have taken place—an event traditionally preserved among all nations, and corroborated by geological facts: a judgment the most awful and sublime in its character, and corresponding with the purity of that Infinite Being whose dignity and holiness had been outraged and insulted. Patience and pity were manifested amidst rising indignation; and the writers of revelation, in conformity with the testimony of Jesus himself, have corroborated the fearful page of History now to pass before us, and have appealed to it as a striking example of the justice and long-suffering of God.

When God determined to extirpate from the earth the wicked and abominable generation who had polluted it, and whose crimes cried to heaven for vengeance, he resolved to save Noah and his family, as the progenitors of a new race of men, and that the righteous should not perish with the wicked. For this purpose he announced his intention, and instructed him to prepare an ark for the saving of himself and of his family. In the sentence pronounced, an universal deluge is affirmed; and no partial inundation, of whatever extent, could justify the terms employed by the historian, and ascribed to the Deity. “Behold, I bring a flood of waters upon the earth, to destroy all

* Joseph. Antiq. Jud. lib. i. cap. 3.

† See Grotius, de Ver. Christ. Relig. sect. XVI.

‡ Catullus, Epithal. Pœl. et Theœ—Ovid, Metam. lib. i.—Grotius, ut supra—Horn. Il. lib. i. v. 233—276, Nestor complains that he shall never see such heroes for strength and courage as he had been accustomed in his youth to associate with.

History. flesh wherein is the breath of life, from under heaven; and every thing that is in the earth shall die!" To Noah and his family, led by an instinctive impulse, and disarmed for a season of their natural ferocity, all animals were to resort; that the ark might contain within itself the means of replenishing the earth, when it should be restored.

Warnings to the world. To the mean while, the patriarch was suffered to foretell this event, and to preach righteousness and repentance: but the world believed him not, and continued their crimes and indulgences, until a common and inevitable ruin overtook them. It has been commonly supposed, that this interval was 120 years: but this conclusion does not receive any countenance from Scripture, which only says, that "the long-suffering of God waited in the days of Noah, while the ark was preparing;"* without specifying the time which it occupied. The general misapprehension seems to have arisen from the declaration, "yet his days shall be 120 years;"† which alludes not to the space between the sentence and its execution, but to the contraction of human life. To suppose such a length of time to be consumed in the building, without the intervention of a miraculous preservation, one part of the structure must have perished, before the other had been completed. Besides, the calculations of the order of facts recorded by Moses destroys this opinion. "Noah was 500 years old when he begot Shem, Ham, and Japheth."‡ It is evident, that when he received the command to build the ark, those sons were married; since it is said, "thou shalt come into the ark: thou and thy sons, and thy wife, and thy sons' wives with thee."§ And "in the six hundredth year of Noah,"|| the flood came. While, therefore, it is not stated precisely when the command was given, nor, of course, what time the building of the ark occupied, it manifestly could not be so long as 120 years.

The ark. The singular structure which was to contain the remnant of the creation must have been of vast dimensions. Accordingly, the patriarch was instructed to "make it of gopher-wood:" a term used in no other place in the bible, and which has been supposed to signify cypress. It was to consist of three stories, and to be divided into various departments. The length of it was prescribed at 300 cubits, the breadth 50, and the height 30. The common cubit, originally imagined to be 18 inches, is now allowed to have contained 22. According to this measurement, it was 547½ English feet long, 91½ broad, 54½ high; and its solid contents amount to 2,730,781 ⅔ cubic feet. It was in shape an oblong square, with a flat bottom, and a sloped roof, raised a cubit in the middle; each of the three stories must have been about 18 feet high. It had windows, and an door; and seems to have had a covering which might be removed, probably made of skins drawn over the roof, and adapted to defend the apertures called windows. Upon this estimate, the ark appears to be sufficiently large and commodious for the purposes for which it was constructed.

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Every thing being thus prepared, "in the 600th year of Noah's life, on the 17th day of the 2nd month, were all the fountains of the great deep broken up, and

the windows of heaven were opened; and it rained 40 Antediluvian days and 40 nights;" Noah, with his family, and the pairs of all living creatures, having entered into the ark. And such was the increase of the waters, that not only the ark floated, but the face of the whole earth was covered, the waters rising 15 cubits above the highest mountains—every thing died: "and the waters prevailed upon the earth 150 days."‡ They gradually abated after that period; but the earth was not dry until a year had expired from the opening of this destruction. In the mean while, as the waters assuaged, Noah put out a raven, which finding supply of food from the carcasses, returned not again. Afterwards he sent forth a dove, which, neither living on carrion, nor finding a suitable resting-place, came back to the ark. A second time he sent her out, and she returned with an olive-leaf in her mouth: a signal of the abatement of the waters, so far as that the trees were visible. A third time he dismissed this messenger, and she returned no more. These circumstances are noted, because they are not forgotten in the traditions which relate to this great event.

Various hypotheses have been imagined to account Means of for the accomplishment of this great work, which requires-ment we need not enumerate. Instead of so doing, we shall present a solution of the difficulty proposed by Sir Henry Englefield, and published by Dr. Geddes, in his Critical Remarks upon the Deluge. "The diameter of the earth being taken at 8000 miles, and the highest mountain being supposed four miles high above the level of the sea (which is a height greater than that of the Andes), the quantity of water requisite to cover them will be an hollow sphere of 8008 miles diameter, and four miles thick: the content of which, in round numbers, is 800,000,000 cubic miles. Let us now suppose the globe of the earth to consist of a crust of solid matter 1000 miles thick, enclosing a sea, or body of water, 2000 miles deep; within which is a central nucleus of 2000 miles in diameter: the content of that body of water will be 109,200,000,000 cubic miles; or about 137 times the quantity of water required to cover the surface of the earth as above stated. Now water, by experiment, expands to about one 25th of its whole magnitude, from freezing to boiling; or 100th of its magnitude for 45 degrees of Fahrenheit's thermometer. Suppose, then, that the heat of the globe, previously to the deluge, was about 50 degrees of Fahrenheit's, a temperature very near that of this climate; and that a sudden change took place in the interior of the globe, which raised its height to 83 degrees; a heat no greater than the marine animals live in, in the shallow seas between the tropics: those 23 degrees of augmented heat would so expand the internal sea, as to cause it to more than cover the surface of the globe, according to the conditions above mentioned. And if the cause of heat ceased, the waters would, of course, in cooling, retire into their proper places. If the central nucleus Sir Henry be supposed 3000 miles, and the internal sea only 1500 Englefield. miles deep, its content will then be 99,200,000,000 cubic miles; or, 125 times the water required: and in that case, an additional heat of 36 degrees to the previous temperature of the earth will be sufficient to

* 1 Pet. iii. 20. † Gen. vi. 3. ‡ Gen. v. 32.
§ Gen. vi. 18. || Gen. vii. 11.

* Gen. vii. 11—24.

History. produced the above-described effect. It is scarce necessary to say, that the perfect regularity here supposed to exist in the form of the interior parts of the globe, is of no consequence to the proposed hypothesis; which will be equally just, if the above-given quantity of waters be any how disposed within the earth. Neither is it here proposed to discuss the reality of a central fire, which many philosophers maintain, and many deny. It may not be unworthy to remark, that the above hypothesis, which does not in any way contradict any law of nature, does singularly accord with the Mosaic narrative of the deluge. For the sudden expansion of the internal waters would, of course, force them up through the chasms of the exterior crust, in dreadful jets and torrents; while their heat would cause such vapours to ascend into the atmosphere as, when condensed, would produce torrents of rain beyond our conception." Dr. Geikie adds, "It is not at all necessary to suppose, with Sir Henry, that the antediluvian mountains were as high as those of the present earth. They may have been of a very different form and size, and composed of other materials."

Statement of Moses. Moses derives the deluge from two sources: "the windows of heaven were opened, and the fountains of the great deep broken up." We can enter into no calculation, as to the inexhaustible stores of these great reservoirs. The historian is perfectly consistent with himself. He represented the earth as originally covered with waters, which were called off by the divine fiat; some of them gathered into seas, others probably impelled into secret receptacles within the earth: now the deluge only supposes the reduction of the earth to its original state, in this respect.

Tradition. It might be expected, that an event of such an order should be corroborated by correspondent collateral evidences. Accordingly, the deluge, is confirmed, not merely as a whole, but in important features of detail, by tradition. Whoever has carefully consulted Bryant's Ancient Mythology can have no doubt, if learning and argument in unusual combination are conclusive, that Prometheus, Deucalion, Atlas, Theuth, Zuth, Xuthus, Imachus, Osiris, Dagon, and others, were all different names by which Noah was intended. Eusebius has preserved a fragment from Abydenus' history of Assyria, bearing upon this fact; and even including some circumstances to which we have alluded, as characteristic of the Mosaic account, only under different

names. "Seisithrus" (another name for Noah), "after the waters were abated, sent out birds, that he might ascertain whether the earth had yet appeared through the flood. But these, finding only a boundless sea, and having no resting-place, returned to Seisithrus."* Berossus, according to Josephus, both relates this fact, and observes that fragments of the ark remained in his days in Armenia.† Abydenus, before-mentioned, directly refers to the dove, and to the signal which she brought in her mouth, that the flood had subsided. Lucian adverts to an universal deluge, in no doubtful terms; and specifies the suspension of animal ferocity: The change of appellation will excite no surprise, when we recollect that the ancients were in the habit of translating names into their own language; to give their signification, rather than their original form.‡ Diodorus Siculus says, that it is a tradition of the Egyptians, that Deucalion's was the universal deluge: and Plato corroborates this testimony by affirming, that this flood, recorded in the sacred books of that people, long preceded the partial inundations known to the Grecians. There is another remarkable coincidence with the Mosaic account. The very day fixed by Moses as the beginning of the deluge, agrees exactly with the day in which Plutarch tells us, Osiris went into the ark—the seventeenth of Athyr: which is the second month after the autumnal equinox, the sun then passing through Scorpio. Add to these traditional evidences, the geological proof of the deluge; the existence of vast quantities of marine productions upon the tops of the mountains, and under the surface of the ground, to considerable depths, over the whole earth, and at all distances from the sea; not to be accounted for upon all the hypotheses by which it has been attempted to impugn the Mosaic history; and the singular fact, that there is no nation, ancient or modern, savage or civilized, without a tradition of the universal deluge; the chain of argument is complete:—and it appears to us, that here we may close with propriety our first chapter of History.

* Euseb. Prep. lib. ix. cap. 12.

† Jos. Ant. Agion. l. et Antiq. lib. l. cap. 4.

‡ Lucian, lib. de Dea Syria, &c.

§ Bryant's Ant. Mythol. Gaie's Court of the Gentiles. Grotius de verit. Relig. xi. Joseph. Antiq. et contra Apion, &c.

Antediluvian period.

A. M.
1656.
—
B. C.
2318.

HISTORY.

CHAPTER II.

PATRIARCHAL AGE.

History.

A. M.
1657.

A. C.
2347.

The descent from the ark.

NOAH descended from the ark in the 601st year of his age, on the 27th day of the second month; and in the year of the world, 1657. He raised an altar upon the face of the desolate scene, and offered sacrifice—the way of expiation revealed from the beginning. A covenant was made with him, as the parent of the new world: and the rainbow was its seal. Whether it before existed, or not, is of no moment: if there were ruin before, it must have been—the same causes in nature, uniformly producing the same effects: if the earth were watered, as Eden was, by a mist, the phenomenon in question might be new after the flood, as rain would then appear for the first time: either way, “I do set my bow in the clouds, and it shall be for a token of a covenant between me and the earth,” gives it a new import. The pledge implied in it was, that the waters should no more go over the earth to destroy it. Three laws were now solemnly dispensed, and seem particularly suited to the occasion.—1. The permission to eat flesh: man’s diet being originally restricted to vegetables. 2. The punishment of murder with death: perhaps the only crime that ought to be so visited. 3. The original law, which is innate that of nature, “be ye fruitful, and multiply,” and replenish “the earth.”

The vineyard and the prediction.

Soon after this descent, Noah planted a vineyard, and being ignorant of the effects that would be produced by the fermentation of its fruit, drank of the pressed grape, and became intoxicated. No longer sensible, he lay denuded in his tent. One of his sons, Ham, the father of Canaan, finding him in this situation, cruelly mocked and exposed him: his other children decently and piously covered him. The patriarch, although overcome unexpectedly with wine, was not insensible of that which had passed. He blessed Shem and Japheth, and cursed Ham. That this was the result of a divine influence, and not of any burst of passion, appears in this—that he cursed Ham, not in himself, but in Canaan, upon whose descendants, called after his name, the penalty more directly and immediately fell; and that no ebullition of human wrath could possibly be imagined to forestall events, much less to effect their accomplishment to the very letter: whereas this prediction of Noah, not only produced early results, according with the sentence, but has acted in all ages, and continues to do so to the present hour; the whole continent of Africa being

peopled by the descendants of Ham. This prediction Patriarchal was remarkably fulfilled in former events; of the historical truth of which, no doubt can be entertained. The Canaanites were reduced by the Israelites, the posterity of Shem. The Egyptians, the descendants of Shem, were subjugated by the Persians, who were of Shem, and the Grecians, who were of Japheth. Tyre, built by the children of Ham, fell successively under the posterity of his brethren. The great struggle between Carthage and Rome, which terminated in the ruin of the former, confirmed this prediction: Carthage being peopled by the posterity of Ham, and the Romans descending from Japheth. In the mean while, other points were no less accomplished. Shem was to be distinguished for spiritual privileges, and Japheth for increase. Accordingly, the light of revelation shone upon the descendants of Shem, for many centuries exclusively; and afterwards emanated thence to distant nations: while Japheth’s posterity inherit all Europe, the Lesser Asia, Media, a part of Armenia, Iberia, Albanis, the territories once belonging to the Scythians, now to the Tartars—India, China, and probably the continent of America. And it is remarkable, that the four grand empires of the world, the Assyrian, the Persian, the Grecian, and the Roman, descended, the two former from Shem, the two latter from Japheth.

Amidst a barren list of genealogical names, Nimrod Natrod appears. His name signifies *a rebel*: his description is “a mighty hunter before the Lord.” In this (if his name be excepted) nothing criminal appears; he might be a great benefactor to mankind, in following the labours of the chase, and extirpating wild beasts. It is generally understood, that he grasped at empire, and obtained it. The lead which he took in his amusement, accompanied as he probably was, would give him the habit of command, which he turned to more important purposes. Some have ascribed to him the project of building Babel: and although this cannot be decided, such a conclusion appears to agree with the character of his short and stormy history.

At this time a singular project was undertaken. It Babel was determined to build a city ample enough to contain the immense population contiguous to each other, (which had not hitherto been so compact as might conduce to mutual convenience) and an exceedingly lofty tower, for so we understand the hebraism, “whose top may reach

A. M.
1657.

A. C.
2347.

A. M.
1745.
—
A. C.
2259.

History. unto heaven." The land of Shinar was the place fixed upon, which we believe to be Chaldæa; and not improbably the site upon which Babylon was afterwards built. Various motives have been assigned for this project. Some have imagined that the fears of another deluge suggested it. In this case, the higher grounds would have been preferred to a plain; when it was known that the loftiest mountains had been covered. Others imagine it was intended as an object to be seen at a distance—that, when they wandered wide with their flocks, it might be to the dispersed population a common point of union. Others understand by it an indication of undue ambition, an appetite for celebrity, which, if unchecked, might lead to the most criminal excesses. However this might be, the work was displeasing to God: and it appears to have been so, principally, on the supposition that they intended it as a rallying point; thus defesting the end of their multiplications, in confining the population of the earth too much to one spot. Accordingly, it pleased God to confound their language, so that they could not understand each other. An inquiry after the original tongue would not be profitable, nor could it lead to any certain conclusion: if we trace all known languages to their sources, perhaps we should approach the Hebrew more nearly than any other. Nor is it a question, whether language might not have gradually changed—it was, the historian affirms, altered at once. Not by the introduction of a variety of accents and inflections merely, but by a total confusion and diversity of speech. However we may flatter ourselves that we have found a common original in any language as the basis of the rest, there are some which have no visible connexion with any tongue whatever, and the Chinese appears to be of this description; so that far the absolute contrariety, we can scarcely account on any other principle than that of a total change of speech.

Dispersion. The work was in consequence abandoned; and the people separated. We prefer this term to *dispersed*; because there does not appear to have been any violent disorganization of the mass of mankind; but that the different tribes arranged themselves according to their respective tongues, and, having thus embodied themselves, proceeded to take quiet possession of the earth, amicably adjusting their several boundaries, and dividing it among them.

Origin of nations. In attempt to trace the origin of nations, from this dispersion, at this distance of time, and with the slight sketch afforded by Moses, would be as impossible as unprofitable. In general, we may observe, that Shem appears to have settled near the plains of Shinar. Among his descendants are the inhabitants of Persia, from Elam; of Nineveh, from Ashur; of China, from Arphaxad; of Mesopotamia and Phrygia, comprehending the countries westward of Assyria, as far as the Mediterranean, from Aram. Ham probably dwelt in Egypt. His descendants occupied Shinar, from Nimrod; Arabia, from Cush; Ethiopia, from Mizraim; Africa, from Phil; Phenicia, and the land of Canaan, from Canaan.—When *Japheth* left Babel, it is uncertain where he settled. His descendants dwell in Phrygia, from Gomer; the eastern part of Asia Minor, from Ashkenaz; Cappadocia and Galatia, from Togarmah. Most of these divisions must, after all, be considered as conjectural, although a mass of reasons

might be assigned to support the general arrangements Patriarchal advanced here.

To this striking point of history, several traditions bear respect. Josephus quotes one of the syriac versions averring, "that mankind once spoke a common language; but building a tower immensely high, as though they would scale heaven, the gods sent a wind, and overthrew it, assigning to each a different tongue; and thence Babylon derived its name." Abydenus makes a similar statement: and in fix the era of this event, says, "then commenced the war between Saturn and Titan." Babylon was not built by Semiramis, as the Greeks affirm: this error is refuted by Berossus and Josephus. And can there be any question, upon divesting the history of its poetical decorations, that the fables of the giants' war with heaven originated in this fact? In some cases the poets seem to have borrowed the very language of this historian—"let us go down and see whether these things are so."¹

The names which we select in Biography, in pursuance of our plan, are, for the most part, centres, around which considerable portions of important history revolve: but the name of Abraham, as it is presented by Moses, and as it originates the Israelitish nation, is a fountain whence the grand stream of History flows in relation to that distinguished people, and from which those ramifications branch, which furnish the records of other nations. This great progenitor of the Hebrews is introduced rather suddenly. Terah, the father of Abraham, was the tenth in descent from Shem, the first-born of Noah. Idols had commenced; and it is not unlikely that the family of Abraham participated its guilt and danger: for the prophet reminds the Jews, that their ancestor was "a Syrian ready to perish." Whether the call to Abraham, to leave his country, influenced the whole family (far, after the decease of his father, it is spoken of in the past tense, as having occurred some time before); or whether Terah had himself received an intimation of the divine pleasure, that they should expatriate themselves, does not distinctly appear. They left, however, their country, and the probable cause was idolatry; of the evil of which they had been, it should seem, admonished. The city in which they dwelt was Ur of the Chaldeans; the centre of superstition, which took its name perhaps from the worship of fire, as did Heliopolis from that of the sun; the word *Ur* signifying *fire* or *light*. The illustrious exiles were, Terah; his son Abraham; Lot his grandson; and Sarah, his daughter, the wife of Abraham. Terah lingered unaccountably in Haran, and died there, at the age of 205 years: some difficulties of a chronological nature arise here, which are not of sufficient importance as to their result, to induce us to interrupt the narrative, to attempt to settle them.

It appears that God had expressly indicated his will, that Abraham should proceed to Canaan, without specifying the spot upon which he should rest: and so proceeds to soon as he had performed the last offices of filial affection in the sepulture of his father, at the age of seventy-five, "he obeyed, and went out, not knowing whither he went," accompanied by Lot, his nephew, taking with them all their servants and cattle. Thus the illustrious

Patriarchal
ages.

A. M.
1757.
—
B. C.
2247.
Traditions.

A. M.
2078.
—
B. C.
1926.

Departure
from Ur.

Death of
Terah.
A. M.
2081.
—
B. C.
1921.

¹ Anc. Univ. Hist. vol. i. b. l. c. 2.—Homer, *Oeds*. 30.—Ovid, *Met.* l. i.—Virg. *Georg.* l. 8. c.

History. pilgrimage commenced; and he proceeded first to Sichem, on the plain of Moreh, the Canaanites then inhabiting the land. He was favoured there with a divine revelation, assuring him that his posterity should possess that country; and he erected an altar to God, as a permanent memorial of this promise. Thence he soon removed to a mountain on the east of Bethel (so called prophetically, as it had not then received that name), apprehending any loud-utterance which might prove fatal to his cattle in the low country, or not, is not stated.

Removes to Bethel. Descends into Egypt. Journeying still towards the south, a famine arose, which compelled the patriarch to seek refuge in Egypt, whither its influence had not extended. In his way thither, it occurred to him, that the beauty of Sarah, although she had then attained her sixty-fifth year, might expose him to danger; and he accordingly entrusted her to pass as his sister, instead of his wife. This precaution, so unworthy his character, was not a direct falsehood in point of fact; as she was his half-sister, "the daughter of his father, but not the daughter of his mother;" but the sin justly produced its own punishment. Pharaoh (which was the common title of the Egyptian kings, as Cæsar was, long afterwards, of the Roman emperors) was captivated with her charms; bestowed princely favours, for her sake, upon Abraham; and took her into his family. Upon this step, some severe visitations fell upon the royal house, of a character sufficiently marked to denote on what ground they were sent. The monarch, justly exasperated at the deception practised upon him, and fearing to incur farther penalties of divine displeasure, restored the patriarch his wife, but banished him his dominions.

By this time the famine had subsided, and they returned to Bethel, whence they had set out for their southern journey before they went into Egypt. The increase of their wealth involved the servants of Abraham and Lot in contention, and it became necessary that they should part. The patriarch gave his nephew the choice of country; recommending that they should separate on terms of the most undoubted affection; and Lot chose the plains of Sodom and Gomorrah, watered by the river Jordan, and distinguished for fertility. In the mean while, Abraham, who abode in Canaan, received another intimation, that the country in which he dwelt should be inherited by his descendants. The patriarch pitched his tent on the plain of Mamre, in Hebron, and built there, as wherever he sojourned, an altar to the Lord.

About this time war broke out between the neighbouring potentates; five kings contending against four: the origin of which was, that the kings of Sodom, Gomorrah, and others, refused any longer to be tributary to Chetushomer, the king of Elam. The resisting powers were vanquished by their oppressor and his allies: the fruitful plains which charmed the eye of Lot ravaged, and him-self taken prisoner, with the spoil of his property. Abraham, being apprized of this disaster, applied to his friends and confederates, Mamre (who gave name to the country), and his brothers Eshcol and Aner, all of them evidently chiefs; and, adding to their assistance three hundred and eighteen trained and tried servants of his own household, pursued the conquerors, overtook them when they were on the left of Danascus, surprised and defeated

them; and rescued his relative Lot, with the other Patriarchal captives. Although this little band of warriors seems unequal to such an exploit, it should be remembered, the kings spoken of were no more than rulers of four little cities; that they were wearied with the previous conflict; that they were taken by surprise; and that it is not absolutely determined whether the three confederates of Abraham confided their assistance to their personally accompanying him; although it is evident that his own domestic forces were principals in the victory: which, indeed, appears to be exclusively ascribed to them.

On his return from this conquest he was met by an Melchisedec, extraordinary personage, Melchisedec, who united in himself the kingly and priestly dignity. His descent being unascertained, and his priesthood undefined as to its character, whether it were derived and transmissive, or whether it centred in this individual, the apostle considers him as a fit type of Him, whose generation could not be declared, and whose priesthood, centred in himself, was not derived like that of the Levites; nor could be transmitted, since he is himself eternal. The palmist adverts to this obscure page of history in the same way, and as a type of the eternity of the priesthood of the Messiah. 'This is all that is known; and every thing more must be considered as conjectural. He received tithes, and blessed Abraham in his priestly character, and is allowed by the apostle to have been the superior of the patriarch. He was probably the pious monarch and priest of some neighbouring territory. We cannot pretend to settle this question, and must leave it in the obscurity in which we find it, only observing, that his appellations denote, Melchisedec, King of Righteousness, and Melchisedec, or King of Salem, King of Peace. The king of Sodom, perhaps the son of him who appears to have perished in the slime-pits, where the battle was fought, came out to congratulate Abraham upon his victory; and to offer him all the spoil which he had taken, with the exception of the men and women. The patriarch accepted his courtesy, but disinterestedly refused to receive the smallest portion of the booty.

The tools of battle were succeeded by renewed intercourse with Deity, and a repetition of assurances of divine favour. For the first time, Abraham ventured to inquire how these predictions were to be effectuated, as he was childless, and advanced in years. His steward, Eliezer of Damascus, appeared likely to be his heir. A son was then promised him: and it was added, that his seed should be innumerable as the stars of heaven. As a ratification of this solemn covenant, he was commanded to prepare a sacrifice. An heifer, a goat, a ram, a pigeon, and a turtle-dove, were prescribed as the victims on this memorable occasion. These were divided, with the exception of the birds and the halves laid over against each other. He waited until the sun went down, driving away the fowl which would have desecrated on the offerings. At that time he was overtaken with a deep sleep, accompanied by impressions peculiarly awful: and in a vision he beheld a burning lamp passing between the divided pieces. A prediction of the slavery of his descendants in Egypt was then pronounced, and that the period of it should be 400 years; the most natural import of which is, that his seed should be strangers in the land on which he was lying, four centuries from the birth of Isaac,

Battle of the kings—Lot taken prisoner.

Abraham and Lot separate.

A. M. 2086.
—
B. C. 1918.

A. M. 2081.
—
B. C. 1913.

orig.
A. M. 2091.
—
B. C. 1913.
Lot rescued.

Promises renewed.
A. M. 2093.
—
B. C. 1911.

Prediction of bondage.

History. a part of which they should suffer the wrongs of slavery; and at the close of the time be delivered, and take possession of the promised inheritance.

A. M. Impatient for the accomplishment of the promise, and concluding that it could not be fulfilled in her own person, Sarah was desirous, according to the custom of that age and country, to have children by means of another; and to that end advised her husband to take her hand-maid, Hagar. From this step, sprang the domestic uneasiness, which seems to have been inseparable from polygamy, or the adoption of practices allied to it. Hagar no sooner found herself likely to become a mother, than she treated her mistress with insolence; and in the bitterness of her spirit, and excess of her indignation, Sarah reproached her husband, at the same time that she complained of her servant. Abraham desired her to follow her own inclinations in respect of her maid: and Sarah treated her with so much severity, that she left her lord's roof. She fled towards Egypt: while she rested by a fountain, an angel was commissioned to predict the birth, describe the character, and fix the name of her child. The declaration—"he will be a wild man, his hand will be against every man, and every man's hand against him; and he shall dwell in the presence of all his brethren"—was accomplished, partly in the personal character and circumstances of Ishmael, but principally in his descendants the Arabs; who are cruel, warlike, wanderers; given to rapine, and independent. Hagar, who had provoked the unkindness of her mistress, was commanded to return and to humble herself: she obeyed the injunction, and was again received under her master's roof, beneath the shadow of which her child was born.

Fires

Prediction relating to Ishmael and the Arabs.

Circumcision.

A. M. 2167.
—
B. C. 1897.

Change of names.

Three visits.

About thirteen years from this period, it pleased God to renew his covenant with Abraham, and to promise him a child by Sarah, whose name should be Isaac, signifying *laughter*, in allusion to the way in which both the predicted parents received the communication: they laughed; either through joy or unbelief; or a mixture of both. The seal of circumcision was then given; possibly it was not then unknown. It is still practised in eastern countries, and seems necessary, from peculiar circumstances, conjointly with the heat of the climate; but it was here instituted as the seal of a covenant, and bears consequently a very different import from any physical reasons which might be assigned. The names of the patriarch and his wife were then changed (although for the sake of convenience and uniformity we have called them throughout by their last appellation), from Abram, signifying *high or exalted father*; to Abraham, implying, according to the extent of the promise, *father of nations*: and from Sarai, importing *my princess*, which is a term of endearment, to Sarah, *A princess*; which is a general title of honour and dominion. Abraham accordingly circumcised himself, being then nearly a hundred years of age; his son Ishmael, who was at that time thirteen; and his household, in one day.

In the same year, he was favoured with another celestial visit. Three personages approached him, as he sat at the door of his tent, wearing the appearance of men; two of them proved to be angels; the third is a mysterious character, who remained after the others departed, who is addressed by the name Jehovah, who

speaks as Deity, and who is supposed to be the Lord Jesus, under one of those manifestations, which are most reasonably ascribed to him in the earlier ages, and which comport well with his pre-existence and divinity. The promise of Isaac was renewed, and Sarah chided for unbelief and falsehood. On this occasion, the purposes of divine indignation against the infamous inhabitants of Sodom, and the cities of the plain, companions in iniquity, were declared: and Abraham, induced at once by general compassion, and by the remembrance that Lot was an inhabitant of that odious city, pleaded, not merely that the righteous should not be destroyed with the wicked, but that the offenders might be spared for the sake of the holy persons who might be found therein. His language, at once submissive and forcible, is a pattern for devotional fervour, pathos, and humility; and he pleaded so successfully, that he obtained a promise if but ten righteous persons should be found within the city, it should be spared for their sake.

The two angels, who had left Abraham previous to this intercourse between him and Deity, went on towards Sodom. They found Lot at the gate of the city, waiting, according to the usages of ancient hospitality, to invite any strangers who might arrive to his house; the common duty gathering force in his mind from the horrible character of the people among whom he dwelt. The angels arrived, still appearing as travellers; and after the most pressing importunity, consented to lodge with him. The brutal propensities of the inhabitants of the city soon began to disclose themselves: and the patriarch, alarmed at their violence, had recourse to a method of dissuading them from their purpose, which can be accounted for on no other ground than the terror he was in; and excused on no other principle than that, in the confusion of the moment, he seemed to himself to be proposing, where a certain evil was inevitable, the least of two;—he offered his daughters to prostitution, on condition that his guests should be left unmolested. The offer was rejected; they pressed upon him to use violence; when the angels smote his assailants with blindness, either producing a thick darkness, or depriving them of sight, or confusing the organ of vision: but at all events it was a miraculous interposition, sufficiently effectual to defeat their abominable purpose. They then declared their commission to destroy the city; and commanded him to bring forth his family from the sentenced spot. His sons-in-law refused to accompany him. But early in the morning the angels urged his lingering steps; hastened his departure; in a manner forced him from his dangerous situation; and led him beyond the precincts of destruction. He was suffered to retire to a little city named Zoar, in the neighbourhood; which was spared at his entreaty. In the mean while the sun had risen upon the earth: but when Lot entered into Zoar, a storm of fire and sulphur descended upon Sodom, and its vicinity; the bituminous nature of the soil easily enkindling by the lightning; and the whole of that once fruitful and beautiful country was turned into the fetid and melancholy lake called the Dead Sea. Lot's wife, lingering upon the road, was overtaken by the terrible shower, encrusted with it, and turned into a nitro-sulphureous pillar. Abraham, rising in the morning early, and looking towards the threatened country,

Patriarchal age.

A. M. 2167.
—
B. C. 1897.

Abraham's plea for Sodom.

Lot in Sodom.

Destruction of Sodom.

Lot's wife

History.

A. M.
2107.B. C.
1897.

Tradition.

beheld its aspect of desolation, as one great furnace smoking towards heaven. He soon understood, that the entire corruption of the city had rendered his prayers unavailing: but it is not to be imagined, that he was left long in suspense relative to the fate of Lot.

The traditional testimonies to this awful event are numerous; though mixed with many fabulous circumstances. Such as, that the effluvia of the lake kills any birds which attempt to fly over it; that on its shores trees are found, whose fruit is fair to the eye, but, if tasted, is found to contain only ashes and bitterness: that the ruins of cities are discernible below its dark waves; and that the surface cannot be stirred by the winds. Let it be recollected that the mingling of fable with fact is no argument against the facts themselves: that this was to be expected, in an age when the imagination was accustomed to supply the deficiencies of information; and that it is the first duty of an historian to separate truth from fancy. Moses relates none of these fabulous circumstances. The traditions themselves, however encumbered with fables not mixed with the original narrative, are conclusive as to its truth in the main; and there is no tradition that did not originate in some decided fact, however it might afterwards become altered and dignified. But when so many striking occurrences were real, we may easily account for the addition of other and unfounded circumstances.

Something must also be conceded to the influence of time, and of natural causes. The Arabs are continually gathering bitumen from the lake, of which they make a considerable trade. The fresh waters of the river Jordan are continually pouring into it: these must gradually diminish its original saltiness. That thickness which rendered it once scarcely moveable by the winds, must now have become diminished. Still barrenness spreads around its desolate site; and still the travellers who have ventured to bathe in its unnatural waters, have suffered in their health for their temerity. It appears to have worn the same frowning features in general from age to age; and it still carries the marks of unconquerable sterility and horror. In the mean while, the page of ancient history is full of references to this event; and teems with accounts, some true, others mingled with fable, corroborative of the Mosaic history. Tacitus, Philo, Pliny, Diodorus Siculus, Strabo, Solinus, and others, support the leading features of this narrative; supplying some circumstances from their imagination: while Bissellus, Maundrell, Volney, Pococke, Shaw, and other modern writers, describe the face of the country as it appeared more recently.* Alexander Trallianus mentions a form of exorcism, which took its rise from a principal circumstance in this history—"In the name of God, who turned Lot's wife into a pillar of salt!"†

From the vicinity of Zair to this scene of destruction, Lot considered himself as not in a state of safety, and fled to the mountains. While he was there, his daughters, deeming probably the destruction more general than it really was, and anxious to escape the reproach of barrenness, in those days deemed very great; in short,

swayed by motives which we cannot at this distance, Patriarchal and under other circumstances, precisely appreciate (but which, be they what they might, could never justify their conduct); resolved to intoxicate their father, so far as that he should not distinguish their persons from that of any other female, and to obtain issue from him. This nefarious design was carried into execution; they became both pregnant by him: and Lot's two children, the offspring of this incestuous commerce, named Moab and Ammon, became the progenitors of two great people. As a just punishment of this crime, and according with the principles laid down in our introductory remarks, Lot from this time disappears; and here we must close his history.

Soon after these occurrences, Abraham journeyed further south, probably wishing to avoid the vicinity of Sodom, and the melancholy reflections inseparable from a destruction which took place almost before his face. He went to Gerar, and dwelt in the country of the Philistines. On this occasion, he resorted to the unworthy equivocation which caused him so much just embarrassment in Egypt; for Sarah, to her ninetieth year, had triumphed over the ravages of time, and was still beautiful. We have nothing to say to the sarcasms of infidelity, but that these things were so: and that it was just as easy to preserve the personal attractions of a female of ninety, as to make her a mother at that age: besides which, it ought not to be forgotten that human life then extended beyond its present boundaries, and that Sarah lived 37 years after this period. Abimelech, in similar circumstances with those of Pharaoh, received similar intimations of divine displeasure. The conduct of Abraham is here inexcusable; it wants its original apology; he should have learned something by past experience, even independently of principle: and it appears to us, that the reproach of Abimelech, is the most delicate that can be imagined: by changing a single letter* to another of a similar form (an easy mistake in transcription) it will import, "behold I have given *thy* brother" (the name which she gave to Abraham) "a thousand pieces of silver to purchase *the* wife" (the modest covering of a married woman, which Sarah seems to have dispensed with, to favour the deceit practised) "for thee, and for all the attendants; for every one that is married." The mild monarch added permission to his illustrious, although blamable friend, to dwell wherever it pleased him, in his dominions.

The time was now come for Sarah's delivery; and Isaac was born. He was circumcised the 8th day, and his mother suckled him herself. At the usual time, he was weaned. When young, he was exposed to some marks of contempt, if not of violence, on the part of Ishmael: which, whatever it was, is called by St. Paul, persecution; and was so resented by Sarah, that she insisted upon Ishmael's leaving the house, with his mother. Abraham dismissed them with "bread and a bottle of water," says the narrative: a hebraism frequently used to signify all necessary things, although nothing superfluous; and thus it became a promise, "thy bread shall be given thee, and thy water shall be

Patriarchal
age.A. M.
2107.B. C.
1897.Lot's in-
cest.Moab and
Ammon.Birth of
Isaac.A. M.
2106.B. C.
1898.Hagar and
Ishmael
dismissed.

* Tacit. Hist. lib. v. Philo de Vita Moisi. Hist. lib. v. cap. 15. Diod. Sic. lib. ii. et lib. xix. Strabo, lib. xvi. Solinus, cap. xlvii. edit. Nalmanian.

† See Dodd. Lect. Pt. vi. prop. cxi. Demona. 7. and Grot. de veit. Sect. 16. in not.

* Changing the *sea* into a *he*, which is the ancient character closely resembled it. See Geddes' translation and crit. rem. in loc.

History.

A. M.
2110.
—
B. C.
1894.

sure" Hagar was, we may infer, furnished with all things needful for her departure. These supplies were, however, exhausted; and in the wilderness of Beersheba she was overtaken by lack of water; the most terrible of all wants. Exhausted herself, Ishmael seems to have suffered still more; and supposing him actually dying, she retired from the spot where she had laid him, that she might not witness his last agonies. At this moment of extremity, an angel was sent to succour the mother and her expiring child: he conducted her to a fountain of water: the boy recovered, and grew, inhaling, with his mother, the wilderness of Paran; and gradually acquiring, from his habits of life, that fierce and independent character, which it was predicted he should possess, and which still distinguishes his posterity. He married an Egyptian.

Covenant
with Abi-
melech.

The harmony between Abraham and Abimelech continued uninterrupted; and to cement the bonds of amity between them, they entered into a mutual and solemn covenant: a dispute which had arisen respecting a well of water was adjusted, and the parties withdrew from each other with sentiments of perfect esteem and friendship. The patriarch seems to have intended to rest here: "for he planted a grove in Beersheba, and called there upon the name of the Lord, the everlasting God."

Offering of
Isaac.

A. M.
2132.
—
B. C.
1872.

Upon this calm, an unexpected storm arose. To make trial of his faith and obedience, Abraham was commanded to sacrifice his only child, Isaac, as a burnt-offering, upon a mountain which should be pointed out to him. Without delay, he conquered the emotions of nature, and set forward upon this melancholy journey; assuredly deeming that his son must be slain, and by his own hand; but not doubting that God's promise should be fulfilled, either by his resurrection, or by the grant of another child to fill his place. To harrow up all his parental feelings, as they ascended the mountain fixed upon (and the patriarch had left his servants at its foot, that they might not witness or interrupt the sacrifice), Isaac, upon whom the wood had been laid, inquired, where was the victim. His father merely observed, that "God would provide himself a lamb for a burnt-offering." When they reached the summit, it was necessary that the fatal secret should be imparted to the victim (for Isaac was now a young man); and he appears to have mildly acquiesced in the divine decision. He was bound, laid upon the wood of the altar, and on the point of yielding his life: when a voice from heaven commanded the patriarch to forbear, and to release his child; approving his faith, confirming former promises, and renewing the covenant with himself and his posterity. Abraham observed a ram, caught in a neighbouring thicket, and taking him, offered him in place of his child; thus accomplishing the prediction of his own faith, but little understood when he pronounced it—God provided himself a victim. He returned to Beersheba, with far other feelings than he left it, and received soon after the pleasing tidings of the increase and prosperity of his brother Nahor's family.

De th of
Sarah.

A. M.
2145.
—
B. C.
859.

The tranquillity which succeeded was at length interrupted by the death of Sarah, the faithful and endearing companion of Abraham's long pilgrimage. She expired in the 127th year of her age. The patriarch wept over her with unfeigned sorrow; and his first possession in the promised land was a burying-place, which he bought of Ephron the Hittite, after having refused the offer of the

choice of all their sepulchres, in the first instance, and afterwards the request of Ephron, that he would accept the field which he wished to purchase. The land was bought, and secured to him by all the legal forms of the day; and he deposited the remains of his beloved Sarah, in the cave of Machpelah, the distinguished spot which afterwards contained the dust of so many illustrious patriarchs. To this sepulchre the last earthly wishes of Jacob and of Joseph turned; and their last solemn injunctions related.

Advancing far into life, Abraham now became anxious for the settlement of his son Isaac, who had attained the fortieth year of his age. Selecting one of his most faithful servants, he engaged him by a singular, but most solemn oath, in its form peculiar to the country, if not to the age, and in its purport most binding, to choose a wife for his son from among his own kindred; and dismissed him with suitable presents, authority, and instructions. Hastening to Haran, the spot where his mother's relatives resided, and anxious to be favoured with divine direction in so important an affair, he secretly prayed that a certain token should be given him of the choice which he ought to make; and that the sign might be, that when the females (to whom the charge of flocks at that time seemed principally to appertain) should come to the well by the side of which he rested, and he should ask for drink, that the wife-elect might offer to supply his cattle also. Scarcely had he finished his prayer, before Rebekah, a near relative of his lord, came to the spot, and hearing his request, answered in the express terms which he had desired. He made her some rich presents, and accompanied her home, where he was well received; and having explained his errand, his proposals were accepted by Rebekah and her family. The presents seem to have made some impression upon the mind of Laban, her brother: and no less than ten camels were laden with her dowry. Having succeeded, this trusty servant refused to be detained; and returned with his beautiful charge to his master. Isaac was walking in the fields on the evening of their arrival; and when introduced to his lovely bride, conducted her with much satisfaction to his mother's tent; and received that consolation for the loss of a beloved parent, which an affectionate wife alone could administer. It was not until 19 years after his marriage that Isaac had offspring.

In his 141st year, Abraham married again; his wife's name was Keturah, by whom he had six sons: these he portioned off during his life, that they might not interfere with the inheritance of Isaac, the child of promise. Thirty-four years after this event, Abraham died, at the age of 175 years; and was buried by his sons, Isaac and Ishmael, who seem to have forgotten at this time their animosities, in the grave which he had purchased for Sarah, his only actual possession in the promised land. Thus lived and died this distinguished patriarch, whose life has been more prominently and largely detailed by us, as he is the great ancestor of the Jews, and the fountain of their history.

Although Moses continues the narrative of Abraham's life unbroken to its close, it is necessary to remark, that his grandsons, Esau and Jacob, must have been born about 15 years before his decease. Singular circumstances attended the birth of these children, who were twins, after 19 years' barrenness, as has been observed, on the part of their mother. Some unusual throes

Birth of
Isaac.

A. M.
2145.
—
B. C.
1859.

Marriage of
Isaac.

A. M.
2148.
—
B. C.
1856.

Abraham's
second mar-
riage and
death.

A. M.
2154.
—
B. C.
1850.

Birth of
Esau and
Jacob.

History. of nature, even before the time of her delivery, in loved her to inquire of God, what her severe pangs indicated; and she was answered, "Two nations are in thy womb, and two manner of people shall be separated from thy bowels: and the one people shall be stronger than the other people; and the elder shall serve the younger."^a It is necessary to observe this oracle, because it gives a clue to the subsequent history. The prediction relative to the superiority of the younger over the elder, affords no apology for the means subsequently adopted by Jacob and his mother to obtain this pre-eminence; and nothing could be possibly more distinct than the future character of the Israelites and the Edomites: they were even found in many instances engaged in the most bitter hostility. According to the prediction, Rebekah was soon delivered of twins; the first-born, Esau, was hairy from his birth; the second, grasped the heel of his brother, and was called Jacob, a *supplanter*, a name which he afterwards fully justified. Isaac was at their birth 60 years of age.

The failing of Isaac appears to have been, too great fondness for the pleasures of the table. Esau, who was a hunter, and contributed to the indulgence of his appetite, became a favourite. Jacob, on the contrary, who was altogether domestic, was as entirely beloved of his mother. Retaining one day from the chase, wearied and hungry, when the lads were about 20 years of age, Esau found his brother preparing some savoury provision; and desiring refreshment, requested it of Jacob, who refused it, unless he relinquished his birthright. This Esau did solemnly, and by oath; and the transaction is marked by the historian himself, who seldom comments upon facts: "Thus Esau despoiled his birthright;"—while St. Paul hesitates not to call him in consequence, "a profane person." This birthright included the priesthood, the paternal blessing, the government of the family; all of which were slightly estimated by Esau; and let it be remembered, that however criminal Jacob was, as to the means which he employed to secure it, Esau had no just reason to complain of the result; since he had voluntarily and solemnly assigned all his own claims upon it to his brother.

A famine compelled the patriarch to remove; and he was directed to go to Abimelech, king of the Philistines, rather than to Egypt, as he seemed to have intended. He here resorted to the falsehood of his father, on the same suspicion, that the beauty of his wife would expose him to danger; for which, when the fraud was discovered, he was justly and most severely rebuked. His labours of husbandry, and of every description, were crowned with unusual success; and excited the envy of the people among whom he lived. The jealousy of the king was roused, and he was required to remove. He departed from Gerar, and was exposed to much vexation and contention respecting various wells of water (most important possessions in connexion with much cattle, in which the wealth of the times consisted) which were forcibly taken from him. Abimelech, who seems to have both feared and hated him, was yet anxious to have a covenant of amity between them, and came to Isaac for that purpose; after some warm expostulations and just rebukes, they contracted a mutual friendship. About this time, Esau displeased

his father, and grieved his mother, by marrying two wives, both of them Hittites. He was still, however, regarded by his father, from whom Rebekah appears to have concealed the original oracle, and to whom probably the subsequent events were unknown, as his heir, with all the rights of the first born.

Old age was now fast stealing upon Isaac, and with it, all its infirmities. He was enfeebled, his eyes were dim, and he apprehended the quick approach of death. Under these circumstances, he commanded Esau to prepare him some venison; and apprized him that he intended, on account of the uncertainty of human life, immediately to confer upon him his paternal blessing; which was then unquestionably prophetic; as will appear in a variety of subsequent scenes. Rebekah overheard this arrangement; and preparing food of the description required by Isaac, dressed her son Jacob in the raiment of Esau, perfumed with the odour of the field. She covered his smooth flesh with hairy skins, and trusting to the imperfect vision of his father sent him in with a lie on his tongue, to defraud his brother of that which was his own by right, and would have come to him lawfully, had he been satisfied to leave to heaven the execution of its own purposes. The aged patriarch had strong suspicions excited, by the voice and other circumstances; and Jacob was reduced to the necessity of supporting his first false-hood by repeated prevarications: at length he succeeded in obtaining the blessing; and had scarcely departed, when Esau entered. The fraud was soon discovered, and the most piercing grief was expressed by Esau; but Isaac, who, however he disapproved of the stratagem, saw in the issue divine direction, firmly refused to revoke the blessing; it was indeed out of his power, and Esau imbibed so deep a hatred, from this circumstance, against his brother, that he resolved to kill him, so soon as his father expired; whose death he seems even to have anticipated with unnatural eagerness.

Rebekah, who had devised this iniquitous plan, was now seriously alarmed for her son's safety, and advised Jacob to flee into Mesopotamia, and to "tarry for a while" a few days with his uncle Laban, until his brother's fury should turn away. "Alas! more than twenty years elapsed, while he was a sojourner in Padan-aram; and when he had opportunity to return home, his mother was dead; he never saw her after this separation; a righteous punishment of their mutual crime. From this period, the life of Jacob is one continued scene of anxiety and suffering; a noble instance of the equity of God, and of the moral character of Scripture history: when the crimes of his most favoured servants are so closely connected with their punishment.

In his way to his mother's relations, night overtook Jacob at Luz; and taking a stone for his pillow, he slept under the open canopy of heaven, and was favoured with a vision, which greatly reassured and comforted him. He saw a ladder, whose foot rested upon the earth, and its top appeared to reach to heaven; upon it angels ascended and descended; while above it, God himself appeared, and declared his protection of the houseless wanderer. Awaking from this sleep, deeply affected and much impressed, he called the place Bethel, *the house of God*, and pouring oil upon the stone, on which he had rested his head, he consecrated it as a solemn and lasting memorial of this communication. He sealed it by a solemn vow and

Patriarchal age.

A. M.
2223.
—
B. C.
1779.

Jacob's
fraud.

Departs
into Mesopotamia.

His vision.

^a Gen. xxv. 23.

History.

A. M.

2225.

—

B. C.

1779.

Marriage
with Leah
and Ra-
chel.

departed; travelling cheerfully, until he safely reached the end of his journey.

He found his uncle Laban the same as his grandfather's servant had left him, avaricious and unprincipled. Jacob formed here an attachment of the strongest and tenderest kind to Rachel, Laban's second daughter. The father agreed that they should marry, if Jacob rendered him seven years' service free of wages. This condition was joyfully accepted; and at the close of the time specified a marriage feast was prepared, and Jacob supposed that his hopes were about to be fulfilled. He who had practised fraud upon a parent, was now to suffer fraud in his turn. Laban, sensible of the value of his services, resolved to secure them. He introduced his elder daughter to his son-in-law, instead of the younger; and when his imposition was detected, he pleaded the custom of the country, not to marry the younger before the elder; and stipulated that he should still have Rachel, and at the end of the week, on condition he would serve him, gratuitously, another seven years. To this unprincipled compact the love which Jacob bore to Rachel induced him to agree.

Kath's new
marriage.

In this interval Esau, perceiving how displeasing to his parents, his connexion with the daughters of the land was, married the daughter of Ishmael, and had a numerous family by his three wives, who attained princely rank, before the descendants of his brother Jacob became distinguished.

Jacob's disappointed affection could not settle upon Leah; Rachel occupied his heart; but God gave honour to the wife least esteemed, and Leah became the mother of Reuben, Simeon, and Levi, while Rachel was barren; who, mortified at this circumstance, expressed herself with an impatience which excited the indignation of Jacob. Supposing she should not have any children of her own, she followed the pernicious example of Sarah; and, conformably to the customs of the times, "gave him Bilhah, her handmaid, to wife," who conceived and bare Dan, and Naphtali. Leah, not satisfied with her own fruitfulness, adopted the same expedient, without the same excuse; and giving her servant to her husband also, Zilpah produced Gad and Asher. At this time Reuben gathered at the wheat harvest mandrakes, which Rachel coveted, as supposing they conducted to conception; and she obtained them by carnal concessions to Leah. What the mandrake was, it is impossible now to determine: certainly some plant, very different from that which at present bears the same name. Nor is it necessary to enter into these matrimonial contentions, further than to observe, that the minuteness of the historian in these cases is in itself a pledge to the truth of his history; and that the result of the whole was, Leah bare Issachar, Zebulon, and Dinah; and that at length Rachel became the mother of Joseph.

Rachel,
bears.

Jacob, in the mean while, suffered much from Laban, who was constantly changing the terms of his servitude, while he was exposed to the most arduous and consuming toils. Whatever recompense Laban proposed in cattle, Jacob prospered beyond him; at the same time that he acknowledged his substance had greatly increased under the management of this son, whom he treated as a slave. At length the patience of the patriarch yielded, and he resolved to leave his hard father-in-law. He imparted his intentions to his wives, who perfectly accorded with him as to the justice and propriety of the measure. Jacob departed secretly

and Laban pursued and overtook him: a warm contention passed between them; during which Jacob expostulated with Laban on the cruelty of his conduct, and justified himself with the honest indignation of an innocent and injured man. Laban accused him of having stolen his gods: *teraphim*, the word is; to which we can affix no correct meaning, after the most unbounded speculation and inquiry. They were portable idols of some description, which Rachel had taken away, probably from a superstitious motive, unknown to her husband. At length they parted in peace.

Advancing towards his native country, he remembered the hatred of his brother Esau, and thought it right to send messengers before him, to endeavour to appease him; or at least to ascertain his disposition towards him. He dismissed them with an humble and conciliatory message, and in the meanwhile journeyed slowly on, preceded by a princely present which he intended for his brother. A singular occurrence is noted by the historian. The patriarch having dismissed his family and attendants, was left alone. An unknown personage encountered him, and wrestled with him until break of day: but not prevailing, he touched the hollow of his thigh, and the sinew shrank, so that the patriarch became lame. This mysterious being changed the name of the patriarch from Jacob to Israel, in reference to this event: and "Jacob called the name of the place Peniel; for," said he, "I have seen God face to face, and my life is preserved." Soon after he met his brother Esau, and a complete reconciliation took place between them.

The patriarch purchased a field of the father of Shechem, king of the country, and settled upon this property. His daughter Dinah, visiting the daughters of the land, was ravished by the young prince. Willing to make the most ample restitution, the monarch made overtures to the patriarch relative to the marriage of his daughter with Shechem. His sons dissuaded their indignation, and affected to consent to the union, provided their people would submit to circumcision. This was at length agreed to, and accomplished. But Simeon and Levi, availing themselves of the state of helplessness temporarily produced by this rite, deliberately and cruelly murdered both prince and people, to the no small displeasure of Jacob, who could not but be sensible of the danger to which it exposed him, besides the iniquity of the transaction itself.

Soon afterwards he was commanded in a dream to go up to Bethel, which he had not yet visited, and to discharge there the vow which he had spontaneously taken upon him in his way from his father's house. On his arrival there, Deborah his mother's nurse died, which was but preparatory to a more severe and heart-rending visitation. After continuing a short time at Bethel, which was anxious to visit his father, who was now very far advanced in life, and whom he had not seen upwards of twenty years. In his way to Ephrath, Rachel, the beloved Rachel, was taken in labour, and expired. She had said, "Give me children, or I die." She died, not in the refusal, but in the grant, of her desires! What the feelings of such a man as Jacob must have been on such an occasion, and in connexion with an object so dear, may be imagined, but cannot be expressed. The historian relates it, with an inimitable pathos, and with a touching simplicity, which, while it makes its way to the heart, demonstrates beyond all argument, that a narrative must be genuine, which

Patriarchal
Age.

A. M.

2225.

—

B. C.

1779.

Jacob
leaves La-
ban.Meets
Esau.Dinah ra-
vished.Death of
Rachel.

History. presents such unquestionable features of truth and nature!

A. M. 2266.
—
—
B. C. 1758.

Isaac dies. The mother died, but the son lived; and changing his name from Benoni, the son of my sorrow, which was given him by his dying parent, Jacob called him Benjamin, the son of my right hand. To aggravate the grief of the patriarch, his son Reuben was guilty of incest with his father's concubine—a circumstance which pressed upon his heart, even when he was expiring. Having at length reached his father Isaac, he continued with him 13 years; at the expiration of which period Isaac died, aged 180, and was buried by his two sons, Esau and Jacob.

Joseph's history. Joseph was now seventeen years old, endeared to his parent alike by this interesting age, and the superior qualities of his mind and disposition. These prepossessions would be greatly enhanced by the death of his mother. But Jacob evinced his partiality too plainly and imprudently. His affection for this beloved youth excited the envy of his brethren. Reports of the bad conduct of some of the family, which he brought to his father, had also roused their indignation. But the most irritating circumstance was, that he related to them two separate, yet similar dreams, which appeared to foretell his future greatness, and superiority over them. The brethren tended their father's flock at a distance from his residence; and Jacob, who could not but have remarked the ill effects of his unwise partiality, wishing to remove their prejudices, and to assure them of his affection, sent Joseph to inquire after their welfare. No sooner did they see him approaching, than they conspired to kill him; and agreed to deceive their father, by dipping his many-coloured robe in blood, and affirming that he had been destroyed by some wild beast. Accordingly, upon his arrival, they stripped him, and cast him into a pit. While they refreshed themselves with food, a company of Ishmaelites passed by; and deeming it more advisable, as well as profitable, to sell than to slay him, they put him into the hands of these merchants as a slave, for 20 pieces of silver. Reuben, who intended to have delivered him out of their hands, and to have restored him to his father, missed him from the pit (not having been present at this transaction), and was greatly distressed. Concealing the fact from him, they dipped the coat in blood, and took it home to their father, who entertained not the smallest suspicion of the deception practised upon him; but, concluding that his child was devoured, refused to be comforted. Joseph, in the mean while, was brought into Egypt.

Jacob's history. Before this time Judah had married a Canaanitish woman; by whom he had three sons, Er, Onan, and Shelah; but the history of this branch of the family is related at once by Moses, that it may not subsequently interrupt the story of Joseph; the principal occurrences taking place at this period. Er was guilty of some crime not recorded, and cut off in his prime, and before he had any children. His widow, according to the customs of that time and country, became the wife of Onan; who took such measures to defeat the end of his marriage, that he was punished with death also. Judah, terrified at the intimacy of the death of two of his children, under pretence of the tender age of Shelah, prevented his union with Tamar, and sent her to her father's house. Tamar, finding that she was deceived, and that Judah never intended to give her in marriage to his son, who was now of age, dressed herself as an

harlot, and waited in a place where she was likely to meet her father-in-law, her face being veiled, so that he could not know her. A criminal intercourse took place between them; the consequences of which were soon apparent. When it was discovered that Tamar was with child, Judah cited her to the tribunal of her country, by the laws of which she would have been condemned to be burnt alive; but, at this crisis, she produced the pledges which Judah had left with her, when he supposed her to have been a harlot; and demonstrated, beyond all question, that the child was his own. He acknowledged the fact, brought her home, but had no further connexion with her. This intercourse produced twins; one of whom putting forth his hand first, the midwife put a scarlet thread round it, supposing he would be the first-born; but he drew back his hand, and his brother was born first: on which account he was called Pharez, and the other Zarah. Pharez is found in the genealogy of St. Matthew, among our Lord's ancestors.

To resume the account of Joseph: this interesting Joseph had been sold by the Ishmaelites to a chief officer of the story-keepers of the king of Egypt, named Potiphar. He conducted himself so well, and his master's affairs prospered so much under his management, that the entire conduct of his concerns was left to him. His mistress conceived a criminal passion for him; and when she found it impossible to seduce him from his reverence of God, and his loyalty to his master, she accused him to her husband, in consequence of which he was cast into prison.

He soon found the same favour with the keeper of the prison, which he had before found with Potiphar, and was treated with the same measure of confidence. It so occurred, that the king of Egypt was displeased with two of his principal servants, and imprisoned them. They were committed to the charge of Joseph. Observing them one morning unusually depressed, he inquired what troubled them? They related to him each of their dreams the preceding night; in hearing which, he interpreted to them, that the one implied a speedy restoration to favour; and the other, approaching death. As he said, so it took place. The chief butler was restored, within three days, to his office; and the chief baker hanged.

Not long afterwards, Pharaoh had himself two dreams, which exceedingly perplexed and distressed him; and as the sages of Egypt could not solve them, it occurred to the chief butler that there was a Hebrew captive whom he had forgotten, but who had truly interpreted his own dream; and he mentioned him to the king. Joseph was immediately sent for to court; and when the monarch told his dreams, he interpreted them as signifying seven years of plenty, to be succeeded by seven years of famine, both of them excessive. Pharaoh no sooner heard this than he appointed Joseph next to himself in power, that he might take such steps as should be necessary to preserve the state under these approaching vicissitudes. At thirty years of age, the Hebrew captive found himself at the head of the government of Egypt. He was proclaimed prime minister, and contracted a marriage of great distinction.

As he predicted, so it occurred: there were seven years of the most exuberant plenty, succeeded by seven years of the most excessive want. But Joseph had no husbanded the produce of the fruitful years, that ample provision was made against the years of famine. His zeal

Patriarchal age.
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A. M. 2277.
—
B. C. 1727.

History. for the king appears indeed to have carried him beyond the limits of strict justice; since he bought not merely the possessions of the Egyptians, but their persons for Pharaoh.

A. M.
2259.
—
B. C.
1715.

In the mean while the famine extended from Egypt over all Canaan: and Jacob, oppressed with want, hearing there was corn in Egypt, sent his sons thither to purchase a supply for themselves and their families. He retained Benjamin, the only surviving son (as he imagined) of his beloved Rachel. When they came into Egypt, Joseph knew them, but they had no recollection of him. He treated them as spies, speaking sharply to them; and caused Simeon to be bound as a hostage for their return, requiring of them to bring Benjamin the next time; for they had acknowledged that they had a younger brother at home. He also gave secret directions, that the money which they brought should be returned, and lodged in their sacks' mouth. In the course of their journey, they perceived this to their utter dismay.

Upon their return to their father, the relation of these circumstances greatly increased his distress; and he peremptorily refused to let Benjamin accompany them when they next should visit Egypt. But the famine continued; and their wants became so urgent that he was compelled to yield: and Judah bound himself, by the most solemn ties, to restore the son, so reluctantly yielded by his father.

They came to Egypt: were more kindly received than at first: Simeon was released: and they returned homewards with their number complete. But in order to obtain them, Joseph had commanded his steward secretly to convey his cup into the sack of the youngest: and when they had left the city, he issued orders that they should be pursued, charged with the theft, and brought back to his presence. Secure to their innocence, they offered death or bondage as the punishment of the individual with whom it might be found. What was their grief and horror when the

cup was found in Benjamin's sack! They were brought back to Joseph, and offered to become his slaves. This he rejected, requiring only the individual in whose possession the cup was found. It was then that Judah pleaded for his brother Benjamin, and his aged father, with all the eloquence of distress, and in language which cannot be imitated. It was then that the feelings of nature overcame all the affected reserve of Joseph; and bursting into tears, he ordered all his servants to quit him, and made himself known to his brethren.

He seat for his father: required all his family to come to him into Egypt: introduced them to Pharaoh: and obtained for them the grant of the land of Goshen.

Seventeen years of quiet were afforded the venerable Jacob dies, patriarch, after his restoration to his long-lost and deeply-lamented child. At length the period arrived when he must die. He blessed his sons respectively, in terms that proved prophetic in regard to their posterity, and expired. According to his desire, he was carried up in Canaan, and deposited with Abraham and his family, in the cave of the field of Machpelah. The lamentation at his death was deep and universal.

Joseph returned to Egypt: and serving his monarch with fidelity; instructing his family in the fear of God; soothing his brethren, and nourishing their little ones, he filled up the circle of fifty-four more years; and then, at the age of 110, followed his father to the grave; leaving his bones to the charge of his brethren and their descendants, to be deposited with the dust of his ancestors, when the time should arrive that his people should be restored to their country.

It is only necessary to add, that the principal features in the history of Joseph are recorded by Troguus Pompeius, and preserved by Justin, in his abridgment of that work. We have now arrived at another important pause in History: and if the authenticity of the book of Genesis be denied, we are in a world full of eventful histories which have neither beginning nor connexion; design nor consummation.

Patriarchal
Age.
A. M.
2257.
—
B. C.
1707.

A. M.
2315.
—
B. C.
1689.

A. M.
2369.
—
B. C.
1635.

The Tables which follow will serve to connect the preceding History

From the Creation to the Flood.		From Noah to Abraham.	Years after the Flood.
Adam created.....	1.	Noah, 600 years of age.....	2.
Seth born.....	130.	Arphaxad born.....	37.
Enos born.....	235.	Salah born.....	67.
Canaan born.....	325.	Eber born.....	101.
Mahalaieel born.....	395.	Peleg born.....	131.
Jared born.....	460.	Reu born.....	163.
Enoch born.....	622.	Nahor born.....	193.
Methuselah born.....	687.	Terah born.....	222.
Lamech born.....	874.	Haron born.....	292.
Adam dies, aged 930.....	930.	Peleg dies, aged 239.....	340.
Enoch translated, aged 365.....	987.	Nahor dies, aged 148.....	341.
Seth dies, aged 912.....	1042.	Noah dies, aged 950.....	350.
Noah born.....	1056.	Abraham born.....	352.
Enos dies, aged 905.....	1140.	Reu dies, aged 239.....	370.
Canaan dies, aged 910.....	1235.	Serug dies, aged 230.....	393.
Mahalaieel dies, aged 895.....	1290.	Terah dies, aged 205.....	427.
Jared dies, aged 962.....	1422.	Abraham, having been called to relinquish his country, carries it into effect the same year }	427.
Japheth born.....	1536.		
Shem born.....	1558.		
Lamech dies, aged 777.....	1651.		
Methuselah dies, aged 969.....	*1656.		

* This also was the year of the flood, at which time Noah was 600 years old.

History. Within the periods comprised in these chapters, we find the following names, of which some few details have come down to us, but not sufficient to form a separate Biography. ENOCH, son of Cain, after whom his first city was called. LAMECH. JABAL, a test-maker, who first practised husbandry on a large scale. JUBAL, inventor of musical instruments. TUBALCAIN, first artificer in brass and iron, whence probably VULCAN; dropping Tu, and substituting v for u; no unusual change. SETS, the first great link from Adam is the sacred genealogy. HAM, the father of Canaan. ASHUR, founder of Nineveh. MIZRAIM, the supposed Patriarchal founder of Egypt. EMER, whence some imagine the Hebrews derived their name. PLEO, so called because in his days the earth was *divided*. TERAH, Abraham's father. CHEDOR-LOMER, with his tributary and allied kings. MELCHISEDEC. ISHMAEL, who died aged 137, father of twelve princes. ESAU, progenitor of the Edomites, ancestor of an illustrious train of dukes and kings; among the last of whom we find JOBAB, supposed by some to be Job.

END OF HISTORY. CHAP. II.

BIOGRAPHY,

CHRONOLOGICALLY ARRANGED.

MOSES.

BORN, A. M. 2433; B. C. 1371.

DIED, A. M. 2553; B. C. 1451.

Biography.

A. M.
2433.

B. C.
1371.

Period of
his birth.

MOSES, who is characterized in the Scriptures as "meek above all the men which were upon the face of the earth," and who as such was singularly qualified to be the agent of Providence in some of its most wonderful operations, was born in Egypt, of Amram and Jecobebe, about sixty-four years after the death of Joseph, and one hundred and thirty-six from the descent of Israel into that country. His history is interwoven with that of the people over whom he presided, whose deliverance from a state of bondage he was destined to effect, and whose civil and ecclesiastical polity he was chosen to establish. His life, which spreads over a period of one hundred and twenty years, brings down the annals of the Israelites from the two thousand four hundred and thirty-third, to the two thousand five hundred and fifty-third year of the world;—a period replete with prodigies, and illustrative both of the divine perfections and the character of man.

The period now to be introduced to the reader's consideration admits of an advantageous division into three parts: the first of which may comprehend the personal narrative of our illustrious Hebrew, including such collateral histories as connect themselves with the general subject; the second, a demonstration of his divine mission; the third, an inquiry into the nature, character, and spirit of those laws which he promulgated amongst the ancient Israelites.

I. THE PERSONAL HISTORY OF MOSES.

His personal history.

At the time when Moses was born, a king had arisen, who cherished very different feelings towards the Israelites from those with which a sense of obligation had inspired his celebrated predecessor, who had introduced them into Egypt; and who, perceiving they had multiplied so rapidly that they might soon be in a condition to take possession of the entire kingdom, determined upon a very cruel method of checking their progress: this was to oppress them with exactions and labour of the most intolerable kind. The inspired history states, that "the Egyptians made the children of Israel to serve with rigour. And they made their lives bitter with hard bondage in mortar, and in brick, and in all manner of service in the field: all their service wherein they made them serve was with rigour:" which is subsequently explained by the recorded commands of the king to his officers; "Ye shall no more give the people straw to

make brick, as heretofore: let them go and gather straw for themselves; and the tale of bricks which they did make heretofore, ye shall lay upon them; ye shall not diminish aught thereof." In this instance, however, as in most others, persecution failed of effecting its purpose; the severities with which they were treated not in the least tending to prevent their multiplication. The country indeed had been always notorious for the fruitfulness of the women, which was attributed, says Strabo, to the air, and particularly to the waters of the Nile; but the strangers seem at this period to have so excelled the natives as to excite their alarm; which can be attributed to nothing less than the interposition of an extraordinary Providence, whose designs were hastening to the moment of their intended development.

The king accordingly enacted, that every male child of the Hebrews should be cast into the Nile: a measure which was unquestionably aimed at the total extermination of the race. Even parents were required to be instrumental to the death of their offspring; and the attendants upon the women were ordered to strangle the sons, but spare the daughters. Josephus represents the immediate occasion of this decree to have been the prediction of an Egyptian prophet, that a Hebrew child was about to be born who would hereafter diminish the power of Egypt, and enslave that of the Israelites.

At this critical juncture Moses was born; but, notwithstanding the anxieties which must have pervaded the maternal bosom at such a season, in addition to the usual pains of child-bearing (which, however, according to the testimony of Josephus, were in this case providentially prevented), Jecobebe was able instantly to nurse and to set about the concealment of her beloved little son. The same writer states, that assurances had been given to his father in a vision, that he should be miraculously preserved and raised up to the important work of effecting the deliverance of Abraham's posterity.

At the expiration of three months, his solitious parents found it impossible any longer to elude the sanguinary decree of Pharaoh: in order, therefore, to avoid the misery consequent upon being the direct murderer of her own infant, the ingenious mother contrives an ark of bulrushes, and, besmearing it with slime and pitch to render it water-tight, committed it to the rushy brink of the river, but with better hope to the care of the invisible God. Her daughter Miriam was at the

Moses.

A. M.
2433.

B. C.
1371.

Pharaoh's cruelty.

Is hid in the bulrushes.

Biography. same time placed at a convenient distance in watch the event. It was early in the morning, and the daughter of Pharaoh, accompanied by several female attendants, went down to the river to bathe. Her eye was caught, and her curiosity excited, by the little ark or basket among the flags, and, upon examining its contents, her heart was touched with sympathy at seeing one of the most attractive objects in creation: a beautiful child of three months, whose tears seemed to correspond well with its melancholy situation, and whom she instantly conjectured to be one of the Hebrews' children.

Encouraged by the compassionate expressions and affectionate manner of the princess, his sister approached to ask if she should go in search of a nurse for the child, and by this little artifice obtained the real mother to become the protector of her own infant, under the promise of an ample recompence. Thus, in the very family of Pharaoh, the future emancipator of Israel finds an asylum, and is trained up, under the inspection of the princess who adopted him, in all the learning and wisdom which the Egyptian magi were capable of imparting. It was customary to name the child at his circumcision, which took place on the eighth day after his birth; but whether this had been omitted in consequence of the confusion and distress which the edict of the king had every where diffused, or whether the royal protectress determined to substitute another which should better transmit to posterity the remarkable history of his infancy, it is certain that she gave him the name by which he is now universally distinguished. *Mos* and *Mos* in the Egyptian, as well as in other ancient languages, signified water, as Philo, Clemens, (who expresses it *Mos*) Artaianus, (who styles him *Μωσως* Μωσους) and other authorities, testify.

Although the situation he occupied in the court of Pharaoh was favourable to his temporal advancement, it was by no means conducive to the accomplishment of those magnificent designs in which he was predestined to become the instrument of his nation's deliverance. If, instead of imbibing the superstitions of the age and country in which he resided, he acquired the knowledge and lived in the fear of the true God, it may be attributed with the greatest probability to the private instructions of his mother, to whom the care of his infancy was so singularly intrusted. And if, at the age of maturity, instead of lingering with fond delight and forgetfulness of his kindred and nation, amidst the attractions of earthly splendour, he was influenced to renounce every prospect of distinction for the friendship and fellowship of his brethren in adversity; we must attribute the choice, not only to that right thinking which his mother had inspired, and that judicious mind with which he was endowed, but to the over-ruling Providence; to the immediate influence of Him who had formed him for the accomplishment of his omniscient purposes. He had, besides, intimations of his calling; and when, at the age of forty, he quitted the prospects of elevation which Egypt afforded in order to visit his countrymen, he took the deepest interest in their concerns; and on one occasion, when he saw an Egyptian smiting so Hebrew, he slew the Egyptian and hid him in the sand. By this action he imagined that his brethren would be led to understand his destination as the deliverer of Israel; but that they mistook it can excite no astonishment. Probably this proceeding ought to be considered as indiscreet, resulting rather

from the impatience of zeal, than from purity of intention: it was succeeded by very disastrous consequences; for on the following day he saw two Hebrews striving together, and upon his attempting to settle the dispute by remonstrating with the aggressor, he was indignantly repulsed, with the inquiry "Who made thee a prince and a judge over us? Intendest thou to kill me as thou killedst the Egyptian?" By this it was evident the action of the past day was discovered; and as the king was resolved to put him to death, according to the laws of the country, no alternative remained but immediate escape. Having fled across the desert into Arabia Petrea, he stopped and took up his residence in the land of Midian, which was situated upon the farther side of the two inlets of the Red Sea, to the east of the wilderness of Sin and Etham. Upon his arrival he sat down by a well of water, where he had an opportunity of displaying both his sensibility and his courage. The daughters of Reuel or Raguel, seven in number, coming to water their father's flocks, the rind shepherds of the neighbourhood rudely drove them away, upon which Moses rose up and volunteered his successful interference. They hastened home—and their father, astonished at their early return, inquired the reason; which was no sooner discovered, than he set out to invite him to participate his hospitality. Jethro (for such was the name of his host) soon formed a more permanent connexion with Moses, by marrying one of his daughters to the stranger, who took up his residence in the family to superintend his possessions. By this marriage he had two sons, named Gershom and Eliezer.

The father-in-law of Moses was the priest of Midian, and probably, as these officers were usually conjoined, the ruler also of the people, who were Cushites. It has been supposed, that in this retirement Moses, under the influence of inspiration, composed the five historical books of the Pentateuch, which constitutes the first portion of the sacred record. The book of Job is also assigned to the same author and the same period. Others, however, are of opinion, that in this seclusion he relinquished his former views, and that his zeal expired with his hopes. Midian was unfavourably situated for any communication respecting his brethren in Egypt; and perhaps imagining, that if the design itself were not abandoned, his particular agency was dispensed with, he alienated himself from the Hebrews by forming an intimate connexion with another race. Year after year rolled on, till another forty years was added to his life, but no deliverance was effected; and none, according to human probability, likely to be effected for his people, who continued to groan beneath the yoke of Egyptian bondage. Circumstances seemed to have encircled him with an impassable barrier, and could he even return to his brethren, what influence did he possess, or what patronage could he anticipate? A question may here very naturally arise, why should God permit the nation, for whom so wonderful a manifestation was intended, to continue for a succession of years in a state of such galling servitude—or why, if Moses were to become their leader, was he suffered to waste the strength of his days in solitude and inaction? To this there is but one reply—the ways of God are above our ways, and his thoughts above our thoughts. So certain are all his arrangements, that no event need be hurried, to secure it against contingency; and so wise, that the general advance of the

Moses.

A. M.
2433.
—
B. C.
1571.

Fled to
Midian.

A. M.
2473.
—
B. C.
1531.

Biography. entire system of things resulting from mutual dependence, requires that no particular circumstance be precipitated into undue rapidity, or pushed into disproportionate prominence.

A. M.
2513.
—
B. C.
1491.

Divine appearance of Horeb.

The hour of liberation at length arrived. Having led the flock of Jethro to a part of the desert near mount Horeb, Moses was surprised, amidst his usual occupations, by the phenomenon of a bush involved in flames, without being consumed. Having immediately approached, for the purpose of investigating the cause of this mysterious appearance, a voice suddenly issued from the fire; and after twice distinctly uttering his name, commanded him to put off his shoes, declaring that the spot on which he stood was consecrated by the presence of the eternal God. Overawed by the manifestation, he hid his face while he listened to the solemn proclamations of majesty and mercy. He was assured that the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob was there; and that having watched with incessant solicitude the condition of his afflicted people in Egypt, he was come down to deliver them out of a state of servitude, with a view of eventually establishing them in the luxurious borders of Canaan, whence the Hittites, Amorites, Perizzites, and other nations were to be expelled. Moses was further informed, that he was fixed upon as the agent of Providence to accomplish this change, and must immediately repair to Pharaoh to commence the undertaking. With a modesty eminently characteristic of this extraordinary man, he expressed his consciousness of being disqualified for so important a service; but "certainly," said God, "I will be with thee;" a declaration which ought to have removed every apprehension from his mind, and to have induced the most unhesitating compliance. He is, however, still scrupulous; partly from a sense of personal incompetency, and partly from a suspicion of some possible illusion. "When I come," said he, "to the children of Israel, and shall say unto them, The God of your fathers hath sent me unto you, and they shall say to me, What is his name? What shall I say unto them?" The reply to this question was truly striking and impressive—**I AM THAT I AM.** Thus shalt thou say unto the children of Israel, **I AM hath sent me unto you.** In addition to this, he was furnished with a detailed answer to the anticipated inquiries of the people of Israel, which contained an exposition of the merciful designs of God respecting their future happy destiny. Moses continued reluctant; domestic fondness, perhaps, played about his heart; he had formed interesting connections in the country; he recollected the severity with which he had once been treated by the people from whom he had now been many years estranged; he felt aware that he incurred the forfeiture of his life by returning to Egypt; and he imagined that those to whom he was especially sent would dispute his commission. We cannot justify this distrust; but we must admire that amazing condescension in the Divine Being, which performed successive miracles in order to inspire him with a proper degree of confidence. Being directed to east the rod which he held in his hand to the ground, it instantly became a serpent; when he put forth his hand to regain it, the serpent was re-transformed into a rod. He was then commanded to thrust his hand into his bosom, and it became leprous as snow, till, upon his repeating the action, it was perfectly restored to its original appearance. These signs he was

Remarks.

directed to repeat in the presence of the Egyptian king.

After this, a new objection is named: "O, my Lord," said Moses, "I am not eloquent, neither heretofore nor since thou hast spoken unto thy servant; but I am slow of speech, and of a slow tongue." A promise was immediately given of affording him every requisite assistance, which does not appear to have removed his unwarrantable hesitation, till the further assurance that his brother Aaron, who was, by the special appointment of Jehovah, already on the way to meet him, should be his spokesman, while he was to be endowed with the power of performing miracles with his rod. It is singular enough that Moses was afterwards called by the Egyptians *Alphi*, which signifies the *mouth or oracle of God*.

Determined at length upon pursuing the course which duty prescribed, he introduces the subject to Jethro, and gains his consent to re-visit his brethren in the land of bondage. His wife and his sons accompanied him as his journey: when the Lord met him, and it is said "sought to kill him." The reason of this remarkable circumstance is mentioned in the history. Circumcision had been prescribed to Abraham as a badge of admission into the covenant with which it had pleased God to enter with the Israelites through his instrumentality, and it was enjoined with the attendant penalty of excision to every uncircumcised individual. It seems probable that Moses had been seduced by his wife into a neglect of this ordinance, with regard to their son, and it was nothing but an apprehension of danger that urged her to comply; which she did, however, with this bitter taunt, "a bloody husband art thou to me."

"We see now," says Mr. Bryant, "the shepherd of Horeb, the man slow of speech, arrived upon the confines of Egypt, with a design to free his people. If we set aside all supernatural assistance, he stands single and unsupported, without one requisite towards the completion of his purpose. How can we suppose a person so circumstanced capable of carrying on a scheme so arduous in its execution? We must continually bear in mind the time that he had been absent, and his ignorance of every thing which had happened in that interval. We are assured, that he did not know whether his brother Aaron was alive. Hence it is manifest, that previous to his departure from Midian, he had never sent to try the temper of his people, nor to know how the prince of the country stood affected towards them. Great revolutions might have happened during the time that he had been away; and those whom he intended to deliver might not have stood in need of his assistance. He purposed to lead them to another country, when they might have been contented with that which they enjoyed; or they might already have migrated, and Moses not have been apprized of it. These were circumstances of consequence, of which he should have obtained some intelligence; but he seems not to have had power or opportunity to gain it. His brother was alive, and appears to have resided in the court of Pharaoh. And there must have been, among the elders of the people, persons who could counsel for their brethren, and preserve them, if their deliverance were to be effected by human means. Moses sets out singly to perform what their wisdom and experience jointly could not effect; and this without

Moses.

A. M.
2513.
—
B. C.
1491.

He leaves Midian.

Biography. knowing for certain that he had any friend or ally. Let us, however, suppose, that his zeal, which had been dormant for so many years, at last induced him to prosecute this scheme; and that, having quitted his place of ease and retirement, and bidden adieu to his connexions of very long standing, he arrived, with his staff in his hand, like a pilgrim, in Egypt. He had here two difficulties to encounter. The first was to get together some hundreds of thousands of people, who were scattered over the face of the country (Exod. 5. 12), and then to persuade them to follow him to Canaan. This was a real difficulty, as it could not be easy to collect them, much less to gain their confidence. Some of the tribe of Ephraim had, upon a time, made an invasion upon the land of Canaan, but were cut off by the natives of Gath (1 Chron. ch. vii. ver. 21). This could not afford any encouragement to the remaining Israelites to undertake an expedition against the people of that country. The next difficulty was to get access to the prince who reigned, and request, or demand, the dismissal of so many useful subjects. Moses was quite a stranger at the Egyptian court, and not gifted with the powers of persuasion; and at the same time, in character no better than a Midianitish shepherd. What plea could he use, or what art employ? All that he could say upon the occasion was, that he was a prophet of the Lord, the God of the Hebrews; and that he desired, in his name, to carry the people collectively, old and young, to sacrifice in the wilderness. But this would prove but a weak plea, when not supported by some sign, to show that it had the sanction of divine authority. What answer could be expected from a monarch upon such an occasion? Even the same which was really given, Exod. v. 2.—“Who is the Lord, that I should obey his voice to let Israel go? I know not the Lord, neither will I let Israel go.—Get you unto your burdens.” And what was the consequence?—A^o imposition of double duty (v. 9). “Let there more work be laid upon the men, that they may labour therein: and let them not regard vain words.” They were in consequence of this to make bricks without the requisites, being denied straw (v. 12). “So the people were scattered abroad throughout all the land of Egypt, to gather stubble instead of straw.” Yet the same tale of bricks was demanded. This was enough to make the people detest the name of Moses. It must have ruined him in their opinion, and defeated all his views; for the people, whom he wanted to collect, were separated more than ever. Their disaffection may be learnt from their words, when Moses had delivered his message: “And they met Moses and Aaron, who stood in the way as they came forth from Pharaoh, and they said unto them, The Lord look upon you and judge; because ye have made our savour to be abhorred in the eyes of Pharaoh, and in the eyes of his servants, to put a sword in their hands to slay us.” (Exod. v. 20, 21.)

Remarks.

A. M.
2513.
—
B. C.
1491.

ingly, when upon the display of his wonders, they acknowledged the hand of the Almighty, and proffered their obedience to his prophet, they were delivered by him from those evils, from which no power on earth could have freed them. Thus we see that the same mode of acting may be wisdom in God, and folly in man.”

It was not without extreme difficulty, nor till after repeated miracles, that the commissioned agents of a wonder-working Providence succeeded in procuring the escape of the enslaved children of Israel. The application for their release only exasperated the king and for a time increased the miseries of these poor people. The first in the series of miracles performed by Moses and his associate, Aaron, was in the immediate presence of Pharaoh: the latter cast down his rod, and it became a serpent. The magicians and sorcerers of Egypt being sent for to confront the servants of the most High God, imitated this action, and each man's rod became a serpent; but there was this proof of superiority furnished—the rod of Aaron swallowed up their rods. Prejudice, however, is never discriminating, and the evidence of divine interposition not only failed to subdue the incredulity, or allay the vengeance of the king, it only hardened his heart the more against every proper impression. Moses was consequently directed to adopt a larger scale of miraculous operations, in the distinct mention of which, we propose to give the reader a brief illustration of the peculiar adaptation of each of these *PLAGUES OF EGYPT* (as they have been designated), to the idolatries of the people upon whom they were inflicted.

The first plague consisted in the river being turned first into blood, of which the account is preserved in the seventh chapter of the book of Exodus. This was effected by Moses striking the waters with that rod which had once been converted into a serpent; and as a rebuke to the obduracy of the Egyptian monarch, the river immediately became putrid, and the fish perished. A very powerful blow was thus aimed at one of their most deeply rooted idolatrous prejudices. No nation carried their reverence of the Nile to such a pitch of extravagance. On solemn occasions, they invoked it as their chief guardian and protector, and imagined, that it gave birth to all their deities—*εσθρον Νιλου* (says Diod. Siculus), *προς η και τις των διων γυναικων ιναρται*. This opinion spread extensively amongst other nations, and produced a very general veneration for all rivers amongst the pagans. It was, therefore, calculated to strike a salutary conviction of their folly into the minds of the Egyptians, and to have proved a warning to the Israelites, when they perceived the insufficiency of their divinity, and the baseness of this now desecrated stream. Nor was it merely polluted, but changed into blood, than which nothing was more abhorred by the priests, who pretended to extraordinary sanctity. The destruction of the fish, in particular specified, for in some cases, they too were worshipped as real deities; so that to complete the absurdity, there was a city built in honour of one species called Ostrinchus, and a temple where this fish was publicly worshipped. (Strabo, i. 17.)

The second plague was that of the frogs, which was secondly accomplished by Aaron, who, by the direction of Moses, plucked stretched out his hand over the waters; upon which the frogs came up and overpread the land, where they died

Moses.
A. M.
2513.
—
B. C.
1491.

Interview
with
Pharaoh.

First
plague of
EGYPT.

Biography. in immense multitudes, filling the air with pestilential exhalations. This was a second disgrace inflicted upon their sacred river; and it prevented the natives from performing their usual ablutions. It is not absolutely certain, whether the frog were an object of worship, or of abhorrence in Egypt, possibly of both—as in other instances, where religious adoration was offered from sentiments of terror; and if so, they were punished as well by what they venerated, as by what they abominated. Most aquatic animals, however, were in Egypt sacred and emblematical: and as frogs were engraven upon the basis of Apollo's statue at Delphi, the seat of prophecy, they were, it is probable, characteristic of the priests and prophets, and sacred to the Nymphs and Muses. This animal is notorious for swelling itself up, and hence it became an emblem of Apollo, the god of inspiration, and of priests, and prophets in general, particularly of the magicians of Egypt. The present miracle, therefore, constituted an appropriate punishment inflicted upon them, and their royal patron.

The third plague was that of lice. This was inflicted by the rod of Aaron, under the express direction of Moses, who, as before, received the command from God. The Egyptians were peculiarly solicitous of external purity; for which purpose they were continually bathing themselves, and observed the utmost nicety in their clothing. Herodotus has furnished ample evidence of their care in this respect. "The priests," says he, "wear raiment of linen only.—And the linen garments which they put on are continually fresh washed: concerning which they take particular care." It was usual for the people to wear a woollen garment over a linen one; but the former was thrown off when they approached their deities, from an apprehension of its harbouring vermin. It was also dispensed with at burials, from considering it as an impurity. The priests had their heads and bodies shaved every third day for the same reason. Plutarch furnishes a similar testimony, stating, that they abhorred all woollen as foul, and exulting flax, for *λευκὰ ἐκ πορείου καὶ καθαροῦ ὑψηροῦ, ἧστα δὲ φθιμαρῶν*—it affords a delicate and pure covering, and is not at all liable to produce lice. As, therefore, these infatuated worshippers made the essence of religion to consist in external cleanliness, to the utter neglect of internal sanctity (for their temples were defiled with the most abominable practices), the present judgment was peculiarly adapted to confound their superstition; and so obvious was the interposition, that the magicians appealed to Pharaoh in the language of astonishment and conviction, "this is the finger of God!"

The king, however, remaining obdurate, he was visited with the plague of flies, the fourth of this melancholy series. Moses went out in the early morning to meet Pharaoh when he was taking his walk upon the banks of the Nile, and repeated his request for the liberation of Israel, threatening, in case of his persistence in the refusal, that his own house, the houses and premises of his courtiers, and of all the people, should be covered with swarms of flies; while, as a certain indication of the power that accomplished this judgment, the land of Goshen should be exempted from the calamity. The appeal was received as before, and the predicted evil filled the country. The Egyptians had allotted to several deities the office of driving away flies, and many heathen temples were supposed to be free

from these troublesome insects, in consequence of the influence of the presiding deity. Nor was this all; they were even worshipped in various places. Elian mentions, that in his time, an ox was sacrificed to them in the temple of Apollo, at Actium; Clemens confirms the statement; and Antiphanes, in Athenæus, alludes to a similar observance at Olympia, in Elis. There was anciently a deity styled *Deus Musca* and *decaros*, who was worshipped under the semblance of a fly. This idolatry originated in Egypt, whence it was brought by the Captivum to Palestine, out by the Phœnicians to Sidon, Tyre and Bihbas, and thence diffused into other regions. Hence, the Egyptians must be led to perceive, by the miraculous multiplication of the flies which they so absurdly revered, that instead of being able to defend them from mischief, they were under the control of a superior will, and their punishment was inflicted in the very track of their superstition.

The fifth plague was the murrain of beasts, which was attended with two striking peculiarities:—the swiftness of the execution, for it was to be on the morrow after the denunciation by Moses; and the exemption of the people of God from the visitation:—"All the cattle of Israel died, but of the cattle of the children of Israel died not one." Their idolatrous attachment to animals is universally known, and is ridiculed with great keenness of satire by Lucian: "In Egypt," says he, "the temple itself is found to be beautiful and ample in its dimensions, built with choice stones, and ornamented with gilding and hieroglyphics. But if you pry within to find out the god, you meet with a monkey or a crane; or else a goat or a cat." The lion, wolf, and dog, were also objects of adoration; but the greatest reverence was shown for the ox, the cow, the heifer, and the ram. The Apis, or sacred bull, was worshipped at Memphis, and the mnevis at Heliopolis; both of them being esteemed gods. This judgment, therefore, was very appropriate and significant; for their imaginary deities were seen to yield to the God of Israel, without the capacity of offering the least resistance. In vain did the soul of Osiris, as they believed, reside in the body of Apis; the infection spread far and wide, in defiance of his power, exhibiting the despicable imbecility of their divinities.

To the murrain of beasts succeeded the sixth plague, *Sixth* of boils and blains. Handfuls of ashes being taken by Moses and Aaron, and sprinkled towards heaven in the sight of Pharaoh, they became dust, producing a boil breaking forth with blains upon man and beast! It is particularly stated, that the boil was upon the magicians as well as on the Egyptians in general. This was another evidence of the impotency of their gods, who could neither prevent nor alleviate the calamity. Many of them were supposed to possess extraordinary skill in pharmacy and medicine, among whom, Esculapius was regarded with singular esteem and confidence. The action of Moses was highly significant. The ashes were to be taken from the fiery furnace, which is referred to perpetually as a type of the miseries suffered by Israel during the period of their Egyptian bondage; and it contained an allusion to a cruel rite to which they were addicted. In several of their cities they sacrificed men, who were foreigners, for the good of the people. At the end of the ceremony, the priests collected the ashes of the victims, and scattered them upwards in the air, probably with an idea of entailing a blessing wherever the

Moses.
A. M.
2513.
—
B. C.
1491.

Third
plague.

Fourth
plague.

Biography: particles descended. Moses did the same with an opposite purpose, diffusing plague and a curse around in every direction, and thus confronting the operations of Providence with the superstition of the age.

The seventh plague was that of *rain, hail, and fire, attended with thunder*. The Egyptians could scarcely fail of perceiving the drift of these complicated judgments. Rain is extremely rare in that country, and not to be met with at all in Delta, or Egypt Proper. Hence Claudian designates the country, *Ægyptus sine nube ferax—Egypt, fruitful without a cloud*. In addition to this, hail and fire mingled with it, as it ran along upon the ground, to the great annoyance of their characteristic superstition respecting portents and prodigies. This visitation was distinctly foretold, and none of their gods were able to afford them deliverance. It should be observed also, that they were strangely addicted to the worship of the elements of fire and water, as deities: and the former they even believed to be a living creature, endowed with a soul—*ψυχὴν ἔχει τὸ πῦρ*—*Herod*. And hence, not only the presiding deity, but the elements themselves were adored: consequently the present judgment was a formidable attack upon their vain and idolatrous confidence.

Locusts, constituted the eighth plague; which, as on other occasions, Moses inflicted after a plain and solemn warning. They overspread the whole country, devouring every herb, and all the fruit-trees which remained after the hail. It is scarcely possible to conceive a more terrible calamity than that of swarms of locusts, who speedily convert a paradise into a desert, eating up the very bark and roots of vegetation. They are known to come in clouds, extending in length fifteen or eighteen miles, and ten or twelve in breadth; and wherever they settle, all the crops vanishes in two hours. Moreover, of the present swarm it is said, "Before them there were no such locusts as they, neither after them shall be such." The Egyptians cherished great confidence in some of their gods, who were supposed to be able to preserve their country from these invading insects, especially Isis and Osiris, the gods of plenty; but Moses so confounded their misplaced dependence by this isolating miracle, that Pharaoh sent in haste to solicit deliverance from death. A strong west wind was accordingly brought over the land, which carried off these terrible assailants to the Red Sea.

It was not long before it became requisite to inflict a new calamity on Pharaoh, in the form of *thick darkness*, for the space of three days, which constituted the ninth plague. The Egyptians, in common with the Persians, Phœnicians, Syrians, and other nations, esteemed themselves as descendants of the Sun, which they worshipped as their sovereign and parent, believing it to be the soul of the world, the mundi caput, the principal being in the universe. Thus Homer, who took his theology from Egypt, ascribes intellect to the Sun:

Ἥλιος, ὁρ' ὅστις ἔσθ' ὁρα, καὶ τὰς ἐπαινεῖ.

Odyss. b. xii. v. 108.

Originally, indeed, they viewed the light and the fire as proper emblems of deity, on account of their being the parent of all the elements, and because of their salutary influence upon created nature; but this specious sentiment soon degenerated into an adoration

of them as primary sources of being, to the dishonour of the universal Creator: nothing, consequently, could be more significant, nothing more illustrative of their crime, nor better calculated to warn others, than to fill the land with palpable darkness. Their god arose, but could not afford them the least assistance in this perplexing and preternatural obscuration.

The tenth and last plague, which consisted in the infliction of *death upon all the first-born in the land*, exceeded, both in terror and effect, the preceding. This was accomplished at midnight, and after Moses had given them a full warning; in consequence of which the calamity must have been considerably aggravated by anticipation. The Egyptians were addicted above most nations to extravagant mourning, running through the streets, smearing their faces, beating their breasts, and rending the air with cries, not only at the funeral of a friend or relative, but even at the death of any sacred animal. They were accustomed, moreover, to scourge themselves, and to conduct most of their ceremonies with stripes and lamentations in honour of Isis, and Adonis, or Osiris: but now they were supplied with a real cause of the deepest grief, in the deprivation, by a single stroke of the sword of Omnipotence, of every first-born in the country; so that there was a cry, "such as there was none like it, nor shall be like it any more." This was surely a just retaliation for their disobedience, and a proper expression of the divine displeasure for their cruel behaviour to Israel, who is represented as God's *first-born* (Exod. iv. 22), the object of his special favour, and the family whence Christ, "the first-born of every creature" (Col. i. 15), was to proceed. This judgment, besides, was attended with another significant purpose. The Israelites were liable to lose their elder children by the destroying angel, unless they observed a particular conservatory regulation, in consequence of which the *passover* was instituted, not only with a view to their present security, but as containing secret intimations of the blessings to be hereafter dispensed by the Saviour of the world.

It was worthy of the infinite God to punish the Egyptians by that series of calamitous visitations which have now been briefly stated and illustrated: because they prostituted the noblest talents, and the best attainments in general knowledge and learning, to the very basest purposes; and after the preservation of their nation by one of the family of Israel, they had, contrary to every principle of integrity, every pledge of security, and every feeling of gratitude, reduced their benefactors to abject slavery.

The people being at length suffered to depart, they began their journey exactly at the expiration of 430 years from the date when Abraham quitted his kindred in Mesopotamia. At their original settlement in Egypt, their numbers amounted only to seventy, but so prodigiously had they multiplied, in defiance of the worst of treatment, that in about two hundred years, they were increased to 800,000 men capable of bearing arms, which, together with their families, may be estimated in the whole, at four millions of individuals, who set out with vast possessions of flocks, herds, and other property, on the most extraordinary adventure that was ever recorded by the pen of History. If Moses, as their leader, had acted by his sole authority, the measure must have been pronounced imprudent,

Moses.
A. M.
2513.
—
A. C.
1491.
1471.

Tenth
plague.

Remarks.

Departure
of Israel
from
Egypt.

Biography.

A. M.
2513.
—
B. C.
1471.

First en-
campment.
Eiham.

Miracle at
the Red
Sea.

and the way in which he conducted them, impracticable: for instead of proceeding northward, in the short and direct road to Canaan, he took them eastward to the wilderness, which bounds Egypt and Arabia Petrea, in consequence of which they wandered about for many years, enduring the most painful and unexpected privations. This, however, was wisely ordered by that God who superintended their journey, and who was too well aware of their refractory spirit to allow them to pursue a route through Palestine, which would have allowed them easily to return at the first appearance of difficulty. Marshaled, therefore, under Moses, as the commander in chief of the expedition, God himself went before them, "by day in a pillar of a cloud; and by night in a pillar of fire, to give them light."

The first encampment of the children of Israel was at the top of the Red Sea, in Etham, on the edge of the wilderness, which stretched from this point towards Midian and Edom eastward, and towards Parua southward. Pharaoh was now preparing to pursue them with a force which he deemed adequate to compel their return, or effect their destruction; but though they might easily have escaped into the fastnesses of the wilderness, Moses, who acted solely under divine direction, led them into a narrow defile between the mountains, through which there was no outlet; so that when the enemy approached, they were enclosed on all sides. This appeared to the people so bad a piece of generalship, and they were in consequence exposed to such extreme danger, that their complaints were most bitter and clamorous. They tauntingly inquired whether he had brought them into this situation because there were no graves in Egypt; and loudly declared, that they should have considered prolonged servitude far preferable to so melancholy a fate. Had the object been merely to effect their escape, or had Moses acted solely from his own authority, their remonstrances might have been correct; but we are informed that God wisely contrived this dilemma for the purpose of exciting Pharaoh to the pursuit, that, by his manifest interposition, he might acquire honour to his great name, and effectually cure those prejudices in favour of Egypt, which were still so prevalent in the camp. In these critical circumstances, the cool fortitude, magnanimity, and piety of their leader, were most conspicuous: he silenced their murmurings, allayed their agitation, and in the exercise of strong faith, stood up in the midst of them, stretching his rod over the sea, which instantly divided to form a dry and commodious passage. They passed in safety; guarded on either hand by the watery element as by walls of adamant. In vain did their foes attempt to follow; Moses again stretched forth his rod, and the deep closed upon them—chariots, horsemen, and all the host of Pharaoh—for ever! This deliverance was commemorated by Moses in a song, which is not only worthy of attention on account of its numerous beauties as a composition, but as the most ancient piece of poetry in the world, antedating the works of Homer, by at least six hundred years.

It is now generally agreed, that the transit of the children of Israel, was at the bay of Colsum or Clymas. It is now called by the Arabs *Bedra*, and is almost dry: and in the immediate neighbourhood the natives

still preserve a tradition of the drowning of a numerous army near the place.

Three days after this miracle the Israelites marched through a barren wild without any water; on the fourth they arrived at Marah, where, indeed, they found a supply, but it was bitter. This occasioned prodigious murmurings; upon which Moses, as in all his difficulties, applied to the Lord, who directed him to cast in a tree, by which it became instantly sweetened. Hence they proceeded to Elim, and then again encamped by the sea, but afterwards went in a northerly direction inland to the wilderness of Sin, where manna was first afforded them from heaven. Subsequently, as they approached the borders of the Amalekites, they were opposed by that people and pursued to Rephidim. In this place the people again complained for want of water, and were miraculously supplied by the rod of Moses being struck against the rock in Horeb. (Ex. 18.)

The Israelites were now conducted to the wilderness of Sinai, in the third month of their departure out of Egypt, where the law was given them, with all the circumstances of terror and magnificence which suited that extraordinary period. Moses was, on this occasion, admitted to an intercourse with the Supreme Being, more familiar than any which had hitherto fallen to the lot of a mortal; but for which he had been prepared by the manifestation of the burning bush, and by the capacity to work miracles with which he had afterwards been endowed. Having been called up into Horeb, by a voice which proceeded from the summit of the mountain, Moses was desired to remind the people of the past interpositions of Providence, as evidences of the divine goodness, and to assure them of God's intentions respecting their future destination, to which they had been introductory. They were now to become the "peculiar treasure" of the Most High, "a kingdom of priests, and a holy nation." When this declaration was reported to the camp by an assembly of the elders, the whole multitude expressed their readiness to comply with unhesitating obedience with every divine requisition. Moses conveyed this language to the Lord, who, having intimated his determination to appear in a thick cloud, and communicated his will in an audible conference with his chosen servant, directed the use of certain precautions previously to the solemn manifestation. The people were to sanctify themselves, and a fence was prepared, that no one should touch the borders of the mountain upon pain of death. On the third day from the interview of their leader with God, in which these preparatory measures were arranged, thunders, lightnings, and a thick cloud, invested Sinai, accompanied with the sound of a trumpet, so tremendously loud as to put the whole camp into extreme agitation. The mount itself shook to the very base; while smoke ascended like the smoke of a furnace, into the midst of which Moses entered, ascending to the very summit, where he received a new charge to preserve the multitude from indulging an eager and obtrusive curiosity: after which the ten commandments were pronounced, in a voice so solemn and superhuman, that the people requested Moses to become the medium of future communication. Accordingly, after endeavouring to allay their fears, he approached the thick darkness, and received from the present Deity a minute specification of laws, by which Israel was henceforth to be governed. These were all written in a book,

Moses.
A. M.
2513.
—
B. C.
1471.

Sinai.

Biography, and an altar, to serve as a sacred memorial of the wonderful transactions, was erected upon the spot, with twelve pillars to correspond with the number of the tribes. Having first sprinkled blood upon the altar, Moses read the volume; and when the people expressed their unanimous consent to every requisition, he proceeded to sprinkle blood upon them, in attestation of the solemn covenant. After this, he was again called into the mount, where he abode forty days and forty nights, receiving instructions for the building of a tabernacle, in which it was the divine purpose to display his glory to his favourite nation, for the benefit of the universal world.

Idolatry of the people.

During the absence of Moses, the people relapsed into idolatry, so justly incurred the Lord, that his anger was only appeased by the intercession of Moses, who, upon descending the mountain with the two tables of the law written upon stone in his hands, was filled with such indignation, that he threw them upon the ground, and dashed them to pieces. As a further punishment for their rebellion, he ground the idolatrous image to powder, and strewing it upon water, compelled them to drink it. Aaron endeavoured to excuse himself, by pleading the importunity of the people; and when Moses saw how completely they had stripped themselves, in order to furnish the means of forming the calf, he went to the gate and proclaimed, "Who is on the Lord's side? let him come unto me." The Levites instantly repaired to the spot, and by divine command, they were ordered to pass through the camp armed in hand, by which three thousand perished miserably. The people were now threatened with the withdrawal of the presence of God, which necessitated the deepest lamentation; but their faithful leader and friend pitched the tabernacle in the midst of the congregation, into which he entered when the cloud descended upon it, and successfully interceded for their preservation. For himself, he requested some encouraging display of the divine glory, which was graciously accorded, and an account of it is given in the concluding passage of the thirty-third chapter of Exodus. In addition to this distinguishing favour, he was directed to prepare two other tables of stone, and bring them into the mount, where they were again inscribed with the commandments, by the finger of God; and whence, having remained for forty days and nights in a state of strict abstinence from food, he descended with such a supernatural splendour upon his countenance, that he was under the necessity of putting on a veil, to allay the apprehensions of Aaron and the children of Israel. Whenever he went in before the Lord, he removed the veil till he returned to the people.

A. M.
2514.
—
B. C.
1490.

The tabernacle.

The tabernacle was now erected in exact conformity with the pattern that had been presented to Moses in the mount. It was completed in the first month in the second year, on the first day of the month, when the glory of God appeared in a cloud, which so entirely pervaded it, that Moses was unable to enter; and this miraculous cloud continued with them in all their future journeyings; so that they halted while the cloud rested on them, and went forward as often and as long as it was taken up. In the night it always assumed a luminous appearance, and was every where conspicuous.

The first remove of the Israelites from Sinai was into the wilderness of Paran, and on their way we find several acts of divine forbearance at the intercession of

Moses. At the voice of his supplication, fire was quenched, and manna and quails supplied. It would have been strange indeed, if a person of so much eminence had been exempted from that envy which commonly prevails, upon occasions far less calculated to excite it; yet we cannot but wonder that his dearest connexions should have attained the first ignoble distinction of attempting to depreciate his character, and diminish his well-merited reputation. Miriam and Aaron were, however, both influenced by this detestable spirit; on which account, the former was smitten with leprosy, that was only healed at the powerful entreaty of their injured brother, who procured her the mitigated punishment of only a seven days' exclusion from the camp.

Hitherto, no measures had been taken to obtain information respecting the country they were marching to invade: its length, a ruler from each tribe was dispatched as a spy, secretly, to ascertain the nature of the soil, the disposition of the inhabitants, and the military state of the cities. At the expiration of forty days they returned, bringing with them a favourable report of the fertility of the land, of which they produced some satisfactory specimens in the grapes of Eschol, with several pomegranates and figs; but they described the fortifications which they had seen, as so strong, and the people as of so gigantic a stature, that every one seemed dispirited, and refused to attempt the proposed conquest. So much, indeed, did the spirit of rebellion display itself, that they were on the point of selecting a new leader to guide them back to Egypt, and were about to stone Joshua and Caleb, whose report widely differed from that of the other spies, and whose remonstrances they could not endure; when the glory of the Lord appeared in the tabernacle of the congregation, and the smiting pestilence was threatened to exterminate the rebels. Nothing, indeed, could have prevented its fatal and immediate operation, but that earnest entreaty, with which it was the honour and privilege of Moses so often to avert the displeasure of the Almighty: not to mark with an indeble sign of disgrace the offending multitude, they were made to understand, that only two individuals, whose fidelity had rendered them worthy of such a distinction, Joshua and Caleb, out of their numerous thousands and tens of thousands then alive, should ultimately see the promised inheritance: nor should even their children enjoy it, till after they had wandered forty years in the wilderness, in correspondence with the number of days it had occupied to survey the land. The individuals who had given the report which occasioned the present murmuring, were instantaneously smitten by a fatal plague "before the Lord." The next morning, a party, deeply affected with the predicted chastisement, presumed contrary to orders, to attack the enemy, and were repulsed by the Amalekites and Canaanites with great loss. But Moses did not aim to remedy the misfortune, to renew the contest with a larger and more efficient force, or to march directly forward towards the desirable residence of which they were in search; but, in obedience to a heavenly intimation, turned back to the wilderness of Sin, and then passing near Ezion Gaher, at the eastern extremity of the Red Sea, and proceeding round the land of Edom, he at length led the people to the plains of Moab, near mount Nebo.

At different times, during this circuitous journey,

Moses.
A. M.
2514.
—
B. C.
1490.

Seeds to search the land.

Defect of the tabernacle.

Biography.

A. M.
2514.
—
B. C.
1490.

several memorable events occurred, in which Moses was particularly implicated. An envious spirit having again manifested itself in the revellings of Korah, Dathan, and Abiram, ministers before the Lord, who had formed a party of 250 princes of the assembly, they were summoned to the door of the tabernacle, each with his censor having incense. The Lord then appeared in glory, requiring Moses and Aaron to separate themselves from the congregation, who were to be consumed in a moment. The former, as at other times, interceded, and the three ring-leaders of the faction were placed apart; when, at the voice of Moses, the earth opened and swallowed them up, their families and property, with their associate delinquents. Surprising as it may appear, this awful judgment failed to produce a proper impression upon the infatuated multitude; for, on the very next day, there was an universal murmur against Moses and Aaron, when the God of Israel again descended in the magnificence of his displeasure. Fourteen thousand seven hundred were consumed by a plague, which was only arrested in its fatal progress by Aaron, at the command of his brother, standing up between the living and the dead, to offer incense and make an atonement for the people.

A. M.
2513.
—
B. C.
1481.
Aaron's
death.

On arriving at mount Hor, Moses had the melancholy task of accompanying Aaron in his ascent to its summit, where the latter died; immediately after which, he invested his son Eleazar with his sacerdotal garments, at the express command of God. This loss was commemorated in a general mourning of thirty days.

Soon afterwards, at an encampment on the borders of Edom, the people became extremely discouraged; and, as usual, gave vent to their feelings in impious speeches against Moses and against God. This produced the tremendous visitation of fiery flying serpents, through the effects of whose venomous bite multitudes perished. The people once more humbled themselves; and, upon their application to Moses, he besought the Lord, by whom he was directed to make a fiery serpent and set it upon a pole; "and it came to pass, that if a serpent had bitten any man, when he beheld the serpent of brass he lived." It has been supposed, that in this emblem there was at once a significant punishment of the idolatry of the times, and a striking typical representation of the Saviour of the world, and the redemption which he accomplished for the human race. Had it pleased God, says Mr. Bryant, to have explained his meaning to his prophet upon the spot, I presume, that in express terms, it would have amounted to this: "You have been devoted to serpent-worship; and I punish you by these very reptiles which you have idly adored. You have esteemed the serpent the emblem of health, life, and divine wisdom; and under this symbol, you have looked up to an unknown power, styled Thoth and Agathodæmon, the benign genius. For these things you suffer. But I will show you a more just and salutary emblem, by which health and life, as well as divine wisdom, are signified. It is a type of the true Agathodæmon, that human divinity, the physician of the soul, by whom these blessings are one day to accrue. Behold that serpent upon a perch of cross; whoever looks up to him shall be saved from the primal venom of the serpent, as well as from primal infection. This is an emblem of that benign power, that

good genius, by whom the world will be cured of every inherent evil."

After occupying various stations, upon their arrival at mount Pisgah, ambassadors were sent to Sihon, king of the Amorites, to negotiate for a passage through his border; but instead of consenting, he collected a numerous army and attacked the Israelites; who, under the direction of Moses, vanquished the enemy and took immediate possession of all his territories. A similar result soon afterwards followed the hostility of Og, king of Bashan.

Moses now led forward the people to an encampment in the plains of Moab, where they continued till they crossed over Jordan. Balak, the king of the country, invited Balaam to come and denounce curses upon these multitudinous strangers; but the magician having, contrary to the requisition of his sovereign, blessed them, Balak envenomed, at the instigation of Balaam, to corrupt them by sending women into the camp to allure them to idolatry and fornication. This impious stratagem so far succeeded, that 23,000 who had conformed to the worship of Baal-peor were put to death, besides 1000 others consigned to execution by the judges. The Midianites having adopted similar measures, Moses was commanded to make war against them; and Phineas, the grandson of Aaron, who had nobly resisted the prevalent iniquity, being appointed to head the expedition, overthrew the foe with 12,000 men.

The fortieth year of Israel's predestined residence in the wilderness, was now hastening to its termination, when Moses was apprized, that he would not be permitted to enter the promised land, in consequence of an act of disobedience of which he had formerly been guilty (Numb. xx. 7—13); but that he should enjoy the satisfaction of surveying it from the summit of Nebo, and then expire. His eminent prudence, and his reigned piety, were remarkably conspicuous on this occasion. Having first entreated the appointment of a successor to his office of leader of the children of Israel, who should faithfully discharge the high duties of such a situation, he was commanded solemnly to designate Joshua to the work; a man whose extraordinary qualifications enabled him honourably to perform it. Moses then proceeded to order a variety of regulations with regard to civil and ecclesiastical affairs; particularly stating the limits of the land they were to subdue, and the divine will respecting its distribution: then assembling the people about him, he recapitulated the principal events that had occurred since the time of their departure out of Egypt, and exhorted them to fidelity, plainly declaring the fatal consequences of rebellion, and the felicities which would certainly accrue from obedience. Afterwards he caused the nation to assemble and ratify the covenant of Horeb; and presenting a copy of the law to the priests and elders, enjoined the solemn reading of it every seventh year to the whole assembled nation. His charge to Joshua is most pathetic and affectionate, assuring him of the presence of his God in going to take possession of Canaan, and the divine determination never to leave or forsake them. The substance of his different addresses being compressed into a song of exquisite beauty and finish, it was first read, and then delivered to his successor to be learned by the people and their descendants. At length he summoned them together once more, to receive his final benediction, which was

Moses.

A. M.
2513.
—
B. C.
1481.
Defeats
Sihon and
Og.

Warned of
his death

His mea-
sures.

Biography. not only pronounced with great solemnity, but blended with several predictions relating to such tribes distinctly. He had no sooner uttered it, than he ascended mount Nebo alone, and from its highest point, distinguished by the name of Pisgah, he contemplated the promised inheritance, and departed to that " recompense of the reward" which he had so often and so long anticipated. This occurred in the year before Christ 1451, when Moses had attained the age of 120, and when none of his faculties were impaired: "his eye was not dim, nor his natural force abated." His sepulchre is said to have been in the valley of Moab opposite Beth-peor; but the precise spot was miraculously concealed, probably for the purpose of preventing an idolatrous veneration of it. The children of Israel held a general mourning on account of their illustrious chief for thirty days.

Death.

To these authentic particulars of the life of Moses, which we have deduced from the volume of inspiration, the Jewish rabbins have, as usual, made a variety of whimsical additions, which it is quite needless to quote; but the accounts of Josephus, and other historians, must not be wholly discarded as fabulous. This author and Eusebius, affirm that he acted as a general in the wars of Egypt, and obtained many splendid victories. Plutarch states, that at his birth, he was distinguished by a more than ordinary beauty of countenance, which seems confirmed by the testimony of the Acts, where he is said to have been "exceeding fair;" and Josephus represents his aspect and figure as so engaging at an early age that people would leave their occupations to gaze at him.

Personal character.

The *meekness* of his spirit is repeatedly mentioned in Scripture; and it was combined with what are very uncommon associates, *fortitude* and *zeal*. With what boldness did he censure the disobedience of the people; and with what a fearless and peremptory tone did he frequently address them, though wholly exposed to the mercy of an incensed multitude! Still more than this, there was a portion, and no ordinary portion, of that vehement *enthusiasm*, which is an essential ingredient in the constitution of every great character: for, discontented and rebellious as the people were, so devoted was their leader to their interests, that on one occasion he declared that he would submit to death and the loss of the promised blessings, if he could obtain a pardon for the Israelites (Exod. xxxii. 32). This feeling betrayed itself in almost every remarkable action of his life, and led him to become the intrepid opposer of sin, and the no less intrepid and powerful intercessor with God for the transgressors; on the one hand checking, by his holy heroism, the progress of rebellion, which must have proved ruinous in its consequences; and on the other, arresting in midway the divine displeasure, already on its destructive march. It was long indeed before the flame of enthusiasm appeared; but when once kindled it blazed with a glorious and insatiable brightness. His affectionate regard for the people, whom he had guided through the wanderings of the desert, was in no degree diminished by the prospect of his own departure; for, after it was revealed to him that he should not enter the promised land, he continued the same unwearied assiduity, in promoting the interests of the Israelites, as had distinguished his previous conduct. In all the great transactions of his eventful life, we perceive a singular

wisdom in his proceedings: in the distribution of wealth and honour he furnished the most decisive proofs of *liberality* and *disinterestedness*. His freedom from all the *vices* and *littlenesses* that are apt to adhere to eminent rank and exalted station, was strikingly manifest; particularly on one occasion, when the *spirit* of prophecy was diffused amongst the seventy elders, and Joshua desired Moses to forbid Eldad and Medad, who were reported to be prophesying in the camp:—"Enviest thou," said he, "for my sake? Would God that all the Lord's people were prophets, and that the Lord would put his spirit upon them." (Numb. xi. 29.) Over all these virtues was thrown the *charm of piety*—a piety not only genuine, but of so pre-eminent a nature as to qualify him for extraordinary intercourse with the Deity. Scripture testifies that he conversed with God, "face to face, as a man speaketh unto his friend;" and accordingly the Jews have always affirmed, that he enjoyed a much higher species of inspiration than any subsequent prophet. It was his exclusive privilege to address God at all times without the assistance of the High Priest, who consulted by means of the Urim and Thummim; which, with the miracles he was enabled to perform, conferred upon him a decided pre-eminence and superiority above every other human being. His character as a *legislator*, must be referred to a future part of this account of his life. As a *writer*, his peculiarities are modesty, simplicity of narration, diversity of style, and copiousness of information. In the Pentateuch he has furnished an account, luminous, concise, and accurate, of the earliest period of time, commencing with the creation itself, and closing with the arrival of the Israelites on the borders of the promised land; of which they were to take possession under the guidance of his illustrious successor in office. This narrative comprehends a period of more than two thousand two hundred and fifty years. Moses is also said to have composed many of the psalms; and the most anciently received opinion is, that he was the author of the book of Job. Many apocryphal works have been ascribed to him; the evident design of which was to raise them to distinction, by investing them with the splendour of his name.

The celebrity of Moses extended far beyond the limits of his nation; so that his history, in its main features, though distorted by many additions and misrepresentations, may be traced in the narratives of pagan antiquity. The Greeks, the Romans, the Chaldeans, the Egyptians, and others, not only admitted his veracity as a historian, and his superiority as a legislator, but enrolled him under different names among their gods, and preserved a no very obscure memorial of his actions in the fables of their mythology. The dispersion of the Jews into different countries, at an early period, furnished them with the means of authentic information; and the love of the marvellous, which is so inherent in the human mind, induced them to construct entertaining and ingeniously deceptive narratives, upon the narrow basis of historic reality. Among the most distinguished inventors of this kind, may be reckoned Manetho, an Egyptian, and priest of Heliopolis, who lived under Ptolemy Philadelphus, and whom Josephus quotes liberally in his first book against Apion; distinguishing, however, what he derived from the records of the Egyptian temples, to which he was secretary, from what he relates of his own, or has collected from mere report.

Moses.
A. M.
2553.
—
B. C.
1451.

Character
as legislator
and
writer.

Biography.

A. M.
2553.
—
B. C.
1451.

His divine mission.

His difficulties.

Continued.

II. PROOFS OF THE DIVINE MISSION OF MOSES.

The most cursory perusal of the preceding biographical sketch, must not only have prepared the reader for this division of the subject, but have suggested some of its most obvious demonstrations. They are not so reconcile as to require a very profound and laborious investigation; though unhappily, the passions and prepossessions of mankind render it necessary to bring forward, into more distinct prominence, what, to an unprejudiced mind, is already quite apparent. Omitting a variety of minute details, we shall endeavour to establish the argument by an induction only of the most important particulars.

1. There was an extreme improbability in the attempt of Moses to release the nation of Israel from Egyptian servitude,—an improbability which would have stamped it with the indelible disgrace of adventurism, not to add, of folly—upon the supposition of his being undirected by a commission from heaven, and unsupported by supernatural assistance. Some part of his conduct in early life had, as we have seen, exposed him to the severity of the Egyptian law—he had no external means of recommending himself to the nation he proposed to emancipate, or to justify his pretensions to become their leader: but, without a friend or ally amongst them, he expected to gain their universal concurrence, to place themselves under the direction of his yet untutored capacity. How was it probable, that an individual so circumstanced, should be able to collect and combine under his standard, so many hundred of thousands of people in a state of considerable dispersion? How could he hope to gain access to the court and the king, without either eloquence to attract, or reticence to overawe them? And yet, in defiance of every obstacle and improbability, he not only succeeded in this mighty project, but every step was so easy, every circumstance so accurately adjusted to promote his design, and yet so perfectly independent of his control, that we are forcibly and at once impressed with a conviction of his superiority to any other person, and behold in him the agent of a superintending Providence.

2. All the proceedings of Moses, subsequently to the deliverance out of Egypt, were characterized by an imprudence bordering upon insanity, if he be considered as acting from his own sole authority, uninfluenced by a divine appointment. The people, whom he voluntarily undertook to guide, were plunged by him into labyrinths of inextricable difficulty. Instead of leading them in the short and direct road to that luxurious residence, of the possession of which they were assured after expelling the present occupiers, he takes them in an opposite direction; so that a journey, which might have been accomplished in a few weeks, was protracted into forty years; during which, they wandered about from wilderness to wilderness—in a thousand contrary paths—destitute, and anxious. His personal safety was evidently endangered by this apparent misconduct; for what else could he anticipate than discontent and rebellion? Was there not every reason to suppose they would rid themselves of so injudicious a commander? and, in point of fact, they frequently upbraided him in the bitterest language, and demanded to be carried back to the country from which they had been induced to depart. But infinite wisdom knew how to relieve the people from distress, and to supply

their every want. No embarrassments could possibly perplex the mind of God; and the Israelites were obviously involved in them according to his directions given to Moses, as the chief agent in his mysterious movements, in order to evince their dependence upon his power and goodness, and to show them that human means were altogether unavailable for their salvation.

3. The miracles of Moses could not but afford to the Israelites, as the well-attested record of them affords to us, indisputable attestations to his mission. Miracles must be considered in the light of divine credentials when they are performed by one who delivers a message in the sacred name of God; and appeals to them as evidences of having received a commission from heaven—supposing them to be wrought at the time by or in favour of the person himself who makes the pretension. They are to be viewed in such a case and signs and testimonies of the divine approbation; and nothing can be more decisive. For the Supreme Being could never sanction falsehood by a miraculous interposition, inasmuch as he could neither deceive others, nor be himself deceived; and it is most obvious, that nothing but the execution of some design of the highest importance, could induce the Supreme Being to depart, in such a manner, from the order of his government, and suspend those laws by which he regulates the universe. The twofold purpose of Moses, was to prove his own commission, and to exhibit the true character and undoubted supremacy of that God, in whose name he demanded the release of the Israelites from their servitude: the miracles he performed, both before Pharaoh, and during the sojourn in the wilderness, furnished these requisite illustrations. At the outset, he was indeed confronted by the Egyptian magicians; but Farmer has shown, by a series of ingenious demonstrations, that his opponents were not able to perform work really supernatural, nor were they assisted by any superior invisible being. They pretended to magic, and were jugglers by profession and practice; so that Scripture not only denies them the power of discovering or effecting any thing miraculous, but denounces them in express terms as *liars*, and their performances as *lying vanities*. The intention of Pharaoh in sending for them, was to ascertain from them whether the sign given by Moses was really supernatural, or only such as their art enabled them to accomplish: it would be contradictory to the fundamental principles of the pagan theology, to represent them as engaging the gods of Egypt in a contest or trial of strength with the God of Israel, because the claims of their deities were supposed to be consistent with each other; and, instead of being taught that one deity should act in defiance of another, for their protection, they were led to believe that they should rather attempt to appease and conciliate other deities. They had, at the same time, a very powerful inducement to try their utmost of deceptive skill, since they must perceive the solicitude of the king to retain the Israelites as his subjects and servants. All the sacred writers, and Moses in particular, describe the heathen deities as unsupported by any invisible aid, and as utterly impotent; and the point which the legate of Heaven was to establish, was the sole divinity of Jehovah, in opposition to idolatry; it is not, therefore, conceivable, that the gods of the heathen should be able, through the instrumentality of the magicians, to

Moses.

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Miracles he performed.

Biography.

A. M.
2553.B. C.
1451.Prophetic
character.

perform supernatural works; Moses, besides, appropriates all miracles to God, and urges each one distinctly, as a separate proof of his divinity and of his own mission.

4. The prophetic character of Moses ought to be viewed, in connection with his miraculous performances, as furnishing accumulative evidence in his favour. The volume of inspiration has transmitted to our age a variety of his predictions, particularly with regard to the advent of the Messiah, the character by which he should be distinguished, and the condition of his far distant posterity in the closing dispensation of time. There is to be observed, in all these prophetic intimations, a precision and accuracy of reference, by which the shadowing forth of the marvellous events anticipated may be discerned with all that certainty which arises from the most exact coincidence. The frame of the prophecy is in every case so accurately constructed that the subsequent and corresponding event fits into it as by a sort of moral mechanism; evincing the designed connexion and conformity. After furnishing a general illustration of the Mosaic predictions, a learned writer concludes in these terms: "Here are instances of prophecies, prophecies delivered above three thousand years ago, and yet, as we see, fulfilling in the world at this very time: and what stronger proofs can we desire of the divine legation of Moses? How these instances may effect others, I know not; but for myself, I must acknowledge, they not only convince, but amaze and astonish me beyond expression. They are truly, as Moses foretold they would be, a sign and a wonder for ever.

Laws of di-
vine author-
ity.

5. An important and decisive argument, in support of the divine authority of the mission of the Jewish leader, may be deduced from the very nature and character of those laws which he promulgated among the Israelites. These we shall have occasion hereafter to explain: and to the *whole* of our subsequent statement upon this subject, we refer the reader for corroborative evidence; but there is one peculiar feature of Mosaic legislation, which has excited no small discussion in modern times; and which, from the celebrity of its author, and the eloquence with which he defended it, requires upon the principles of our work a brief development. "We demand only," says WARBURTON, "this single postulatam, that hath all the clearness of self-evidence: namely, that a skilful lawgiver, establishing a religious and civil policy, acts with certain views and for certain ends; and not capriciously, or without purpose or design. This being granted, we erect our demonstration on these three very clear and simple propositions. 1. That the inculcating the doctrine of a future state of rewards and punishments is necessary to the well-being of civil society. 2. That all mankind, especially the most wise and learned nations of antiquity, have concurred in believing and teaching that this doctrine was of such use to civil society. 3. That the doctrine of a future state of rewards and punishments is not to be found in, nor did make part of the Mosaic dispensation. Hence it must be inferred, that the law of Moses is of divine origin: upon this principle, that whatever religion and society have no future state for their support, must be supported by an extraordinary Providence. Such was the Jewish religion and society; and as this was the universal conviction of all ancient lawgivers, Moses, who instituted such a religion, and was a person

of that description, believed his religion was supported by an extraordinary Providence. With regard to the first of these propositions, be it observed, that society is in itself essentially defective; for its laws can have no further efficacy than to restrain mankind from open transgression; private delinquency being concealed from view, escapes censure. But even the influence of civil laws cannot extend to every case, as when the prohibition of one irregularity tends to produce another—the care of the *whole* may often lead to the neglect of *individuals*; civil laws are necessarily silent respecting duties of imperfect obligation, such as gratitude, hospitality, and charity: and besides it originates a new set of duties of the same description; society tends also to increase those very desires it was contrived to correct, in consequence of the multiplication of our wants proportionally with the arts of civilized life. Society is not only imperfect with respect to the administration of that power which it possesses, of punishing the disobedient, but still more so, in the dispensation of rewards to the obedient; understanding by this term, not the recompense bestowed in consideration of meritorious service, but such as is conferred on every one for obeying the laws of his country. Two things are here to be noticed—the first, that by the original constitution of civil government the sanction of rewards was not established; the only stipulation between the magistrate and the people being the mere protection on the one side, and *obedience* on the other, which arose out of their respective conditions: the second, that by the very nature of civil government rewards could not be enforced by it; for society could neither distinguish the objects of its favour, all that could be done being merely to discover whether the act were willful or voluntary, without taking cognizance of the motive; nor could it reward, though it should discover them, because no society can find a sufficient fund without raising it on the people as a tax to pay it back as a reward. Some other power, therefore, is needed to remedy these defects, and preserve society from confusion; but there is no other power to be found than religion, which teaches an ever-ruling Providence, the rewarder of good men, and the punisher of bad ones; and thus obliges to the duties of what are technically termed *duties of imperfect obligation*, which are overlooked by human regulations. Were it possible, which it is not, that there could be religion not founded on the doctrine of a Providence, it would be of no service to society; consequently, whatever is necessary to support this doctrine, is necessary to the well-being of society. The doctrine of a future state of rewards and punishments is thus necessary, and must be inculcated. The second proposition, relating to the concurrence of all mankind in believing and teaching the utility of this doctrine, is demonstrable by appealing, first, to the conduct of lawgivers and substitutes of civil polity, who always propagated religion wherever they instituted laws. There never was a people in any age, the Jews only excepted, who had a religion, the chief foundation of which was not the doctrine of a future state of rewards and punishments. The care of the civil magistrate in cultivating religion is evinced from the universality of it amongst all civilized nations;—from the very apparent absence of all traces of it, in many savage people, proving the extraordinary care taken for its preservation in a different state

Moses.

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Biography of society;—and from the genius of pagan religion, with regard to the origin and nature of their gods, who were chiefly departed legislators, kings, and founders of civil polity; the attributes assigned to them, which corresponded with the nature and genius of each government, as gentle or severe; and the mode of their public worship, which concerned individuals who were confessed to be under an unequal Providence, which necessarily introduced the doctrine of a future state for the support of the divine government and society in its corporate character, which displayed a more equal Providence administered to the state. Hence, religion and government were blended together, and prodigies constituted a part of the public administration, no less than civil edicts. The particular arts employed by the magistrate to support and propagate religion, consisted in pretending a revelation from some god, by whose express commands his policy had been framed: and hence Plato represents legislation as proceeding from God, and not from man; and Homer constantly describes kings by the epithets *Δαίμονες*, born of the gods; and *Δαίμονες*, bred or tutored by the gods. This pretence to inspiration was adopted for the purpose of establishing the opinion of the superintendence of the gods over the affairs of mankind, not to secure the reception of their laws, nor to render those laws perpetual and immutable. Aristotle, in his maxims for setting up and supporting tyranny, gives this direction: "To seem extremely attached to the worship of the gods, for that men have no apprehension of injustice from such as they deem to be religious, and to have a high sense of Providence. Nor will the people be apt to run into plots and conspiracies against those whom they believe the gods will, in their turn, fight for and support." (Arist. Polit. l. v. c. II.) Another measure of the legislator was to introduce the general doctrine of a Providence, as a preface to give a sanction to his regulations: of this, antiquity has transmitted two valuable specimens in the prefaces to the laws of Zaleucus and Charondas, lawgivers of the Locrians, and contemporaries with Lycurgus. The next art was the institution of the mysteries, the most sacred part of the pagan religion, precisely adapted to strike the imaginations of the multitude, and instituted solely for the support of the doctrine of a future state of retribution. They consisted of secret worship; which, in addition to the public solemnities, was paid to each of the gods; and to which none were admitted, but those who were properly initiated, by certain preparatory ceremonies. This secrecy was observed for two reasons: the one, to excite curiosity; the other, to secure the sole instruction of the initiated into some things which it would have been improper to have communicated to all. A further instance of the care of the magistrate for religion was evinced in the establishment of a national worship. The direct purpose, in this case, was to support the religion which was already propagated, by taking it into civil protection, and uniting it with the state. This touches upon a subject of much and frequent controversy. Warburton endeavours to show, that an established religion is the universal voice of nature, and that the right to establish it is vested in civil government: but in whatever manner these questions may be decided, the general argument, illustrating the intention of the magistrate to secure the interests of religion, is by no means affected; but apparently

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corroborated, by his extending toleration to those who conscientiously differed from the public faith. There is one remarkable circumstance which the progress of discovery has disclosed, tending to show the unremitting zeal with which the rulers of nations have cultivated the belief of the doctrine of a future state. Amidst the various transigrations which have arisen out of the contentions of rival states and empires, and the confusion incident to society, many people have probably fallen from a civilized to a savage condition, who have been found to have little or no knowledge of God, or observance of religion: notwithstanding which, they have still retained the belief of a future state. This could only have occurred in consequence of the legislator's assiduity in the propagation of this sentiment, and of the powerful hold which it naturally and easily obtains of the human mind. So that, as it has been well observed, no religion ever existed without the doctrine of a future state: yet the doctrine of a future state has sometimes existed without a religion.

Secondly. Having examined the conduct of legislators, and the founders of civil polity, in proof of the concurrent opinion of mankind, with regard to the utility of the general doctrine in question; it remained to specify the views of the wisest and most learned of the ancient sages: and however at variance upon other topics, on this point they appear to have been unanimous. Without multiplying quotations, one from Polybius, and another from Piny, will suffice. The first of these writers says, "The superior excellence of this (the Roman) policy, above others, manifests itself, in my opinion, chiefly in the religious notions the Romans hold concerning the gods; that which, in other places, is turned to abuse, being the very support of the Roman affairs—I mean the fear of the gods, or what the Greeks call *superstition*; which is come to such a height, both in its influence on individuals and on the public, as cannot be exceeded. This, which many may think unaccountable, seems plainly to have been contrived for the sake of the community. If, indeed, one were to frame a civil polity only for wise men, it is possible this kind of institution might not be necessary: but since the multitude is ever fickle and capricious, full of lawless passions and irrational and violent resentments, there is no way left to keep them in order, but by the terrors of future punishment, and all the pompous circumstance that attends such kind of fictions. On which account, the ancients acted, in my opinion, with great judgment and prudence, when they contrived to bring these notions of the gods, and of a future state, into the popular belief; and the present age as inconsiderately and absurdly, in removing them and encouraging the multitude to despise their terrors." (Polyb. Hist. lib. v. c. 54.) Piny Piny, the elder speaks in a similar strain:—"It is expedient for society that men should believe that the gods concerned themselves in human affairs; and that the punishments they inflict on offenders, though sometimes late, indeed, as from governors busied in the administration of so vast an universe, yet are never to be evaded." (Piny. Hist. Nat. l. ii. c. 7.) It is observable, that none of the ancient theological philosophers believed the doctrine of a future state of rewards and punishments, though they all taught it to the people, obviously because they were deeply impressed with the conviction of its being essential to the support of religion. The

Biography of society;—and from the genius of pagan religion, with regard to the origin and nature of their gods, who were chiefly departed legislators, kings, and founders of civil polity; the attributes assigned to them, which corresponded with the nature and genius of each government, as gentle or severe; and the mode of their public worship, which concerned individuals who were confessed to be under an unequal Providence, which necessarily introduced the doctrine of a future state for the support of the divine government and society in its corporate character, which displayed a more equal Providence administered to the state. Hence, religion and government were blended together, and prodigies constituted a part of the public administration, no less than civil edicts. The particular arts employed by the magistrate to support and propagate religion, consisted in pretending a revelation from some god, by whose express commands his policy had been framed: and hence Plato represents legislation as proceeding from God, and not from man; and Homer constantly describes kings by the epithets *Δαίμονες*, born of the gods; and *Δαίμονες*, bred or tutored by the gods. This pretence to inspiration was adopted for the purpose of establishing the opinion of the superintendence of the gods over the affairs of mankind, not to secure the reception of their laws, nor to render those laws perpetual and immutable. Aristotle, in his maxims for setting up and supporting tyranny, gives this direction: "To seem extremely attached to the worship of the gods, for that men have no apprehension of injustice from such as they deem to be religious, and to have a high sense of Providence. Nor will the people be apt to run into plots and conspiracies against those whom they believe the gods will, in their turn, fight for and support." (Arist. Polit. l. v. c. II.) Another measure of the legislator was to introduce the general doctrine of a Providence, as a preface to give a sanction to his regulations: of this, antiquity has transmitted two valuable specimens in the prefaces to the laws of Zaleucus and Charondas, lawgivers of the Locrians, and contemporaries with Lycurgus. The next art was the institution of the mysteries, the most sacred part of the pagan religion, precisely adapted to strike the imaginations of the multitude, and instituted solely for the support of the doctrine of a future state of retribution. They consisted of secret worship; which, in addition to the public solemnities, was paid to each of the gods; and to which none were admitted, but those who were properly initiated, by certain preparatory ceremonies. This secrecy was observed for two reasons: the one, to excite curiosity; the other, to secure the sole instruction of the initiated into some things which it would have been improper to have communicated to all. A further instance of the care of the magistrate for religion was evinced in the establishment of a national worship. The direct purpose, in this case, was to support the religion which was already propagated, by taking it into civil protection, and uniting it with the state. This touches upon a subject of much and frequent controversy. Warburton endeavours to show, that an established religion is the universal voice of nature, and that the right to establish it is vested in civil government: but in whatever manner these questions may be decided, the general argument, illustrating the intention of the magistrate to secure the interests of religion, is by no means affected; but apparently

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Hesiod.
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Polybius.

From the establishment of religion.

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contrary of this statement has been usually supposed; but this mistake has originated in not observing the distinction between the philosophic ideas of immortality, or the *eternity of the soul*, and the doctrine of rewards and punishments in another life; that is, where the happiness and misery consequent on virtue and vice are the positive and free appointment of the Divine will, not merely the necessary consequences of things. It is, indeed, a grave charge to affirm, that the sages of antiquity taught one thing, when they really believed another; but it is substantiated by an appeal to the general practice in the Greek philosophy of a twofold doctrine: the external and the internal; a vulgar and a secret. The former communicated to all indiscriminately; the latter to a select number: and this occurs, not only with regard to different subjects, but to the very name; which is treated popularly or scientifically, according to *opinion*, and according to *truth*. This representation is not applicable only to individuals. The Academies and Pyrrhonians agreed in this, that nothing could be known; and that without interfering in any sentiments of their own, everything was to be disputed. Neither the Pythagoreans, the Platonists, the Peripatetics, nor the Stoics, believed in the doctrine of future rewards and punishments. Nor is this all: the fundamental principles of the ancient Greek philosophy were altogether inconsistent with the doctrine in question, so that it was *impossible* they should believe it. They universally embraced two metaphysical principles: the one relating to the nature of God, that he could neither be angry nor hurt any one; and that, having no affections, he could neither reward nor punish—the other to the nature of the human soul; some conceiving of it as a *quality*, and therefore totally annihilated at death; others, and the far greater number, believing it to be a *substance*, and as such a separated part of a mighty whole; which whole was God, into whom it was again to be resolved. Imagining God to be the soul of the universe, and the body the matter; they concluded, that as the human body was resolved into its parent matter, so the soul was resolved into its parent spirit.

We now proceed to the **THIRD PROPOSITION** before mentioned, which concentrates the previous arguments in the final and principal demonstration. In the Mosiac institutes, there is no mention of the rewards and punishments of a future life; the promises by which they were incited to obedience, including only health, peace, plenty, dominion, exemption from disease, war, famine, captivity, and whatever else belongs to the class of *temporal blessings*. Nor is anything further intimated in the language of the prophets, during their long succession, to the times of Malachi. It is observable, also, that Solomon, at the dedication of the temple, when addressing an ardent supplication to heaven, for the continuance of the ancient covenant, distinctly appeals to the sanction of the Jewish law and religion; which, as he explains it, comprised nothing more than temporal rewards and punishments.

That this omission was not accidental, but designed, appears from several considerations. It is obvious, from the history of the book of Genesis. In detailing the account of the fall of man, the *serpent* only is mentioned, not the diabolical agent; because there was an intimate connexion between that agency and the future redemption of the world, which developed the doctrine

of a future state, with all its destined arrangements. There is a singular obscurity thrown over the brief notice of the death of Enoch; but how much more circumstantial is the narration of the translation of Elijah: because, in the latter instance, the period was arrived, when it was deemed proper to prepare the human mind for the revelation of a future state, by unquestionable intimations of its reality. In the history of the patriarchs, those discoveries which, as we learn from the New Testament, were made of the redemption of mankind, to certain favoured individuals, are either wholly omitted, or veiled by cursory statements, which evince the *intentional* nature of this concealment. That Moses really understood the importance of this doctrine to society, is evident, from a provision made in his institutes to obviate the evil consequences likely to result from so extraordinary an omission; for as the irregular passions of men would render some of them superior to all apprehension of personal and temporal evil, the due acquiescence was maintained by the punishments inflicted on their posterity, which the strength of natural affection must render truly distressing; and that this was devised as substitutionary for the doctrine of a future state appears hence, that as soon as the *new dispensation*, in which such a state with its rewards and punishments were revealed, the law of punishing children for the crimes of their parents was annulled. (Comp. Jerem. xxi. 20—33; Ezek. xl. 19—21, xviii. 2—4.) And further, as Moses did not teach this doctrine, but studiously concealed it from view; so, as might indeed be inferred, the Israelites were ignorant of it during that entire dispensation to the period of their captivity. The Bible contains a very circumstantial account of this people, not only with regard to their public transactions, but private and individual histories, and their compositions of every kind; yet in none of these is any knowledge of future rewards and punishments displayed, or any curiosity upon the subject expressed. This life, and this life exclusively, circumscribes the good and the evil, which excites their pursuit or kindles their aversion. Nor does the mere silence of the inspired writers support this conclusion: the non-existence of any popular belief of a resurrection or future state is demonstrable from their positive declarations. To this purpose, the following may be cited as a remarkable evidence:—Job, vii. 9: *ay, 7—10*; Ps. vi. 5. The question, therefore, is here triumphantly put, “Could this language have been used by people instructed in the doctrine of life and immortality? Or do we find one word of it on any occasion whatever in the writers of the New Testament, but where it is brought in to be confuted and condemned?”

But the argument presses with resistless weight, when it is recollected, that the inspired writers of the New Testament expressly assure us that the doctrine of a future state of rewards and punishments did not make any part of the Mosiac dispensation. The evidence is in two parts: 1. They show that *temporal* rewards and punishments were the sanction of the Mosiac dispensation: thus it is explained in 1 Tim. iv. 8, that though numerous ritual observances were enjoined by the law, and some there must be under the gospel, yet they are of little advantage in comparison with real piety; the reward of the life that now is referring to temporal rewards, and the life which is to come to those of the Christian economy. In the epistle to the

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Biography. Hebrews, vii. 15, 16, the Jewish religion, called a *caral commandment*, is opposed to the christian, called the *power of an endless life*. 2. The Mosaic dispensation had only the sanction of temporal rewards and punishments, which is proved by an appeal to the express language of the inspired writers, in the following passages:—Rom. v. 12, and seq.; 2 Cor. iii. 7, and seq.; Gal. iii. 23; 2 Tim. i. 10; Heb. vii. 19, viii. 6, 7, cum mult. alia.

Conclusion. From the preceding premises, then, the conclusion is short and obvious:—if the doctrine of a future state be necessary to the well being of civil society, under the ordinary government of Providence; if all mankind have uniformly so considered it; and if the Mosaic dispensation were destitute of this support, and yet did not need it, then the affairs of the Jewish nation must have been administered by an extraordinary Providence, distributing with impartial propriety both rewards and punishments: consequently the mission of Moses was *divine*.

Such is the elaborated argument of Bishop Warburton, upon the merits of which the learned world is still divided. Excessive admiration of this mighty disputant has been generated on one side; and, perhaps, excessive fears of some consequences of his argument on the other. We simply state it; observing, however, that were this argument resigned, the great truth of the divine authority of the Jewish legislator appears to us (as it might with perfect consistency have appeared to the ingenious author of the Divine Legislation) to rest no still higher and firmer ground.

III. THE NATURE AND CHARACTER OF THOSE LAWS WHICH MOSES FORMULATED AMONG THE ISRAELITES.

Laws of Moses.

In the wrecks of time, the most ancient specimens of legislative wisdom have perished; so that we have no knowledge, by direct communication, of the laws of Minos, Zaleucus, or Charondas: but a singular providence has preserved entire to the present day, in the hands of the Jews, and fully authenticated by their acknowledgment and religious observance of them, those regulations which were prescribed to ancient Israel in the wilderness, and which are worthy of investigation; not merely on account of their theological application, but as tending both to gratify a legitimate curiosity respecting remote ages, and to furnish a guidance to enlightened and pious speculation.

Their basis. The first object we have in view, in the present inquiry, is to point out the *basis* on which the *Mosaic laws were founded*: a distinct idea of which is essential to a just estimate of this very extraordinary system of legislation. The whole depended upon one great fundamental principle, which stamped it with a characteristic simplicity and grandeur. In opposition to the polytheistic inventions of surrounding nations, Moses at once asserted the worship of one God as the central truth, and which, in intimate association with it, every other doctrine, every service, and every enactment should be arranged. Idolatry was, at that period, prevalent among all the people with whom the Israelites had any intercourse; and absurd as all its observances appear at this day, and to every enlightened understanding, that very nation were not fully purified from its infectious influence by the wisdom of that policy which was introduced by their great legislator; nor even by

the miraculous attestations which sanctioned his original proceedings. It was not even peculiar to the multitude to relapse continually into these strange superstitions; for their wisest men, in subsequent periods of their history, nay, Solomon himself became addicted to them: nor did this impious and foolish habit suffer much, if any, diminution of its prevalence till a considerable portion of Asia was subjected to the power of Cyrus. Considering the degradation which the human mind suffers wherever idolatrous worship prevails; the strong propensity which has ever been manifested towards the adoption of its absurdities; the consequent difficulty with which the introduction of a new principle of thinking and acting must be attended; and the favourable effects which resulted with regard to the peace, purity, and dignity of mankind, Moses conferred a benefit of the highest order upon the world, by establishing the simple but sublime doctrine of *God the only object of worship*, as the fundamental article of his legislative policy.

The method adopted by the Hebrew lawgiver was precisely calculated to give stability and permanence to the principle he had avowed; for he engaged the Israelites in a solemn covenant, by which they accepted God as their king; he having the most unquestionable claim upon them, not only as the universal Creator, but as their deliverer from Egyptian servitude; and to whom, in consequence, they were indebted by obligations the most peculiar, and the most binding. This voluntary acceptance of the theocracy as their form of government, rendered idolatry an act of direct rebellion against the state, as now immediately under divine superintendence, and exposed the delinquent to those punishments which necessarily attached to the worst species of crime. It became not only a sin, but a treason, and the commission of it incurred the most marked displeasure. In conformity with this idea of God as the King of Israel, in a sense totally distinct from that general sovereignty which he exercises over universal creation, the Israelites are frequently represented in Scripture as a *chosen generation*, a *peculiar people*, a *holy nation*, a *kingdom of priests*, the *portion of God*, the *lot of his inheritance*. As the circumstances in which this people were thus placed, multiplied their privileges, they would proportionally enhance their responsibility, and perpetuate the impression of duty and allegiance to the one supreme Jehovah.

Connected with this principle, and in fact resulting from it, was the legislative policy adopted by Moses to prevent an intercourse between the Israelites and other nations: and this was wise, considering the contagious influence of example, and the imbecility of the human mind; especially as it was found, at the period in question, in the infancy of its views and attainments. Foreigners might indeed become partakers of the rights of citizenship and naturalization; but they were not sought, nor studiously welcomed; and the Canaanites, Ammonites, and Moabites, were expressly excluded from the privilege. The object perpetually kept in view was, the multiplication of their nation, not by an accessory, but a natural population: on the other hand, obstructions were thrown in the way of an Israelite who was disposed to withdraw from the community, and settle in a foreign land; for by such a measure he incurred the forfeiture of his hereditary possessions. Moses was careful to guard against the

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Effects.

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of Mosaic
institutions.

possibility of his nation becoming dependent and tributary; assigning its particular limitations, and interdicting the choice of a foreigner as their king. Not only did he frame no regulation for the advantage of commerce, he evidently discouraged it. Every Israelite had his own land, which was adequate to his subsistence; and interest for the use of money was prohibited, consequently there was no temptation to lend, and therefore no possibility of borrowing for the sake of pursuing a system of mercantile speculation. Commerce, then, was discouraged, probably because of its contrivance to the adopted policy of insulating the people of Israel from other nations; its tendency to entice the citizens of a trading country to leave their homes and establish colonies; the decrease of population which it naturally produces by multiplying the hazards of life; its influence in diminishing the martial spirit, which it was at that period deemed necessary to cherish; its introduction of luxurious habits, which would have impoverished the state; and the enemies it would have been likely to create, by the natural and almost necessary effect of national competition. Hence, the system of Israelitish polity was founded on agriculture alone, comprehending the cultivation of vineyards, olive-grounds, and gardens.

Our attention is required, in the next place, to the *originality* which characterizes the Mosaic institutions. The learned Michaels, indeed, in his *Mosaisches Recht*, or *Mosaic Law*, has endeavoured to show that Moses in his statutes presupposes a more ancient law, the *Jus consuetudinarium*, or that which is founded on established usage; which he sometimes confirms, sometimes improves, and sometimes annuls. The author in question contends, that several of the Jewish legislator's own laws existed long previously to his enactment of them; and that, in other cases, the very manner in which they are delivered, often evinces that they cannot be new. The ancient traditional law which Moses occasionally adopted and improved, was that which arose from the condition of the illustrious ancestors of the Israelites, as wandering herdsmen. There are, moreover, traces in his writings of a judicious policy, founded on the results of long experience, which the author alludes to, believes to be in a great measure Egyptian, as the foundation of government on a system of agriculture; the formation of a great and powerful state, independently on foreign commerce, which the Egyptians abhorred; and the measures resorted to for keeping the Israelites distinct from other nations.

It may surely be allowed, that there did exist an ancient consuetudinary law; and that in forming a grand system of legislation, the wisdom of past ages was in some degree incorporated with the enactments of the new and superior plan, or even taken as a model of particular regulations, adapted either to the circumstances or prejudices of the people among whom the new system was promulgated; all this and more may be admitted, without essentially derogating from that originality of character which attached to the Mosaic institutions as a whole.

Priestley,
on the laws
of Moses.

Dr. Priestley, in a dissertation on the originality and superior excellence of the Mosaic institutions, maintains, that they who suppose that Moses, in framing the institutions that bear his name, borrowed much from the Egyptians, or other ancient nations, can never

have compared them together, otherwise they must have perceived many circumstances of essential difference. The most considerable of these he represents to be the following: 1. No heathen ever conceived an idea of so great an object as that of the institutions of Moses; which appears to have been nothing less than the instruction of all mankind in the great doctrine of the unity and universal moral government of God, as the maker of the world, and the common parent of all the human race; in opposition to the polytheism and idolatry which then prevailed. The Hebrew nation was placed for this purpose in the most conspicuous situation among all the great civilized nations of the world, which were universally addicted to idolatry of the grossest kind;—to divination, necromancy, and other similar superstitions, practised as acts of religion. All mankind supposed that their prosperity depended upon the observance of their respective religions; hence, that of the Hebrews was made to do so in a remarkable degree, so as to furnish a visible lesson to the world: they were to prosper or to suffer in the most exemplary manner, according to their adherence to their religion, or departure from it. These ideas are distinctly advanced by Moses, and more fully in their latter prophets; but nothing of the kind could have been suggested by any thing he saw in Egypt, or heard of in other countries. 2. In no system of religion, besides Purity, that of Moses, was *virtue of morals* any part of it. All the heathen religions were systems of *mere ceremonies*; on the observance of which it was imagined that the prosperity of the several states depended; and the sole business of the priests was to attend to the due observance of these rites, many of which were so far from being favourable to morals, that they were of the most impure and abominable nature, as is well known to all who have any knowledge of them. On the contrary, it appears, not only from the ten commandments, but from all the writings of Moses, and those of the prophets who succeeded him, that the purest morality, the most favourable to private and public happiness, was the principal object of the system. 3. Nowhere, National in all the heathen world, could Moses have heard of such a proper *national worship*, as that which he introduced. The Hebrew nation had not only one single object of their worship, in which they differed essentially from all others, but one national altar; one precise ritual, and only one place for the meeting of the whole nation at the public festivals. Three times in the course of every year, all the males of a proper age were required to attend at this place, where they spent about a week in acts of worship and decent festivity; and at one of them the law was publicly recited, that all persons might be acquainted with it, and with the awful sanctions of it. A whole tribe, a twelfth part of the nation, was set apart for services of a religious nature, and their provision made to depend in a great measure upon their performance of them, being not in lands cultivated by themselves, but in the produce of lands cultivated by others. At this one national altar, sacrifices were performed every morning and evening, in the name and at the expense of the whole nation; and the manner in which this was done was invariable, and not left to the discretion of the performers. In all other countries the places of worship were numerous; and the diversity in the modes of worship varied with the objects of them. 4. In no country,

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Biography, besides that of the Hebrews, were the public festivals expressly instituted in commemoration of such great events respecting their history and religion. It is peculiar to this nation also, that the directions for the celebration of them were reduced to writing at the time of their institution, so that there could never be any uncertainty about the origin or the reasons of them.

They were only three: the passover, on their deliverance from their state of servitude in Egypt, when the first-born of all the Egyptians were destroyed, and all theirs preserved; the pentecost, on the giving of the law from mount Sinai; and the feast of tabernacles, in commemoration of their living in tents and booths during their travels through the wilderness.

5. In no other country was the place, and other circumstances of the public worship, so well calculated to inspire a profound respect for the object of it as among the Hebrews. No heathen temple could be compared, for riches and splendour, with the temple of Solomon, or even the tabernacle of Moses, erected in the wilderness, though designed for a temporary use, and portable. Into the holy place none were allowed to enter besides the priests; and into the holy of holies, only the high priest, and that only once in the year, when he was habited in the most humble manner, to confess his own sins and those of the nation: at other times, his dress was the most costly and splendid, far beyond that of any high priest or any prince in the heathen world. The garments of the common priests were particularly neat and decent, but not costly; and when the nation was in the wilderness, moving from place to place, they were far from marching in a disorderly manner, or encamping without regularity. How different from this were the most solemn processions of the heathens, when they carried the images of their gods from one place to another, generally on the idea, at least in the East, of giving them an airing and amusing them with no excursion from their temples and back again!

6. Sacrificing was a mode of worship more ancient than idolatry, or the institutions of Moses; but among the heathens, various superstitious customs were introduced respecting it, which were all excluded from the religion of the Hebrews. In the Hebrew ritual, the original and most natural idea of a sacrifice, viz. that of a gift by way of acknowledgment for the blessings we receive, or the partaking of an entertainment with the object of worship, was strictly adhered to; nothing being offered but what was an article of food, or what was used at entertainments as incense, with which at this day the entertainments in the East are closed: whereas several of the heathen sacrifices consisted of animals that were never eaten, but such as it was supposed the deity would be gratified in having destroyed. The Egyptians, from whom it might be supposed Moses would borrow the most, Plutarch says, always sacrificed such animals as were hateful to their deities. The heathen sacrifices were also different according to the rank and character of the Deity to whom they were offered. Thus, to the infernal gods, they offered black victims; to the good, white ones; to the barren, barren ones; to the fruitful, those that were pregnant; to the masculine gods, males; to the feminine, females. To Hecate, they sacrificed a dog; to Vaus, doves; to Mars, a bull; and to Ceres, a sow. 7. If the heathens had any temples before the time of Moses,

which is uncertain, they were constructed in a manner very different from the tabernacle or temple of Solomon. The furniture of the Hebrew and heathen temples, and the business that was done in them, bore no resemblance to each other. In the latter we have no account of such a symbol of the Divine presence as the covering of the ark between the cherubims in the holy of holies; the fire on the great altar was always maintained to consume the remains of the sacrifices, and the lamps were preserved burning to afford light; but the perpetual fires of the heathens were of no use for the purpose of fire or of light.

8. Both the Hebrews and the heathens allowed the privilege of asylum to those who fled to their temples: but with the latter, this was arrived to a length equally superstitious and dangerous to the community; for whatever was the alleged crime, the perpetrator could not be apprehended without the dread of incurring the vengeance of the deity who was supposed to afford protection. But no person charged with homicide, or any other crime, was secure from punishment by flying to the Hebrew altar, except till the cause could be heard by regular judges; when, if found guilty, he was ordered to be taken, even from the altar itself, to execution. Wherever design was discovered, no refuge could be found; but in case of accidental homicide, the person might continue in security till the death of the high priest. This singular provision was not copied from any other nation.

9. The provision of proper instruments, or Instruments for the performance of sacrifice, was dissimilar from every mode of worship practised in heathen temples. 10. Had Moses copied any thing from the heathens, he would probably have introduced something of their mysteries; but nothing of the kind is to be found in his institutions. There was no secret in the Hebrew ritual of worship; every thing in described in the written law, and though the priests only could enter the holy place, and the high priest, the holy of holies, every thing they did is particularly described; and no service, as in the case of the mysteries, was performed during the night, excepting the attendance at the great altar, to keep the fire in a proper state for consuming the remains of the victims; and of this no mention is made of the ritual. 11. There was no vision for an oracle among the Hebrews as well as with the heathens; but the difference is most obvious.

With the Hebrews, the responses were in a clear articulate voice, free from ambiguity, only on solemn occasions, and gratuitous; those of the heathens, obscure, ambiguous, delivered to a frantic manner, only at particular seasons, and at great expense. 12. The Hebrews and the heathens both had symbolical purifications, but the difference was great. Nothing was used for this purpose at the tabernacle or temple, for the priests or the people, but pure water, in which they washed or bathed; but the heathens, imagining that sea water was more efficacious, put salt into common water, and dipped in it a burning brand from the altar, flaming sulphur, or a branch of olive or beryl; but all the ceremonies of the Mosaic institution bore some relation to cleansing, and were not taken from other nations. 13. Religion directed the choice of the proper articles of food, both with the heathens and the Hebrews: but with the latter, nothing was forbidden but what was in some degree unwholesome; while the interdictions of the Egyptians, Syrians, and Hindoos,

Heathen and Hebrew temples compared.

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Instruments of worship.

Biography. were evidently superstitious. 14. The Hebrew priests were not obliged to practise any peculiar *austerities*, as were many of those of the heathens. They might marry; the high priest only being forbidden to marry a widow. Moses assigned no part of the national worship to women; but in the heathen temples there were priestesses, and the oracle at Delphi was always delivered by a woman. 15. Moses could nowhere, in the whole heathen world, have obtained his idea of the *annual feast* for a general confession of sin and absolution; the latter denoted by the emblem of the dismissal of a goat, over whose head confession had been made. 16. A weekly *sabbath*, a *sabbatical year*, and the *jubilee*, were institutions peculiar to the Hebrews, and what Moses could not have borrowed from any other nation. The rite of *circumcision*, on the eighth day after the birth, was an indelible mark of the promise of God concerning their future destination; a token of the covenant of God with their ancestor Abraham. 17. Had Moses borrowed any thing from the heathens, he could not have overlooked the various modes of *divination*, sorcery, and witchcraft; their omens of a thousand kinds; their rites for consulting the dead in the art of *necromancy*; their distinction of days into lucky and unlucky; which constituted a great part of the religious observances of all the heathen nations: but all these are spoken of with the greatest contempt and abhorrence, and the pretenders to them are directed to be put to death.

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Sacred
titulus.

Jurispri-
dence.

18. The general system of *civil government* laid down in the institutions of Moses is fundamentally different from any thing he could have seen or heard of in his time, and infinitely more favourable to personal liberty and happiness. The principal nations were governed by *kings* with no *written laws*; but in the institutions of Moses there is no provision for a king whose powers should descend to posterity, and the government was a government of fixed laws reduced to writing. Nothing was left to the arbitrary will of any individual, whatever might be his office or eminence in the state. 19. In the *civil laws* of Moses, we find several, and those of particular importance, of which we can trace no resemblance in those of any other nation, ancient or modern; though, had they been found among those of Solon, Lycurgus, in Hindostan, or in China, they would have been admired for their excellence. 20. In all ancient nations there were trials by various *oracles*, in which the accused person was supposed to be guilty, unless fire or water did not injure him. In the institutions of Moses, we find one trial by ordeal; but so essentially different from what was in use in other countries, that it could never have been borrowed from them. The case referred to is that of a wife suspected of adultery; to which recourse was had only in defect of any other evidence.

From all these statements, the originality of the Mosaic institutions is to be deduced, while the wisdom which pervades them all demonstrates their divinity.

Civil code.

The third consideration we have to propose respects the *civil part* of the Mosaic code, as *not intended to be unalterable or universally obligatory*. Though the laws in question were adapted to the circumstances of the Israelites, during their journey through the wilderness, yet when those wandering habits ceased by their settlement in the promised land, many alterations must necessarily occur. In the course of time, for example,

Necessary
alterations.

the value of money changed by the increased opulence of the community: it became requisite, therefore, to make a difference to the infliction of pecuniary punishments; otherwise, what in one state of society would be adequate to answer the ends of justice, in another would prove altogether disproportionate. Several changes took place in the time of Solomon, as in the case of a thief, who, by the law of Moses, was to make restitution four or fivefold, but who, at the latter period, is required to restore sevenfold. (Prov. vi. 31.) When Israel was encamped in the wilderness, Moses ordained that every one that killed an ox, a sheep, or a goat, should bring it as an offering unto the Lord, so that they could only eat flesh at the *sacrifice-feasts*; notwithstanding which, when they became fixed in their promised residence, and multitudes must have performed several days' journey to comply with such an appointment, it in fact became impossible, and even Moses himself allowed that at that period it should be lawful to kill their cattle and eat them at their respective places of abode. Some things were enacted expressly with a view to an alteration, when the improved state of society should render it expedient, as in the case of divorces, respecting which Jesus Christ affirms, "Moses, because of the hardness of your hearts, suffered you to put away your wives: but from the beginning it was not so." (Matt. xix. 8.) To the same cause may be referred the allowance of polygamy, the direction for the marriage of a brother's widow who was left childless, and the appointment of the avenger of blood to kill the person who had slain one of his relations. And from this it is obvious, that the wisdom of the Mosaic institutions partly consisted in the skilful adaptation of them to the character of the people among whom they were established: for though they were the best that could be framed for that people, and at that period, they were not, in the most absolute sense, the best that could possibly have been devised; and consequently do not constitute an invariable rule of future legislation. They were, undoubtedly, regulated by those considerations which must ever enter into the views of judicious lawgivers in every age: such as the particular nature of the climate where they are to be enforced; the state of the soil in point of agricultural capacity; the connexion of the country with adjacent or with remote nations; its relative power and political importance; the manner of life to which its inhabitants are addicted; and their general prejudices and prepossessions; which tend to show that future statesmen are not under an absolute obligation to adopt the laws of Moses, but are at liberty to use those which experience evinces to be most applicable to their own circumstances, and to reject others which the different state of the community renders either needless or pernicious.

Further, the ceremonial part of the Mosaic institutions is to be considered as *figurative*—the shadow of the gospel as the substance—or the elementary form which contained, as a model, the essential principles of that spiritual dispensation. Some divines of eminence have contended for a much more extensive application of this sentiment; maintaining with great plausibility, that the entire condition of Israel in the wilderness was a historical figure, in which future events were indistinctly represented; and, according to this interpretation, they consider the emancipation of the children

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Ceremonies
figurative.

Various in-
terpretations.

Biography. of Israel, from the servitude of Egypt, as illustrative of the deliverance of Christians from the bondage of Judaism, and from the slavery of sinful passions and habits; the difficulties and sufferings which that ancient people underwent in the course of their journey, as significant of the trials with which the people of God are exercised in every period of time, during their passage through the world; and the final settlement of the Jewish nation in Canaan, as emblematic of the ultimate attainment of the heavenly felicity by all who commit themselves by faith to the divine guidance, which still, by the light of Scripture, as formerly by the splendour of the Shekinah, directs them on the march to immortality.

And still further, the interpreters to whom we allude, maintain that the principal persons of the Mosaic dispensation were also figurative, and had each his antitype under the evangelical economy. Among these, the patriarchs and Moses are particularly specified. From the intimation of the latter, with regard to a prophet whom the Lord their God should raise up unto them, of their brethren, like unto himself, Bishop Newton and Dr. Jorin have traced out, from the original suggestion of Eusebius, points of analogy between the legislator of the Jews and the head of the Christian church; and the latter justifies the method he has adopted, by various preliminary remarks, adding, "the resemblance between Moses and Christ is so very great and striking, that it is impossible to consider it fairly and carefully, without seeing and acknowledging, that he must be foretold when he is so well described;" "and," says he, "it deserves consideration whether this consequence may be deduced;—that if Moses were a type of Christ, the people whom he delivered and conducted may be a type of the people to whom Christ was sent, and of the church which he established."

Extremes. We apprehend that no errors of interpretation are attended with more pernicious consequences than those which arise out of forced and unnatural analogies. Once permitted to pass its legitimate boundary, the spirit of allegory and accommodation will find an ample field in which to range, to the utter neglect of Scripture, truth, and even common sense. It is obvious, that as every interpreter possesses the same liberty of adapting his analogies to his own particular taste, and of appropriating them to the support of his own favourite system of faith, there can be no limit to the wanderings of fancy, and no safe method of acting among the pretensions of rival absurdities, but that of rejecting them all, and returning at once to the only standard of unsophisticated truth. This principle of interpretation being once adopted, is the more dangerous on account of its fascination: it possesses the charm of novelty; and is withal, when not duly regulated, so easy, that a very child in intellect and knowledge may practise it with considerable success.

Rules. The question therefore is,—and a question of great importance, the answer to which is not only requisite to be given, in order to check the progress of future adventurers into the mazy paths of the allegorical wilderness, but to vindicate the statements we are about to give of the emblematic character of the ceremonial law;—what is the legitimate boundary of allegorical and analogical interpretation? We reply, in the most condensed form of explanation we can devise,—that it is *Scripture itself*, pointing out its own designed coinci-

dences, as it does in the most perspicuous modes of language. If, therefore, we maintain, among other intelligible figures, and among an infinite variety of proofs, that the language of other parts of the sacred word is derived from the language of the Mosaic economy; that the ceremonial law significantly represented the system of salvation contained in the gospel; we do so, not because an ingenious imagination is subsidized to effect this analogy, but because it is given in the most express terms in *Scripture itself*, where in different parts of the apostolic *Scriptures* the interpretation, the inter-
preter. we are furnished with a detailed exposition of the Levitical institutions, the most important of which were the sacrifices and priesthood. How striking and express is the representation of the paschal lamb, as illustrative of our Saviour, who is called the lamb of God; who went as a lamb, meek and obedient to the slaughter, and who was without blemish! The occasion of his sacrifice was similar to that of the *pasover*. The destruction of the first born in Egypt was inevitable, had it not been averted by the blood of the paschal lamb sprinkled upon the houses;—in allusion to which, we are said to have "redemption through his blood." The frame of mind in which the Jews were to celebrate the *pasover*, and the various other ceremonies which were prescribed at the original institution, find their distinct illustration in the system of Christianity. This feast is to be kept with the "unleavened bread of sincerity and truth," "having our loins girded, our shoes on our feet, and our staves in our hands;" that is, in the posture of pilgrims on their heaven-directed journey. The case of the *scape-goat* turned loose into the wilderness, with the burden of sin upon his head, and the action of the congregation in laying their hands upon the head of the guilty person, previous to his execution, were very significant of Christ as our substitute and Saviour, upon whom "the Lord is said to have laid the iniquity of us all." Christ *instances*, in moreover, described as a *priest*, which he was not literally, and a priest *after the order of Melchizedec*, whose priesthood was prior to that of the Levitical order, who united the character of king with his other distinction, and who administered *bread and wine*, the very provision of the gospel festival; and "we have such a high priest who is set on the right hand of the throne of the majesty in the heavens." The *intercession* of Christ was annually prefigured in the service of the tabernacle, when the high priest went on the great day of atonement into the holy of holies with the blood of sacrifice; for the apostle declares, that Christ, as our high priest, should enter "not into the holy places made with hands, which are the figures of the true, but into heaven itself, now to appear in the presence of God for us." In fact, all the Jewish sacrifices may be justly regarded as types of the sacrifice of Christ; the purity required in every victim prefiguring his perfection, and the death of each prefiguring his offering upon the cross. The apostle seems to compare all the different kinds of victims with the one sacrifice of Christ, as types with their antitype, in Heb. x. 5—10. The expression, "he taketh away the first, that he may establish the second," shows beyond a question, that the sacrifice of Christ succeeded in the room of all the sacrifices which were offered by the law; and hence, upon the accomplishment of his sacrifice, they all ceased.

Outram on Sacrifices. Outram, in his two dissertations on sacrifices (lib. i. Sacrifices.

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Biography. c. 18), successfully contends, that there can be no doubt, that those victims whose carcasses were to be burned without the camp, were types of Christ, and that in a more eminent degree than the rest; for they not only prefigured Christ, in common with others, in his unblemished perfection and death: these victims were peculiar, as was the sacrifice of Christ. But the circumstance of their presentation *without the camp* is most observable. (Camp. Heb. xiii. 10—12).

There was no force in the apostle's argument in this passage respecting the place where Christ must suffer death, unless all the victims whose blood was to be taken to the sanctuary had typified his sacrifice; for although those victims were burned without the camp, it could not be necessary on this account that Christ should die without the city of Jerusalem, which evidently corresponded to the camp in the wilderness, but to produce a greater resemblance between those victims and Christ. Hence, all the victims who were burned without the camp, were types of the sacrifice of Christ, and in a more eminent degree than any other victims, because they prefigured not only his death, but the place where it was to occur. "The correspondences of types and antitypes," says Clarke, "though they be not themselves proper proofs of the truth of a doctrine, yet they may be very reasonable confirmations of the foreknowledge of God; of the uniform view of Providence under different dispensations; of the analogy, harmony, and agreement between the Old Testament and the New. The words in the law concerning one particular kind of death, *he that is hanged is accursed of God*, can hardly be conceived to have been put in upon any other account, than with a view and foresight of the application made of it by St. Paul. The analogies between the *paschal lamb*, and the *lamb of God*, slain from the foundation of the world; between the *Egyptian bondage*, and the *tyranny of sin*; between the *baptism of the Israelites in the sea and in the cloud*, and the *baptism of Christians*; between the *passage through the wilderness*, and through the *present world*; between Jesus (Joshua) bringing the people into the *promised land*, and Jesus Christ being the captain of salvation to believers; between the *sabbath of rest* promised to the people of God on the earthly *Canaan*, and the eternal rest promised in the heavenly *Canaan*; between the liberty granted from the time of the death of the high priest, to him that had fled into a city of refuge, and the redemption purchased by the death of Christ; between the high priest entering into the holy place every year with the blood of others, and Christ's once entering with his own blood into heaven itself, now to appear in the presence of God for us: these, I say, and innumerable other analogies between the shadows of things to come, of good things to come, the shadows of heavenly things, the figures for the time then present, patterns of things in the heavens, and the heavenly things themselves; cannot, without the force of strong prejudice, be conceived to have happened by mere chance, without any foresight, or design. There are no such analogies, much less such series of analogies, found in the books of enthusiastic writers living in such remote ages from each other. It is much more credible and reasonable to suppose, what St. Paul affirms, that *these things were our examples*; and that, in the uniform course of God's government of the world, *all these things happened unto them of old for examples, and they are written for our*

admonition, upon whom the ends of the world are come. And hence arises that aptness of similitude in the application of several legal performances to the morality of the gospel, that it can very hardly be supposed not to have been originally intended." (Clarke's Evidences of Nat. and Rev. Religion.)

The last observation we have to offer, concerns the moral part of the Mosaic law as a rule of life. Some of the law theologians have denied that the moral law of Moses was in itself of obligatory force upon the consciences of mankind. The persons referred to, place the gospel in opposition to the law; and blending the various parts of the code of Mosaic legislation into one mass, they sweep away the whole with indiscriminating zeal. Its requisitions, they plead, were fulfilled by Christ, and its penalties discharged; and all who are interested in his meritorious death, by the participation of its benefits, which faith confers, have nothing more to do with the demands of the law of Moses. Instead, therefore, of aiming at conformity to its precepts, as the evidence of an interest in evangelical blessings, persons of this habit of thinking seek visionary enjoyments as their favourite mental repose.

To this it may be replied, that there is indeed a sense in which the law is abolished, namely, that in which it is considered as a covenant of works, and as a yoke of bondage, Christ having called his people to liberty—a liberty characterized by the apostolic writers as *glorious*; that enfranchises them from the servitude of ceremonies and observances, with which even the true religion was primarily encumbered. It is to the disciple of the New Testament no longer a source of justification, or an occasion of alarm; the thick darkness, and the awful thunder, disappearing for ever from the peaceful summit of Calvary. But, in other respects, the law is of an invariable and unalterable character; and so far from being abrogated, the religion of the gospel places it on the most solid foundation, and invests it with peculiar dignity and lustre. To the disciples of the Son of God, it exhibits what is holy, just, and good; pointing out the duties which ought to be performed, and the evils which a man's regard to his superior and immortal interests will teach him to avoid. It reflects, like a clear well polished mirror, the genuine character of the individual who applies to it, exhibiting with perfect accuracy the impurities of the heart, the imperfections of the conduct, and the deformity of human nature and while it diminishes that high self-estimation which all men are so apt to cherish, by the unyielding strictness of its requisitions it virtually displays the importance of the means of salvation developed in the gospel, and disposes the man who feels himself condemned by its holy severity, to a ready reception of the Christian system. That system in the administration of the supreme lawgiver of his church republishes the law; reiterating its claims, enforcing them upon a new basis, and creating new obligations to obey its authority. Hence it is called "a schoolmaster to bring us to Christ," and we are "under the law to him." As the two great principles upon which the Mosaic commandments are founded, and upon which, as the legislator of the Christian church explained, "hang all the law and the prophets,"—namely, supreme love to God, and proportionate love to the whole neighbourhood of mankind, must have existed as obligatory on human beings, wherever they

Clarke on the Types.

Moses

A. M. 2553.
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B. C. 1451.

Moral part of the law of Moses promulgated.

Comparison between the law and the Christian system.

Biography.

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—
A. C.
1451

were to be found, independently of their distinct specification and enactment by Moses, and from the very commencement of the world: as these principles have their foundation in eternal rectitude, resulting from the constitution of the universe, the dependence of creatures upon their Creator and upon each other, nothing can annul them; not even the rebellion of any portion, or of the entire universe. While there is a God, the intelligent creation must be under an obligation to love him, and to spread their affections as far as their nature, and through the vast extent of being. The resistance of any creature to the authority which he is required to obey, does not diminish the force of that authority; and consequently the sin of man can have no tendency to subvert the claims of Heaven upon his obedience. He is not the less obliged, because he has refused, or persists in refusing, to fulfill his obligations. And under whatever dispensations mankind may be placed, and whatever new requirements the Creator may see fit to institute, man can never be released from the binding duties which originate in the very constitution of his nature, and arise out of his existence as an intelligent being; and every further enactment of the Creator must be directly founded upon what is essentially consistent with the nature and comfort of man. The forms of obedience may change, but virtue is unalterable; consequently, moral obligation is the same in its principle, under the Patriarchal, the Jewish, and the Christian dispensations.

Further remarks.

It may be further argued, that it would reflect upon the character of God, to suppose him, under one dispensation, to have prescribed a law which is at variance with the institutions he has established under another. It is to place the Deity in opposition to himself, and virtually to deny his perfections: for this alleged abrogation of the entire law, with all its moral sanctions, is widely different from admitting the removal of its ceremonial services or typical adumbrations, which would only imply, that the former system, adapted expressly to the peculiar circumstances of the people for whom it was framed, naturally ceased with the progress of the human character, and the appointed manifestation of a sublimer order of worship. Hence it annihilates all personal religion, and all progression of moral character: it is a virtual reflection upon the conduct of our Saviour, who obeyed the precepts of the law, and fulfilled its requisitions, not surely to abrogate, but to exemplify and honour them; and it is, moreover, contrary to that spirit of attachment to all its demands, which the eminent men upon sacred record have expressed, in the language of praise and celebration. The greatest of the kings of Israel, in those devotional hymns which have been transmitted to us, perpetually, and in a thousand varied forms of expression, declares his love to the divine law, and the complacency of his mind in all its requisitions. He affirms, that it was his constant meditation and delight; that it was even sweeter to him than honey, or the honeycomb; and that nothing should divorce his affections from it: and the apostle Paul triumphantly asks, "Do we make void the law through faith? God forbid—yes, we establish the law."¹⁹

We have entered with considerable particularity of

detail into the personal history of Moses, the proofs of his divine commission, and the characteristics of the law which was promulgated by him, in its civil, ceremonial, typical, and moral parts; because these constitute, not only so many separate portions of a narrative thus distinctly and individually interesting, but because they form themselves into one mighty subject, that comprehends one of the most extraordinary appearances of heaven to man. The Mosaic dispensation is that central point in which the past movements of Providence converged, and whither, throughout all the generations of antecedent time, they tended: it also appears to have been the point from which the occurrences of succeeding periods emanated and diverged in every direction; no future state of mankind being unconnected with its transactions, or uninterested in its civil and ecclesiastical institutions.

Among other peculiarities, we wish to have it distinctly marked as introducing the *age of the written word*, which God had, indeed, from the very creation, maintained a constant intercourse with his creatures by means of dreams, visions, voices, and celestial messengers; but he had not hitherto communicated his will in a permanent form. By means of the longevity of the patriarchal ages, the incidents of past time could be transmitted through many centuries, with a degree of certainty which the veracity of those few individuals, through whom these traditionary accounts were conveyed, might well inspire. In addition to this, the possibility of mistake, as to truth, was prevented by the over-riding care of Providence. The historic facts in which Moses was not personally concerned, were most probably collected by him in this manner, and narrated in his writings with the utmost fidelity. There were, besides, certain *understood* principles of moral conduct, which descended from father to son, and which the finger of God had engraven upon human consciences; but never, till the ten commandments were inscribed upon the two tables of stone, was any commencement made towards the formation of that volume, whose sacred inspirations now constitute the source of hope, and the guide of reason to mankind. The necessity for this measure was apparent. Previously to this period, Adam might have conversed with Lamech, the father of Noah; Lamech, with his grandson Shem; and Shem with his descendants Abraham and Isaac: and these, with their immediate posterity: by which means, four persons would transmit the essentials of divine revelation through a series of upwards of two thousand years. But about the time of Moses, human life became reduced to nearly its present ordinary duration; in consequence of which, tradition would naturally become more uncertain, and the necessity of a written standard of faith and practice increasingly urgent. It was no longer possible to make a direct appeal to those venerable men who had held intercourse with predecessors that almost breathed the air of primal paradise, and who were laden with the mental treasures of a thousand years: a disadvantage which was compensated by the kind arrangements of Providence, in separating one people from the rest of the nations, and intrusting to them the sacred oracles.

Moses.

A. M.
2253.
—
A. C.
1451.

Age of the
written
word.

Recapitulation.

JOSHUA.

BORN, A. M. 2452. B. C. 1552.

DIED A. M. 2561. B. C. 1443.

Biography.

THE disappearance of a person of eminence from the scene of useful labour, is apt to occasion a feeling of despondency to survivors. They look around for a competent successor, with an air of vacant and wondering inquiry, which is strongly expressive of the deep-seated apprehension, that one who is to be found adapted to occupy the forsaken office, in a manner equally or comparably honourable. Affectionate remembrance magnifies the virtues, and assiduously obliterate the imperfections, of the departed friend or ruler who once inspired confidence in every bosom, or shed a lustre upon the annals of his country: and if the feelings of this nature are prompted by the ordinary deprivations of life, or the common course of human affairs, it is easy to believe that the sentiment of regret would be most poignant in every Israelitish heart at the loss of such a well-tried leader as Moses. But he who had taken this singular people under his patronage, was at no loss to accomplish his purposes by raising up qualified agents, and did not suffer them to remain destitute of a guide long trained and precisely suited to their circumstances. Moses had, indeed, previously to his departure, been directed of God to place Joshua over the congregation; to give him a public admonition respecting the diligent discharge of his office, and, according to the remarkable phraseology of the Scriptures, "to put some of his honour upon him." (Num. xxvii. 20.)

Joshua's accession to the government.

Joshua assumed the government of Israel about A. M. 2553. He was the son of Nun, of the tribe of Ephraim, originally called Oses or Hosen; but Moses made the alteration to commemorate his appointment to spy out the land, and to intimate, according to the Hebrew idiom, the assurance of salvation. Hence, he was not to be denominated, *יושע*, Hosen, salvator, but *יושוע*, Joshua, dominus salvator: corresponding, both in title and character, to Jesus, the author of eternal salvation; of whom, conformably to the character of the Jewish dispensation, he was an eminent type.

His qualifications.

Of his qualifications for the station to which he was elevated, we have the most decisive testimony of God himself, which is amply corroborated by his splendid career. His personal courage, integrity, and piety, are always conspicuous; and he was instrumental to those successes which have raised him to the pinnacle of heroic fame. He was "a man in whom was the spirit;" "full of the spirit of wisdom" (Numb. xxvii. 18. Deut. xxxiv. 9); sometimes obtaining his information by immediate revelation, sometimes from the sanctuary, and by Eleazar the high priest, Aaron's son, who consulted God by the Urim and Thummim, when he presented himself before the veil opposite the mercy seat, and was answered by a voice issuing from that sacred spot. The ancient Talmudists, in common with universal tradition, represent him as the author of that perspicuous and striking narrative which appears under his name; in which, with the faithfulness of the historian, the piety of the saint, and the odour of a hero personally engaged in conducting the military operations

recorded, he carries forward the history of Israel through seven years, during which the conquest of Canaan was completing, and eighteen additional ones of his subsequent government: the book itself, which includes the death of Eleazar, proceeds about five or six years by another pen.

It is not improbable that, knowing the warlike spirit of the nations whom the Israelites were about to dispossess of their territory, and the preparations which the report of the meditated attack had induced them to make, Joshua felt the necessity of some assurance immediately from Heaven, to afford him encouragement. Accordingly, he was no sooner invested with the supreme authority, than God spake to him, either immediately from the sanctuary, or by some angelic messenger, in terms which were highly calculated to dissipate every apprehension. He was given to understand, that to him should be accorded similar assistance and success as were bestowed on his illustrious predecessor; and that, upon the condition of his strict adherence to every command of the law, the promised possession should become an easy conquest. He was to act with the same zeal and courage, as though the result depended exclusively upon his exertions: but at the same time to preserve in constant recollection, that the real and supreme governor of Israel employed him only as an agent of his providence.

After these intimations the Hebrew general issued his orders. In three days they were to attempt the passage of the Jordan, and to prepare a supply of provisions, probably because the miraculous supply of manna was beginning to fail, as they had attained the extremity of the wilderness. This provision they were enabled to obtain from the country of Sihon and Og, which they had lately subdued, and in which they at present sojourned. In the mean time two spies were dispatched to collect information respecting the state of the opposite shores, especially the fortifications of Jericho, which was to be first assaulted. By some good contrivance the spies entered the city, and were received into the house of Rahab, who was probably the keeper of a public lodging-house. The king was soon informed, however, of the entrance of these strangers, and suspicious of every such intruder at so momentous a crisis, he shut the gates and sent in search of the men. Their hosts, to conceal them from this dangerous inquiry, took them up to the roof of her house, and covered them over with some stalks of flax, stating in reply to the questions of the king's officers, that the two strangers had made but a very cursory stay at her house, departing at the close of the evening; and if they had a wish to secure them, no doubt they might be easily overtaken: by which deception the officers were inveigled into an useless pursuit towards the fords of Jordan. No sooner were they out of sight, than she hastened to the spies, expressed her firm conviction that their God was the

Joshua.
A. M.
2553.
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B. C.
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Divine communication to him.

Preparations for the attack on Canaan.

Spies sent.

Biography. supreme sovereign of the world, whose miraculous interpositions on behalf of their nation had struck her countrymen with the utmost alarm, and that the land would inevitably be subdued by their arms; soliciting at the same time a benevolent requital of the kindness she had that day manifested towards them, in the future protection of herself and family. This was instantly and solemnly promised; when, as it was dark and her house was built upon the city wall, she was able to facilitate their escape by means of a cord let down through one of the windows. This scarlet cord was the agreed signal which, on the day of victory, was to distinguish and protect her house. By Rahab's advice the spies remained three days in the neighbouring mountains, and afterwards hastened to the camp to give an account of their adventure, and represent the consternation of the Canaanites.

Passage of the river Jordan. Joshua immediately advanced to the banks of the river, and prepared to pass over. The country which they had recently conquered was bestowed upon the two tribes of Reuben and Gad, and the half tribe of Manasseh, in order probably to be a barrier, or line of defence for the Israelitish possessions; nevertheless they were to assist their compatriots in the meditated conquest. The general, having marched the army forward, communicated precise directions respecting the particular order in which they were to proceed to the river, which at this period of the year, it being spring, usually overflowed its banks, through the melting of the snow upon mount Lebanon. When they advanced, the priests with the ark went in front, and no sooner had their feet touched the river, than it miraculously divided and stood on heaps on either side, opening a passage for the thousands of Israel. The priests stood in the centre of the bed of the river till the entire movement was accomplished: when, upon their gaining the opposite shore, and rejoining the people, the waters flowed back into their forsaken channel. By divine direction, twelve persons were nominated, an individual from each tribe, to select twelve stones in the middle of the bed of the Jordan, where the priests were commanded to stand; to set them up upon the spot; and to bring twelve others on shore for a similar memorial of the interference of Providence. Thus they departed out of the wilderness by miracle, as by miracle they had entered it. Moses conducted them through the Red Sea, and Joshua through the river Jordan; the one into the desert, the other into the promised and plentiful land; the one to prove their character, the other to secure their inheritance. These striking coincidences and contrasts it is the business of the historian only to name: the reader will find them worthy of being retraced in the hour of solitary reflection.

Two memorable circumstances attended the introduction of the Israelites into the promised land: the renewal of the rite of circumcision, which had been suspended during the long sojourn of the wilderness; and the ceasing of the manna by which they had hitherto been miraculously supported. Gilgal was the first place of their encampment; and so great was the terror that diffused itself throughout the country, that for the present, at least, they had little reason to apprehend any very considerable military impediments to their progress. Joshua seems to have availed him-

self of the earliest opportunity of going out to survey Jericho, from which place the army was only about two miles distant. Here he was met by an extraordinary personage, either an angel, or, as some suppose, the Divinity, in the form of a human being, clothed in armour, with a drawn sword in his hand. Unacquainted with the real character of this appearance, the Hebrew general advanced, and put the question, whether he was a friend or a foe? when the disclosure of his being the captain and guard of Israel produced in him those reverential feelings which inspired his predecessor at the manifestation of the burning bush. Similar injunctions, also, to put off his sandals were given on the present occasion; and very explicit orders were communicated respecting the manner of conducting the siege of Jericho. The whole army marched round the city six days successively, with seven priests having trumpets formed of rams' horns in their hands, preceding the ark: the armed men went before them, and the rest of the people followed the priestly procession. On the seventh day, the march commenced about the dawn, and the circuit was accomplished seven times, at the last of which Joshua commanded the people to shout, proclaiming the divine will to give them immediate possession of the city: the walls instantly fell flat to the ground in such a manner as to present no obstruction to the conquerors, who hastened forward, spreading the sword of destruction on every hand, irrespective of either age or sex, man or beast. To complete the work, the place was set on fire, and everything consumed, with the exception of the silver and gold, and vessels of brass and iron, which were reserved for the treasury of the house of the Lord. According to the engagement of the spies, Rahab and her friends were saved amidst the general massacre, with all the property contained in her house. Joshua denounced a solemn curse upon whoever should venture to rebuild it; which anathema, it was remarked by Maimonides, was pronounced that the miracle of the subversion of Jericho might be kept in perpetual memory; "for whoever," says he, "saw the walls sunk deep into the earth, would clearly discern that this was not the form of a building destroyed by men, but miraculously thrown down by God."

Proper persons were now dispatched to take a view Attempt of Ai, a place about twelve miles from Jericho, the upon Ai. report of whose inconsiderable size and ill state of defence induced Joshua to send only a detachment of three thousand men, which he supposed to be amply sufficient for its capture. They were, however, entirely routed, and pursued to their encampment. The effect of this failure was extremely dispiriting: Joshua rent his clothes, and prostrated himself before the ark of God, while the priests covered their heads with dust, in token of mourning. The expressions of the leader of Israel in his address to Heaven on this occasion must be considered as tinged with too much dependency, and he was ordered to rise from the ground, and instead of indulging in vain complaints or alarming forebodings, to institute an inquiry into the offence which he was given to understand had been committed, to occasion this early disaster. It was soon discovered that, notwithstanding the express injunctions of Joshua previous to the approach upon Jericho, not to spare any part of the property which was found in that devoted city, or to conceal anything consecrated

Joshua.
A. M.
2553.
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N. C.
1451.

Taking of
Jericho.

Biography. to a sacred purpose, Achan, a man of the tribe of Judah, seized upon some of the spoil and hid it in his tent. He had secured and appropriated a rich Babylonish garment, with two hundred shekels of silver, and a wedge of gold of fifty shekels weight. The culprit, with all his newly acquired treasure, his family, his cattle, and his tent, were immediately taken into a valley, where the goods having been burned, and the several persons connected with him as participators in his crime stoned to death, a heap of stones was collected on the spot as a perpetual monument of this melancholy transaction.

At taken. A second attempt against Ai was now arranged by the direction of Heaven. The army advanced on the northern side of the town, and an ambuscade was planted on the western. The king hastened out with his army and the inhabitants, and being drawn to a distance by the feigned retreat of the troops under Joshua's immediate command, the thirty thousand men who constituted the ambuscade sallied forth at a preconcerted signal, and took and destroyed Ai by fire. At the same moment the main body turned upon their pursuers, who were soon cut to pieces: every man, woman, and child, was given to the sword; and the king, having been hung till sunset, was afterwards buried at one of the gates beneath a heap of stones: the cattle were reserved for the use of the victorious Israelites.

The Gibeonites. For the particular circumstances accompanying these and the future achievements of Joshua, we must refer our readers to the detail of the Sacred History; it being only necessary for us to mark the most important transactions, and offer such general observations as certain memorable events seem to require. The petty kings on that side the river Jordan now entered into a league, with a view to their mutual defence; but the Gibeonites consulted rather their own safety, by the adoption of a singular stratagem to obtain a peace with their invaders: they had deceived them into the idea that they were foreigners coming from a great distance; but three days afterwards, having discovered the imposition, they took measures to reduce them to a state of perpetual slavery, making them hewers of wood and drawers of water; an expedient which appeased the discontents of the people, and prevented the danger of incurring the divine displeasure for violating a solemn oath of alliance.

A. M. 2554.
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B. C. 1450.

Displeased at this separation from the Canaanitish confederacy, the Gibeonites were soon surrounded by the Amorites, and shut up in their principal city. This reduced them to a state of great distress, and incited them to make application to Joshua, who instantly accorded to them a prompt and effectual assistance. Early in the ensuing morning he marched upon the enemy, and completely routed them with bloodied slaughter. In addition to the ordinary sufferings of a retreat before an incensed and warlike enemy, it is stated in sacred story, that "it came to pass as they fled from before Israel, and were in the going down to Beth-horon, that the Lord cast down great stones from heaven upon them unto Azekah, and they died: they were more which died with hail-stones than when the children of Israel slew with the sword" (Josh. x. 11.) This circumstance has given birth to several elaborate dissertations, in which learned men have adduced instances of the falling of immense stones from the atmosphere, to the

destruction of many lives. None of those cases, however, afford any very satisfactory elucidation of the present event; the truth of which appears to have been, that a heavy hail storm overtook the retreating forces of the Amalekites, and cut them off; the peculiarity of which consisted not so much in the circumstances of the storm, as in the time of its occurrence. Destructive hail has in other cases fell upon men, but this was in connection with an express promise from Heaven to assist the Israelites. It descended at the moment which must have been anticipated, exclusively too upon the enemy, and cannot be viewed in any other light than that of a miraculous interference. Joshua had been expressly assured before the battle that God would be with him; that the confederate princes should be delivered into his power, and not a man should stand before him; and while this excited his confidence in prospect of the conflict, it justified and substantiated that confidence in the progress of the victory.

Another accompaniment of this day's achievements has awakened a still greater curiosity, and produced in the minds of mankind a more wondering attention, than the preceding miracle. It is related in the following words:—"Then spake Joshua to the Lord in the day when the Lord delivered up the Amorites before the children of Israel, and he said in the sight of Israel, Sun, stand thou still upon Gibeon, and thou Moon, in the valley of Ajalon. And the sun stood still, and the moon stayed, until the people had avenged themselves upon their enemies. Is not this written in the book of Jasher? So the sun stood still in the midst of heaven, and hasted not to go down about a whole day. And there was no day like that, before it, or after it, that the Lord hearkened unto the voice of a man: for the Lord fought for Israel." (Josh. x. 12—14.) It will obviate the objections which have sometimes been advanced against this miracle, to remark, that the Hebrew general did not use a philosophic, but popular language, which was, indeed, absolutely necessary, unless he had chosen to incur the charge of insanity. In the ordinary intercourse of life, and even in those written communications which are not strictly scientific, philosophers themselves do not deem it necessary to deviate from the common idiom, otherwise they would be unintelligible to the mass of mankind. Besides, in the days of Joshua, and long posterior, the system of astronomy was conformable to the appearances of nature, and science had not yet conducted her votaries into those vast fields of discovery which have been thrown open to modern times, and are become accessible to the multitude; and yet, even at this advanced period of the world, it would be deemed pedantic, rather than necessary, were the language of science to be transfused into the records of history. Some have supposed that the command in question was issued, not at noon, when the sun was, according to the literal interpretation, "in the midst of heaven;" but at the time of his setting: when Joshua, observing the unfinished state of the conflict, requested a miraculous prolongation of the day. It has been remarked, that the words in question, *וַיַּעַם הַשֶּׁם*, signify merely that division of the heavens which is formed by the visible horizon; and that *שָׁשׁ*, rendered *sun*, properly signifies the solar light, which it is supposed was made to linger in the heavens or in the horizon about twelve hours. In this case the rotatory motion of the earth was not

Joshua.

A. M.
2554.

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B. C.
1450.

Standing
still of the
sun and
moon.

Biography. suspended: but the miracle consisted in the retention of the light, by giving it perhaps an unusual refraction, so as to render it visible at once over the whole, instead of half the globe. It is by this means that the sun, according to the present laws of nature, actually appears above the horizon for some time after his descent below it; a phenomenon, which is not only of daily occurrence, but easily explained: the same refractive power of the atmosphere, being proportionally increased by a direct interposition of Providence, might produce the extraordinary prolongation of the day, which took place at the voice of Joshua. If the narrative of this extraordinary occurrence be considered, according to its most obvious and most natural interpretation, we must suppose that the motion of the earth upon its axis was suddenly suspended by a volition of God; and there are really no difficulties attendant upon this hypothesis, which a reflecting mind will deem at all insuperable. He, whose omniscient intelligence foreknew, and whose perfect wisdom arranged all the harmonies of nature, could as easily and did as certainly provide for this as for any other event in the progress of time: an event which, however it deviated from what our limited experience has induced us to denominate the course of things or the law of nature, could not possibly be contingent to an infinite and eternal being; and might as certainly as any other circumstance, whether important or insignificant, have formed a part of that system, whose basis is the eternal past, and whose consummation is the illimitable future. To a Providence, which spreads its operations over the whole of time, it was quite as natural, that at that precise era, when Joshua was pursuing the fugitive Canaanites, the sun and moon should be made to stand still; or that that should occur in nature which inevitably produced such a phenomenon; as that, at a previous period, these orbs should begin to shine, or that at any subsequent moment they should retain their station, and diffuse their influence. It may be inquired, indeed, if the revolution of the earth upon its axis were so suddenly suspended, how is it possible to account for the circumstance, that none of those disastrous consequences ensued, which in such a case would seem inevitable? As every being and substance upon the earth's surface is carried round with it at the rate of a thousand miles an hour, must not a sudden stoppage of this motion have whirled every thing moveable from the surface, dashed the ocean into air, and overturned the most stupendous rocks and mountains? Surely this instantaneous suppression of the diurnal movement of our planet must have necessarily produced a most calamitous re-action! The reply is obvious: the same miraculous energy which arrested the luminaries of heaven in their course, or, to speak philosophically, which caused the earth to rest upon its axis, could have prevented, at the same moment, the effects which, in an ordinary case, would have naturally resulted from the suspension of any one of the laws of nature. The same volition which arrested the whirling globe, could unquestionably, and would most assuredly avert the ill consequences of that mighty jar which must otherwise have overspread the world with confusion and ruin. The one of these operations is quite as conceivable as the other, and both were equally requisite to complete the miracle.

The sun and moon were worshipped as gods

throughout the heathen world, and many nations boasted of the title of *Helios*, or descendants of the sun. This was an ancient superstition, and may be traced in the records of the very earliest times. All things were supposed to be under their influence, as the chief deities, and universal preservers and creators. Heliodorus introduces the queen of Ethiopia as invoking the sun, *Ἡλιακαὶ θεῶν βασιλεῦς κ. τ. λ.*—*Let the sun, the great author of our race, be invoked as a witness upon this occasion.* Both luminaries are thus addressed as a sacrifice, *ὦ Δίαστρο, Ἥλιε, καὶ Σελήνη ἐσπέρου.*—*Our Lord the sun, and our governess the moon.* We find the sun invoked by the Egyptian priests, at the funeral of a deceased person, as the fountain of being, *ὦ νεφέρα Ἥλιε, καὶ θεῶν κέντρος κ. τ. λ.*—*O overweening lord, the sun, and all ye other deities who bestow life upon mankind; receive me, I beseech you, and suffer me to be admitted to the society of the immortals.* (Cosa. Helios. l. 10. Ethiop. l. 4. Porphyry de Abst. l. 4.) If, as is most probable, if not absolutely certain, the inhabitants of the district where this extraordinary battle occurred, were worshippers of the celestial luminaries, esteeming the sun and the moon as their principal deities; nothing could have been more appropriate than the miraculous interposition of the God of Israel at the voice of Joshua. The very gods of these people were compelled to see the overthrow of their votaries, and even to lend an unwilling aid to the hostile forces of their enemies. The Gibeonites had certainly joined, in considerable numbers, the army of the Israelites, and must have been witnesses of that stupendous miracle, which was so calculated to nullify their religion, and confirm the faith of the people of God. Each must distinctly perceive an omnipotent agency, as the towers of Gibeon retained the lingering splendour of the day, and the valley of Ajalon was filled with the undeparted mildness of the lunar beam. The Providence which operated these effects, will appear to have been still further triumphant, if it be admitted, what is indeed most probable, that Gibeon had a relation to the sun: for *Giba*, as Bryant observes, signifies a hill; and the term *On* is well known to denote the sun. *Gibson*, therefore, is literally the *hill or high place of the sun*. In like manner Ajalon, which, from *אָלון*, should be expressed *Aia-Lun*, denotes the *place or shrine of the moon*; for *Al* or *Aia*, in the language of ancient Egypt and of many other countries, signified a place, as *lun* signified the moon among the ancient Hebrews, Germans, and many other nations. Gibeon, therefore, most likely contained a temple of the sun, the king of heaven, and the valley of Ajalon, a temple of the moon, the queen of heaven; by resting on whose turrets, each heavenly luminary would diffuse an unwelcome radiance through the recesses of idolatrous adoration.

While their forces were in full and disastrous retreat, the five confederate kings hid themselves in a cave at Makkedah, a place about eight miles distant from Eleutheropolis; in which they were blockaded by the orders of Joshua, as soon as he obtained information of their attempted concealment. Upon his return from the pursuit, the cave was opened, the royal fugitives brought forth, and hung upon the spot: after which the sword of excision traversed Makkedah, Lihnah, Lachish, Egton, and other places, in rapid succession; till the whole of southern Canaan having yielded to the desolating power of the conqueror, he

Joshua.

A. B.
2554.
—
B. C.
1450.

Ancient
superstitions
respecting
the sun and
moon.

Cave of
Makkedah.

Biography. returned to his encampment at Gilgal. A new confederacy, however, was soon formed to the north, under the direction of Jabim, the king of Hazor, in which a number of petty princes entered, who assembled an immense force at the waters of Merom; to the amount, according to Josephus, of three hundred thousand foot, ten thousand horse, and two thousand chariots. As the Israelites were interdicted the use of horses and chariots, by the express command of God, this new confederacy assumed a very formidable aspect, and presented itself in an imposing and advantageous attitude. But Joshua did not hesitate to meet the fierce encounter; and, encouraged by a divine assurance of success, he fell upon them suddenly, defeated them completely, slew Jabim, and burnt his city; and delivered up all the cities of the confederacy, to be plundered by the Israelitish soldiery.

After these transactions, it became necessary to apportion out the lands which had been subdued, among the several tribes which had hitherto been unsettled; for which purpose, proper commissioners were appointed to survey the country, and the lot resorted to as the most unexceptionable mode of determining the partition. And here the superintendence of Providence could not be overlooked, nor the prophetic character of Moses and Joshua. The appeal to the lot gave every tribe the possession which these servants of God had predicted, in all the circumstances of soil and situation. The tribe of Judah became enriched with a district abounding in vines and pasture grounds; Asher had a province full of oil, iron, and brass; Naphtali possessed a part extending from the west to the south of Judah; Benjamin, one in which the temple was erected; Zebulun and Issachar comprehended the different sea-ports; Ephraim and Manasseh, places celebrated for the "precious fruits of the earth." No particular district was appropriated to Simeon and Levi: the former participating with Judah, and the latter being diffused among the other tribes. Eight and forty cities, however, were bestowed upon them. Six places were also appointed as cities of refuge for those who had committed involuntary murder. Joshua had a residence in the vicinity of Shiloh, where the tabernacle was set up, to which perpetual recourse might be had for divine instruction.

These regulations being completed, the Reubenites, the Gadites, and the half tribe of Manasseh, were called together by Joshua, who dismissed them from the service in which they had so honourably engaged, with very solemn and wise admonitions respecting the distribution of the booty they had acquired in the war, and the future observance of the Mosaic institutions. To the other half tribe of Manasseh which had received no inheritance from Moses, Joshua appointed a residence among their brethren on this side Jordan, westward. Then, as the sacred historian emphatically represents it, "The Lord gave unto Israel all the land which he sware to give unto their fathers; and they possessed it and dwell therein. And the Lord gave them rest round about, according to all that he sware unto their fathers; and there stood not a man of all their enemies before them; the Lord delivered all their enemies into their hand. There failed not sight of any good thing which the Lord had spoken unto the house of Israel: all came to pass." (Josh. xxi. 43—45.)

As soon as the two tribes and a half had crossed

the river, they proceeded to erect an altar, at the place where the miraculous passage of the Israelites had been so recently accomplished, as a memorial to future ages of their connexion with the inhabitants of the opposite banks and country, and a testimony of their similarity of religion. Too suspicious of their friends, and neglectful of the proper methods of obtaining information, the people assembled in Shiloh, to concert a warlike expedition against the offending tribes, whose altar they had hastily concluded to be an idolatrous construction. But previous to the commencement of hostilities, they dispatched an embassy under the direction of Phinehas, the son of Eleazar the priest. Ten princes of distinction accompanied him. The overbearing zeal of the multitude appears to have so far infected the individuals of this mission, that they addressed the persons to whom they were sent in a manner sufficiently blunt and uncourtous; prejudging the case by a direct impeachment, and referring with an intelligible severity, to the history of the trespass of Achan. To this the Reubenites, Gadites, and Manasseites, promptly answered, that so far from intending to adopt a measure calculated to seduce any part of the people of Israel from their allegiance to God, they had raised the altar in question, for the very opposite purpose of perpetuating his worship and transmitting to their posterity the rich inheritance of the true religion. If in time to come, it should ever be objected to them, as it probably might be, that they were excluded, by their very circumstances and situation, from the body of the Israelitish nation, they thought it highly expedient to make an altar conformably to the divine pattern, as a proof that Judah could not separate them from a participation in the privileges and religion of their brethren; and they expressed a horror at the thought of being guilty of that apostasy which had been so unexpectedly imputed to them. This explanation was, of course, satisfactory; the embassy returned, and the people dispersed. A name significant of its real design was given to the altar, that it might occasion no future misapprehensions: it was called *Ed*, that is, a witness.

Civil peace being thus restored, and external quiet secured by the undisputed sovereignty of the country acquired by the arms of Israel, a long period of prosperity and leisure attended the declining life of Joshua. At length, perceiving the approach of that day, when he must tread the valley of death, in which so many illustrious men had preceded him, he limited the enduement of Moses, in assembling the chiefs and magistrates, with their tribes, at Shechem; where he delivered to them a farewell and affectionate address. He retraced the goodness of that God who had guided and guarded them through the years that were gone by, reminding them of the assistance they had received, and the victories they had obtained; and faithfully warning them of the fatal consequences that must inevitably ensue, should they forget their obligations, falsify their vows, and amalgamate themselves, in any degree, with the nations whom they were bound to exterminate. With a solemnity peculiar to a good man, he adverts to an eminent Israelite, he engages them to renew their covenant with God, by fresh and solemn asseverations of eternal obedience.

Joshua.
A. M.
2560.
—
B. C.
1444.

An altar
erected by
the two
tribes and
a half.

Reubenites,
Gadites,
and half
tribe of Ma-
nasseh ho-
nourably
dismissed.

A. M.
2561.
—
B. C.
1443.

Biography. The words of each party were written in the book of the law, and a great stone was set up under an oak, near the sanctuary of worship, that they might be perpetually reminded of their renewed engagements. After this solemnity the people were dismissed to their several residences, and their illustrious leader, at the age of a hundred and ten years, died in faith, and invested with a glory which religion only can confer upon mortality. He was buried at Timnah-serah, in mount Ephraim, in the year of the world 2561. a. c. 1443. Soon afterwards Eleazar, the son of Aaron the priest, followed him to the grave; and was interred in one of the neighbouring hills, which descended as a possession to Phinehas, his son and successor in the priesthood. The two tribes of Ephraim and Manasseh, availed themselves of this opportunity of public mourning, to fulfil the wishes of Joseph, whose bones were brought out of Egypt, according to his request, and now buried in Shechem, in a piece of ground which Jacob purchased of the sons of Hamor, and bequeathed to Joseph's posterity. (Josh. xiv. 32.)

His writings, character, and fame. Joshua is the reputed and probable author of the book which passes under his name; with the exception of a few concluding verses, containing an account of his death, which were supplied by one of his successors. The whole narrative is distinguished by that animation and preciseness of description, which evince that the historian was also the principal actor. His mode of writing is at once simple, concise, and glowing. His exploits were long preserved in memory, through the distorted representations of the pagan nations of antiquity. There is an evident allusion to the miraculous passage of Jordan, in the story of Neptane drying up the river Isachus. Hercules was certainly the same with the Hebrew general: the scene of his victories, and his various achievements, may be traced in the accounts of the Phœnician hero, who is stated to have carried on a war with Tryphæus and the giants, in behalf of the gods, as Joshua fought the Canaanites; many of whom were reported to be of gigantic stature. The scripture facts of the descending stones, and the arrest of the sun and moon in their spheres, have each their respective antitypes: for Hercules received a similar kind of assistance in his contest with the sons of Neptune; and Callimachus describes the sun as stopping the wheels of his chariot, to hear the melodious chorus of nymphs; which occasioned the prolongation of the day. Statius also represents the sun as standing still at the sight of the unnatural murder committed by Atreus. (CALLIM. in DIEN. STAT. THEB. lib. 1. et 5. Comp. also OVIN. Metamorph. de Phaëton.)

The measure of exterminating the nations of Canaan, has been charged with extreme cruelty, and cited as an instance of unwarrantable aggression: but whatever objections may be urged against it, they cannot be imputed to Joshua, since he acted under a commission of paramount authority. The councils of heaven, therefore, are impeached by the objection; than which nothing can be more presumptuous in a short-sighted mortal. The governor of the universe may have reasons for his conduct which it would be improper or unnecessary to communicate to his creatures, and which, in many cases, could not be fully comprehended even by the utmost stretch of human sagacity. It is sufficient for a man that he has the commission of God, acting

in obedience to which, it is impossible to err; and whether the line of conduct we are directed to pursue, coincide with our predilections, or oppose them, the principle of obedience is simply the will of God. But we need not recur merely to this sentiment, in order to vindicate the conquest of Canaan: satisfactory reasons are assigned for the proceeding, in the sacred page. The iniquities of its inhabitants rendered them obnoxious to the divine displeasure, and proper subjects of punishment. When Moses summoned the Israelites to a general audience, previous to the passage of Jordan, he expressly states, and with reiterated declarations, "for the wickedness of these nations the Lord thy God doth drive them out from before thee." (Deut. ix. 34.) In executing that decree, which was founded upon this consideration, an ample space was afforded them for repentance, which would no doubt have had the effect of averting those calamitous visitations which they sustained by the hands of the Israelites. In this sense the severities which were predicted were conditional, implying the happy consequences that might result from their reformation; but instead of improving in character, they degenerated, becoming more and more confirmed in sin. The language of Rahab renders it highly probable, that some means had been adopted, some special monition had been given them, respecting the determinations of heaven; for this subject appears to have been familiar to her mind. Her acknowledgments of the supremacy of the true God, and the pre-determined capture of the land, are not a little remarkable, betokening the existence of an impression in her own mind, and in that of her countrymen, respecting their real situation. "I know," said she, "that the Lord hath given you the land... the Lord your God, he is God in heaven above, and in earth beneath."

The following judicious remarks of Dr. Paley are highly illustrative of this subject, and must prove eminently satisfactory to those who, being scrupulous of the divine honour, have strongly felt the difficulties which involve this dispensation. "When God, for the wickedness of a people, sends an earthquake, or a fire, or a plague amongst them, there is no complaint of injustice, especially when the calamity is known, or expressly declared beforehand, to be inflicted for the wickedness of such people. It is rather regarded as an act of exemplary penal justice, and as such, consistent with the character of the moral governor of the universe. The objection, therefore, is not to the Canaanitish nations being destroyed (for when their national wickedness is considered, and when that is expressly stated as the cause of their destruction, the dispensation, however severe, will not be questioned); but the objection is solely to the manner of destroying them. I mean there is nothing but the manner left to be objected to: their wickedness accounts for the thing itself. To which objection it may be replied, that if the thing itself be just, the manner is of little signification: of little signification, even to the sufferers themselves. For where is the great difference, even to them, whether they were destroyed by an earthquake, a pestilence, a famine, or by the hands of an enemy? Where is the difference, even to our imperfect apprehensions of divine justice, provided it be, and is known to be, for their wickedness that they are destroyed? But this destruction, you say, confounded the innocent with the guilty.

Joshua.
A. M.
2561.
—
a. c.
1443.

The measure of exterminating the Canaanites defended.

Biography.

A. M.

2561.

—

B. C.

1443.

The sword of Joshua and of the Jews spared neither women nor children. Is it not the same with all other national visitations? Would not an earthquake, or a fire, or a plague, or a famine amongst them, have done the same? Even in an ordinary and natural death the same thing happens. God takes away the life he lends, without regard, that we can perceive, to age, or sex, or character. But after all, promiscuous massacres, the burning of cities, the laying waste of countries, are things dreadful to reflect upon. Who doubts it? So are all the judgments of Almighty God. The effect, in whatever way it shows itself, must necessarily be tremendous, when the Lord, as the Psalmist expresses it, "moveth out of his place to punish the wicked." But it ought to satisfy us—at least this is the point upon which we ought to rest and fix our attention—that it was for excessive, wilful, and forewarned wickedness, that all this befel them, and that it is all along so declared in the history which recites it."

The directions which the Israelites received with regard to the method of proceeding in the conquest of Canaan, were as follow. Every city to which they approached belonging to another nation, was to be formally summoned: if the surrender were refused, they were to besiege it, and smite every male with the edge of the sword, the women and children being spared: if on the other hand the gates were opened to them, the inhabitants were to be spared, but reduced to the condition of slaves and tributaries. A different course was to be pursued when those cities were taken, which belonged to the land of promise: nothing that breathed was to be saved alive: the Hittites, the Amrites, the Canaanites, the Perizzites, the Hivites, and the Jebuzites, were to be unconditionally exterminated. They were required most scrupulously to avoid all alliance with these nations, lest they should be tempted to conform in any degree in their idolatries.

Whoever is acquainted with the human mind, is aware, that moral contagion is much more easily diffused than moral purity; and that, other things being

equal, a system of religion comporting with human passions is more likely to predominate over one that opposes their indulgence, than that the latter should displace the former, by the mere influence of its intrinsic excellence over minds already enlisted in the service of evil. Besides, the government of Israel during this period being essentially *Theocratic*, it was peculiarly proper to maintain the divine authority by an absolute interdiction of every measure calculated to alienate the mind from God or dissatisfy it with his service. Contact with surrounding nations might have spread the infection of disobedience; for while a conquered people are apt to contract the manners of their conquerors, they are capable also of diffusing their own habits amongst them, and the two nations in time, lose a considerable portion of their respective and characteristic peculiarities. Hence, it was necessary to prevent this intermixture, by requisitions tending to insulate and dis sever Israel from the vanquished Canaanites; on which account they were commanded to "overthrow their altars, break their pillars, burn their groves with fire, and hew down the graven images of their gods, and destroy the names of them." (Deut. xii. 3.)

Nor is this all. It is notorious, that victory in war was at that period, considered as the most decisive evidence of the power of any of the gods of the nations, and the conquerors claimed the superiority in behalf of their own deities, above those who were adored by the vanquished party. Nothing, therefore, could be better calculated to impress upon the Canaanites, and upon surrounding enmities, a sense of the glory of the only true God, than these signal and repeated successes; nor would the ordinary judgments of Providence, as earthquakes and tempests (against which, by the way, infidelity does not venture to object, although the means of effecting the extermination were comparatively of little consequence), have accomplished in any proportionable degree so important an impression.

Joshua.

A. M.

2561.

—

B. C.

1443.

SESOSTRIS.

FLOWERED ABOUT A. M. 2519.—B. C. 1485.

Biography. THE reign of this monarch constitutes a remarkable period in the obscurer part of the ancient History of Egypt. The actions attributed to him being of extraordinary grandeur, and his character one of singular magnificence. In our introductory article, enough has been said to show that his history is but little substantiated by authentic documents, and that the statements respecting him, which Herodotus and other writers received from the Egyptian priests, contained a number of facts obviously fictitious. As these, however, may have been mixed up with some truth, and as it is hardly possible that the very existence of this personage should have been an absolute fiction, we shall proceed to form the most consistent account of him that we can, out of the discordant materials which have come down to modern times.

The various names by which Sesostris has been designated furnish evidence of the difficulty which has been felt in fixing his identity, and of the intermixture of fable with history, so as to render it no easy task to separate it with precision from the truth. By Pliny, he is called Sesoia; by Tacitus, Rhampses; and by Scalliger, both Rhampses and Egyptus. According to Herodotus, he succeeded to the throne upon the death of Meris; though Diodorus Siculus, whom we must regard as inferior authority, represents him as posterior to Meris by seven generations. Some modern chronologists of high reputation are of opinion that he is to be considered as identical with Sesac or Shishak, in the sacred history, of whom it is remarked, that he is the first king of Egypt who is designated in Scripture by his proper name; the rest being uniformly called Pharaoh, the general cognomen of Egyptian royalty. Sir John Marsham thinks, that when Sesostris, or Shishak, set out to invade Asia, he could not avoid Judea, and accordingly captured Jerusalem, divesting it of its riches, and making Rehoboam, the king, his servant. The Seventy and Vulgate versions mention that he was accompanied by vast multitudes of Libyans, Troglodytes, and Ethiopians; his conquest of which nations is recorded in profane history. Sir Isaac Newton considers Sesostris as the Osiris of the Egyptians; the Belshazzar of the Greeks; and the Shishak of Scripture.

These opinions, in the judgment of others, assign far too late a date to the age of this celebrated monarch; and some, therefore, represent him as the son of that Pharaoh who perished in the Red Sea. To this notion there appear to be valid objections, especially the consideration that it is improbable in the extreme that any king of Egypt at that period should be in a condition to have achieved the conquests attributed to Sesostris. The common chronology makes him contemporary with

Moses, by assigning him B. C. 1485; but it will be found impossible to discover any precise period in history when a sovereign reigned, to whom all the actions related of Sesostris can be reasonably referred. Of this truth our readers will easily be convinced by the following short narrative, in which we have comprised the least incredible parts of his story, as delivered by various ancient writers.

Whether by the direction of a dream or an oracle, Education. his father devoted him to military glory from his earliest years. Having collected together all the male children in his dominions, who were born on the same day with his son, he had them brought to court, to be placed under proper nurses and tutors, like his own offspring. His idea was, that they who were the companions of his son's childhood would be most likely hereafter to prove his faithful and devoted soldiers; and surely it must be admitted that this novel plan was no inconsiderable evidence of the monarch's sagacity. The system of education was of course adapted, not only to the character of the times, but to the particular destination of these nurslings of military genius. The first care of their superintendents was to habituate them to toil and manly exercise: they were never permitted to partake of any food till they had performed a course of one hundred and eighty furlongs, or upwards of twenty-two miles, on horseback, or had undergone a proportionate exercise on foot. Often they were engaged in hunting; and thus, while the body was inured to labour, and the mind to discipline, they were gradually training to the enterprises of the warrior.

Ælian represents Sesostris as taught the arts of government by Mercury; which may probably refer to the Egyptian custom, mentioned by Jamblicus, of publishing all new books or inventions under the name of Hermes or Mercury. Whatever works or writings were put into the hands of these youths by their preceptors, having this signature, they might be said to receive their instructions from Mercury.

No sooner was this course of education in some degree completed, than the king determined upon Arabia. giving Sesostris and his juvenile companions an opportunity of displaying their abilities, by sending them with an army upon an expedition into Arabia. The mode of warfare to which they were thus introduced, was, of all others, best calculated to call forth their mental and corporeal energies. The enemy were vigilant, active, daring; and hitherto they had been unconquered. It was in this war that Sesostris learned to endure every privation, and to brave every danger; and notwithstanding the difficulties of every kind which beset his career, he returned triumphant to his native

Sesostris.
A. M.
2519.
—
B. C.
1485.

Names and
time of
Sesostris.

Biography. country. After this he was sent westward, subdued Libya and the greatest part of the African continent, and was arrested only by the waters of the ocean. It was during this period of military splendour, uncertain as to its duration, that his father died; when he was invested with the supreme authority.

When Sesostris was elevated to the throne, he showed himself alike capable of wielding the sceptre of government and the sword of war. His first care was directed towards those internal regulations in which consist the security, no less than the glory and happiness of empires. His policy was, perhaps, dictated by prudence as much as by zeal for the public welfare. He seems to have cherished the most ambitious ideas, and to have meditated, as some assert, at the instigation of his spirited daughter Athyræ, the subjugation of the whole world; and he had sagacity enough to perceive that so mighty a project could never be carried into execution, unless he could adopt measures to promote the prosperity of his own people during his absence, and to confirm the stability of his throne. He felt it necessary to guard against the subversion of his authority by civil commotions or foreign foes; precautionary considerations which have not always influenced the minds of conquerors in the heat of ambition.

Sesostris determined to begin by such acts of generosity, kindness, and justice, as should tend to rivet the affections of his subjects; he therefore distributed lands and money amongst them; remitted fines and punishments; and manifested in public the most obliging attention to all who applied to him for bounty, or surrounded him as friends. Thus he aspired to be the idol of the people, and seems actually to have acquired that grand pre-eminence. His next arrangement consisted in dividing the kingdom into thirty-six provinces, called *Nomi*; over each of these he constituted a governor of approved fidelity and well-tryed merit; these, by serving as a check upon each other, prevented any individual attempt at usurpation, and by satisfying a reasonable ambition, bound them more effectually to his interests. Still further to answer the same purpose, he confided to his brother Armais the supreme authority during his absence; but with the express stipulations, that he should offer no injury to the queen and her children; form no connexion with the royal eunuchs—and abstain from the use of the diadem. His last and chief object of solicitude was the selection of an army that should comport with the extent of his projects, in numbers and in bravery. This he succeeded in raising, to the amount of six hundred thousand foot; twenty-four thousand horse; and twenty-seven thousand chariots of war: placing his early companions, who were no fewer than seventeen hundred, as officers in the different divisions. These were all devoted to his service, trained to the utmost hardihood, and inflamed with military courage. To confirm his supremacy in the hearts of the soldiers, he settled portions of land upon them by lot, in the most fertile part of Egypt; which was designed to preclude the necessity of either themselves or their descendants having recourse for subsistence to mechanical or mercantile occupations: by which means a race of soldiers might be raised in perpetual succession. Thus prepared, in the full maturity of his ambition, and the plenitude of his hopes, Sesostris stood like an eagle

perched upon a rocky eminence to look round for a prey. With or without a plausible pretence, he was resolved to proceed; his ambition must be gratified, and his troops employed.

Ethiopia, situated to the south of Egypt, was the first object of his attack; nor did it prove capable of any considerable resistance. Immediately upon the reduction of the country, he made it tributary, compelling its inhabitants to furnish, annually, a specified quantity of ebony, ivory, and gold. Having reached the promontory of Dira, upon the straits of the Red Sea, he erected a pillar with an inscription in hieroglyphics. Other monuments of his progress, of a similar description, testified his advance to still farther conquests; monuments, which, according to Piny (Hist. Nat. lib. vi. c. 29) and Simbo (lib. xvi and xvii), were visible after the lapse of several centuries.

With the view of exceeding his conquests to the utmost, he prepared a naval armament, which, from his success, soon dispelled the ancient prejudices of the Egyptians upon this subject. Two fleets being equipped; the one, consisting of four hundred sail, was stationed in the Arabian Gulf, the other in the Mediterranean; the former was ordered to the Red Sea, and subdued all the islands and cities upon the coast; advancing till the navigation was intercepted by shoals. The Mediterranean fleet conquered Cyprus, the sea-coast of Phœnicia, and several of the Cyclades. With his army, Sesostris overran Asia, with a rapidity that must excite the utmost astonishment, were it not considered that his force was so considerable, and the nations whom he vanquished so unprepared for an attack. The later historians assign to him the conquest of India, affirming that he left memorials of his success on the banks of the Ganges, and pursued his desolating march to the ocean, eastward; but Herodotus, whose information was derived from the priests of Memphis, Heliopolis, and Thebes, and who has related his life with a considerable degree of circumstantiality, does not give the least intimation of such a progress: the probability is, that this achievement was attached to his name, by writers who lived between the age of Herodotus and Diodorus Siculus; for the sake of superadding a grandeur to his career, already marked with sufficient impressions of vastness and aggression. He passed over, however, from Asia to Europe, and invaded Scythia and Thrace, where it seems that he was but partially victorious. He even fled before the Scythians, after sending ambassadors with a summons to surrender, which was contemptuously rejected. Piny represents him as being totally defeated by the Colchians; and a tradition, preserved in Valerius Placcus, describes him as vanquished by the Getæ, who were the most warlike people among the Thracians. It is generally admitted, however, that he left a colony in Colchia: though whether it arose out of the soldiery who loitered behind through fatigue, or disgust at the war, or in consequence of being dispersed in different engagements, or whether it was merely a detachment of troops quartered in Colchia to secure a retreat, may be questionable. During the expedition into Thrace, Sesostris was in great danger of losing his army; and either in consequence of the difficulties in which he was involved, from the failure of provision and the intricacies of the country, or on account of information he received from the priest of Egypt, of an insurrection

Sesostris.

A. M.
2519.A. C.
1465.Attacks
Ethiopia.Overruns
Asia.Popular
conduct.

Biography. at home; here his progress ceased westward. No monuments of his victory were ever traced beyond this region, and in every other part of his career, they were erected usually with this inscription, "Sesostris, king of kings, and lord of lords, subdued this country by the power of his arms." It is remarkable that he added an intimation of the spirit with which the inhabitants had nobly defended, or ignobly yielded their liberties. He also erected statues of himself, the greatest number of which, as well as the pillars he raised in commemoration of his victories, had perished even at so early a period as the time of Herodotus. That interesting writer, however, mentions two such figures cut out of a rock in India; one on the road from Ephesus to Phocæa, the other betwixt Smyrna and Sardis. Both of them represented a man five palms in height, the right hand holding a javelin; the left a bow; the remaining part of the armour was partly Egyptian and partly Ethiopian. Across the breast, from shoulder to shoulder, an inscription was written in the sacred characters of Egypt, to this effect, "I conquered this country by the force of my arms." As these statues have neither the name of any person or country inscribed upon them, some mistake them for images of Memnon.

It has been remarked, as a peculiarity of this conqueror, that he never adopted measures to secure his acquisitions, but contented himself with the glory of subduing and ravaging distant nations; which he did for nine years, without extending the ancient limits of Egypt beyond a few circumjacent provinces. Such at least is the statement of Justin; but others have not coincided in this opinion. What then, it may be reasonably inquired, was the result of those mighty operations to which his military genius impelled him during so many years of activity? Say that he returned laden with spoils from the different nations he subdued and followed by a multitude of captives; and that, in consequence of his successes, he was enabled to gratify his officers and soldiers with magnificent donations, which placed them in circumstances of ease and comfort after their toils: the hero himself obtained nothing but glory; a glory, however, polluted with blood, and disturbed both by the recollection of some past reverses, and by the eternal detestation of entire kingdoms whose peace and whose liberties had been immolated at the shrine of ambition. That he possessed some great and good qualities, we shall have occasion to remark; but these must not render us indifferent to the miseries which he inflicted upon the unoffending, or reconcile us to the folly and the guilt of trampling the fertile earth into barrenness, in the toilsome pursuit of a phantom. Nothing, indeed, but the indication of some balancing virtues could redeem such a character from utter infamy, or render him worthy of any distinguished place upon the historic page, except as a necessary link in the chain of events, or as an instructive record deduced from the worst aspect of human nature: for where in creation shall we find a more hideous sight than the mere conqueror?

Conduct of Arms. Disregarding the solemn injunctions of Sesostris, his brother assumed the diadem during his absence, violated the queen, and took the royal concubines. On his arrival at Pelusium, Armais, or as he is sometimes called, Danaus, received him with every external evidence of gladness and congratulation; but at the same

time contrived a plan to deprive him, at one stroke, of his crown and life. Having invited the king and the royal household to an entertainment in which they drank freely, he took care to have the apartments where they retired to rest surrounded with a quantity of combustibles, to which he caused fire to be applied in the night, for the purpose of effecting their destruction. This villainy, however, did not succeed to his expectation. Sesostris was soon roused by the conflagration to a sense of his danger, and according to Herodotus, adopted, at the suggestion of his queen, a most cruel expedient to save himself. Two of their six children were placed across some passage that was in flames in order to form a bridge for the escape of the rest of the family. Diolorus Sienlus gives a miraculous character to this deliverance. Sesostris, he says, implored the assistance of the gods, and thus fortuitously escaped: the guards, who had been intoxicated, being unable to render him any assistance. For the honour of humanity, we should indulge the hope, that the account of the former historian is founded in some misrepresentation. Armais was of course destined to feel the weight of his brother's indignation; and being driven out of Egypt, retired into Greece. The gods, particularly Vulcan, received on this occasion large donations as thank-offerings for the king's escape.

The latter years of Sesostris, from this period, were distinguished by works of art, which have more deservedly become the means of transmitting his fame to posterity, than his military achievements. It is not a little singular, that having apportioned out to his soldiers rewards suited to the different degrees of individual merit, he disbanded the army, and relinquished all intentions to future conquest and spoliation. To what principle this is to be attributed, it may not be easy to determine with precision; but some of his future conduct renders it probable, that the love of glory was by no means extinguished in his breast; and that it only operated in a different manner: or we may suppose that pride rather than ambition, with which it is so intimately connected, became henceforth the ascendant passion. Of this we have a striking exemplification in his mode of treating the tributary kings. When they came at stated times to do homage, and to pay the arrears of tribute, he displayed the most ridiculous insolence; and when he entered his capital, or went into the temple, he unharnessed his horses, yoking these princes, four abreast, to his car, and highly valued himself on being thus drawn along by the sovereigns of kingdoms. It is said that he was restored to some sense of justice and humanity, in the following manner. On one of these occasions, a king, who was degraded to the office we have mentioned, was observed to look with peculiar earnestness at one of the wheels of the chariot, and being asked what it was that so riveted his attention, he replied significantly, "O king, the turning round of the chariot wheel reminds me of the vicissitudes of fortune: for as every part of the wheel is uppermost and lowermost alternately; so it is with men, who sit on a throne to day, and the next, perhaps, are reduced to the vilest degree of slavery."

One of the first labours of the retired conqueror was to build temples to the number of at least a hundred, which exhibited in every city where they were distributed, his gratitude to the tutelary god of every place,

SESOSTRIS.
A. M.
2319.
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B. C.
1450.

Monu-
ments of
his vic-
tories.

Temples
and other
works of
Sesostris.

Biography. for the renown he had acquired; but he showed an unusual solicitude to enrich the temple of Vulcan, to express his acknowledgments for the protection which he believed that divinity had afforded him at the period of his brother's treachery at Pelionium, as well as to perpetuate the glory of his successes. Six gigantic statues of stone appeared in front of the edifice: two of them thirty cubits in height, representing himself and his queen; and four others of twenty cubits each, representing his four sons. Some ages posterior to this, Darius, king of Persia, and father of Xerxes, was desirous of placing his own statue at Memphis, before that of Sesostris, which was strenuously opposed by the priest of Vulcan; who, in an assembly of his order, asserted as a reason for his resistance, that the actions of Darius were not yet equal in splendour to those of the Egyptian prince: for that the latter had subdued the Scythians, who had never yielded to the arms of the Persians. He pleaded that it would be highly unjust to supersede the statue of his illustrious predecessor, or to claim a pre-eminence without having even equal claims to distinction. Darius acquired greater honour by nobly pardoning this remonstrance, than he could have done by causing the erection of the most magnificent monument

Scoriotis also raised two obelisks of marble, a hundred and twenty cubits in height, upon which inscriptions were written, expressing the extent of his power and revenues, and the number of nations he had vanquished. He also took care to state in all his inscriptions, what he determined should be their distinguishing feature, that his own subjects were exempted from the toil of working in these mighty undertakings, which his captives alone were employed to complete. Diodorus Siculus mentions the following sentence as most usual on these splendid erections: "No native laboured here."

Distribution of the sand.

Herodotus assures us, that Sesostris made a regular distribution of the lands of Egypt, apportioning to each person a square piece of ground, deducting his revenue from a small rental paid for these divisions. If any one suffered by the inundation of the Nile, he was allowed to send information of this calamity to the king, who commissioned proper officers to inquire into the extent

of the damage which had been sustained, and remit a proportionate part of the rent as a compensation, that no one might be taxed beyond his ability.

To secure Egypt from foreign invasion, particularly from its warlike neighbours the Syrians and Arabians, all the eastern coast, from Pelusium to Heliopolis, was fortified by the erection of a wall. Some of the captives, however, grew refractory, and the Babylonians, resolving to disengage themselves from the galling servitude to which they had been compelled, seized upon a strong hold, and desolated the country. They were, however, pacified by the offer of forgiveness, and a settlement, hence originated their city of Babylon.

The numerous canals with which the country was intersected, may be justly considered as the greatest work of Sesostris. The entire distance from the city of Memphis to the sea, was disposed of in this manner, by which artificial conduits were formed with the Nile. By this means the communication between the cities was facilitated, and the interests of commerce advanced: those injurious inundations, of which the inhabitants frequently complained, were prevented, and water conveyed to the different villages and towns in every direction. Still further to promote the comfort of the people, their sovereign caused an immense number of embankments of earth to be raised, upon which towns were erected, and made inaccessible to the overflows of the river, while others were removed, which had previously sustained injury in consequence of their low situations. These canals really changed the aspect, and the very character of the country; and though they rendered travelling inconvenient on horseback, and impossible in carriages, Egypt was, by this contrivance, defended from the cavalry of its enemies by which it had been before repeatedly annoyed. Sesostris, as in other instances, made use of the involuntary labours of his captives from different nations to perform this work. (Herod. lib. ii. c. 104.)

Having reigned thirty-three years, and being grown blind with age, the *great* Sesostris committed suicide; an action which the priests were infamous enough to extol. (Diod. Sic.)

Eleventh.

T H E S E U S.

FLOURISHED ABOUT A. M. 2768.—a. c. 1236.

Biography. THE distinctions between the tales of fabulous antiquity, and the incidents of real history, are not so well defined as the inquirer after truth desires. From the most solicitous investigation he must often return disappointed, and content himself with probability, where he was most eager to obtain authentic information. Fable and history, therefore, cannot be represented as two streams running parallel with each other, whose respective springs and various courses are so distinctly traced; the resemblance is rather of a shadow to another description. Real history, which, by the volume of inspiration, may be ascertained from its very commencement, at the creation of the world, flows like a

river with translucent clearness through many successive centuries, widening as it proceeds by the perpetual influx of fresh facts and occurrences; but, in its ascent, becomes, because at length blended with fable, whose rills and rivulets flow in from every quarter, but especially from the regions of poetry, to gratify indeed our imagination, while they serve to perplex our researches. It happens, from this circumstance, not only that the great facts of history are distorted, and the origin of nations and events rendered impenetrable obscurity, but that the life and character of individuals is completely lost, and they are often made to assume a twofold aspect: the one arising from the traces of reality, the other f-

Thesis

2764
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2765

Biography. the embellishments of fiction: the same person is a man and a god: Truth assigns him a mortal sphere; admiration and the love of the marvellous unite to invest him with mythological immortality; the absurdity of which has been strikingly pointed out by Cicero, in speaking of the prevalent opinions of philosophers, with regard to the origin of the gods, which have been so ridiculously detailed and distorted by the poets,—“*Qui et ira inflammatus et libidine furens induerunt deos; secernuntque et eorum belli, pugnas, prælia, vulnera videmus; odia præterita, dissidia, discordias, ortus interitus, querelas, lamentationes, effusus in omni intemperantia libidines, adulteria, vincula, cum humano genere concubitus, mortalesque ex inmortali procreatos. Cum postarum autem errore conjungere licet portenta, Magom, Egyptiorumque in eodem genere dæmonia; tum stiam vulgi opiniones, quæ in maxima inconstantia, veritatis ignorantie, versantur.*” (Cicero, *de Nat. Deor.* lib. i. sect. 16.)

What we have alluded to has happened particularly to Theseus; so much so, that it is almost questionable whether he ought to be accounted a fictitious or a historical personage. Some have considered his life as nothing more than a combined view of the earlier and uncertain traditions of the fabulous times of Greece, united under a single name, and brought into one connected story; and such is doubtless the shape which his biography assumes in the pages of Pausanias, as well as among the mythological writers: but we are inclined to admit the real existence of the individual, and to view the marvellous and improbable part of the description as the ingenious embellishments of imagination. We can only give our readers, with cautious detail, the principal particulars with which antiquity has been pleased to favour us.

His lineage. Theseus is said to have been the sixth in descent from Erectheus or Erichthonius, whose reign was distinguished by the institution of the mysteries of Eleusis: in the maternal line, his lineage is traced to Pelops, who was of Phrygian extraction, and the most powerful of all the Peloponnesian kings. Ægeus, the king of Athens, and the son of Pandion, is reputed to have been the father of Theseus, and to him he succeeded in the government of the kingdom. Ægeus, wishing to have children, applied to the oracle at Delphi; by which he was directed to abstain from intercourse with women, till his return to Athens. The response, however, not being deemed by him sufficiently explicit, he went to Træzene, a small city which had been founded by his grandfather Pitheus, who was highly celebrated for his wisdom and learning. But it does not appear that his morality was very remarkable; for having beard the oracular communication to Ægeus, Pitheus inveigled him into a criminal conversation with his daughter. As soon as Ægeus suspected her pregnancy, he hid a sword and a pair of sandals under a large stone, which he hollowed out for the purpose. This secret he communicated to the princess previous to his departure, and left orders, that in case of the birth of a son, who should be able, when he arrived at maturity, to remove the stone and the things concealed under it, she should send him with the tokens, with all possible dispatch and secrecy, as he was fearful of the formation of some plot against him by the Pallantides, by whom he was held in contempt for being childless. Æthra had a son, who, as some affirm, was imme-

diately named Theseus; and who was educated by Pitheus, under a tutor called Connidas. The tutor was afterwards honoured, on the day preceding the Thesean festivals, by the offering a ram to his memory.

For a considerable time, Æthra concealed the name of her son's father, and Pitheus availed himself of this secrecy to represent him as the offspring of Neptune, æthra, who was the patron of his city, and the object of Træzenian worship. In his youth he went to present the first growth of his hair to Apollo at Delphi, in conformity to the custom of the times; but he shaved only the fore part of his head, in imitation of the Abantes, which fixed the name of *Theseis* on this method of tonsure. Athletic in body, and ardent as well as sagacious

in mind, his mother requested him to repair to his father at Athens, which he was not disinclined to attempt; but, in the spirit of adventurousness, he refused to go by sea as being the safest mode, resolving upon the more hazardous enterprise of an expedition by land. The country was at this period every where infested with bands of robbers, who were remarkable for the celerity of their movements, and the ferocity of their dispositions. Their principal employment was to prey upon the traveler, and to lodge in every species of licentiousness. Hercules had swept away great multitudes of these ruffians in the course of his peregrinations, but their violence was afterwards renewed, and with increased energy, in Greece. The news of that hero's exploits inflamed the soul of Theseus, and he burned to acquire renown by similar victories: contrary, therefore, to the advice of his friends, he started upon the race of honour which his imagination presented before him in the road to Athens.

He was first attacked in Epidauria, by Periphetes; who, on account of the weapon he was accustomed to use, was designated the *club-bearer*. Having slain his adversary, Theseus seized upon his club, adopting it as his distinguishing weapon. His next success was against Sinæus, surnamed the *pine-bender*, from his practice of bending down the heads of two pines; between which he fastened the unhappy travellers who fell into his snare, and by the sudden spring of the trees to their original position, tore the victim of his cruelty to pieces. This barbarian had a daughter reputed for beauty, who had attempted to conceal herself from her father's conqueror; but he discovered her retreat among the bushes and plants, and promising her indulgent treatment, she resigned herself to the arms of Theseus, by whom she had a son named Melanippus. She was afterwards married, by his consent, to Deloneus. To Melanippus was born Ioxus, who assisted in the formation of a colony in Caria; and the Ioxides were remarkable for their worship of rushes and wild asparagus.

Crommyon being infested with a ferocious sow, called Puma (which some have considered as in reality the representation of an abandoned female robber), Theseus undertook and accomplished the task of destroying her. Sciron, a Megarian robber, is also said to have been thrown down a precipice by his superior power. He usually compelled travellers to wash his feet by the sea-side, in order to take the opportunity of throwing them into it. Sciron, however, is represented by the writers of Megara in a very different light: for they assert, he was not a ruffian, but a good man, and a scourge of robbers.

Theseus.
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1236.

Journey to
Athens.

Exploits.

Biography. At Eleusis, our hero killed Cereyon, an Arcadian, in wrestling with him; and immediately afterwards, at Erione, or Termium, terminated the cruelties of Procrustes, otherwise called Demastes, by forcing his body to fit the size of his own bed, as he had been accustomed to practise upon strangers. Theseus was hospitably received by the Phylalidae, who were intrusted with the mysteries of Ceres, and to which, after due preparation, which he thought was required in consequence of his hands being stained with blood, he was admitted. After this service, he received a cordial welcome to their habitations.

Arrival at Athens. The eighth day of the month Cronius, or Hecatem-boron, corresponding with July, is represented as the time of his arrival at Athens, where he found the state in considerable disorder, in which the *Ægea* family largely participated. Medea, on her flight from Corinth, had cohabited with *Ægeus*, promising him children; and upon the arrival of Theseus, of whom she had no information, persuaded her paramour to contrive to poison him at an entertainment. Theseus, in order to enable his father to discover him, drew his sword, as if to carve the meat which was placed upon the table, when *Ægeus*, dashing down the poisoned cup, recognised and embraced him as his son. The people were immediately convened, the father presented his child, and the universal voice celebrated his valor, and his accession.

Acknowledged by his father.

Marathonian bull.

This exasperated the Pallanidae, who were anticipating the sovereignty upon the death of *Ægeus*, and they instantly prepared for war. One part of their forces marched upon the city from Sybettus, the other lay concealed in ambush; but their herald revealed the whole plan to Theseus, who surprised and destroyed those who were in ambuscade, dispersing the rest. To maintain his reputation for heroism, he now proceeded to attack the Marathonian bull, which was ravaging the district of Tetrapolis. This famous animal he took and brought in triumph to the city, where he offered him in sacrifice to the Delphian Apollo.

Some time after this exploit, the collectors of tribute came the third time from Crete. The occasion of its exaction was as follows. Androgeus, son of Minos, king of Crete, had visited Athens at one of the sacred feasts, and became so intimate with the Pallanidae as to excite the jealousy of *Ægeus*; who is said, in consequence, to have ordered him to be put to death. Other writers allege that the youth was killed in an attempt to encounter the Marathonian bull. The Cretans, however, sought to avenge his death, by immediately declaring war against Attica, and the enraged father imprecated the vengeance of the gods.—The Athenians were decidedly unsuccessful, and the country was visited with famine and pestilence. By an oracle they were informed of the cause of these calamities, and directed to appease the Cretan monarch as the only means of their removal. Ambassadors were accordingly sent, and Minos required a tribute of seven young men and seven virgins to be delivered up to him at Crete every ninth year. They are said to have been destroyed in a labyrinth, by the Minotaur, a monster half-man and half-bull; "but more reasonably supposed," as the authors of the Universal History observe, "to have been a man of great strength and ferocity, and upon that account to have been surnamed Taurus, or the Bull."

The Minotaur.

The opportunity of encountering such an antagonist excited the adventurous spirit of Theseus, and the present situation of affairs at Athens rendered the exploit very seasonable. As the victims were selected indiscriminately, by lot, the childless *Ægeus*, whom the people regarded as the cause of this degrading impost, had hitherto felt nothing of its severity. When, therefore, this third tribute was to be paid, those who were obliged to resign their children, complained bitterly of *Ægeus*, that instead of participating in their affliction, he had advanced an illegitimate offspring to the succession of the government; upon which, Theseus voluntarily presented himself in the arduous service; his father in vain entreating him to desist from his purpose, while the populace admired his magnanimity. It had been represented to the appointed youths, that the only method of ending the dishonoured tribute, was to kill the Minotaur; but as no hopes were entertained of this release, the ship was furnished with a black sail, in token of their being conveyed to certain ruin. Theseus, however, united a white one with it; or, according to Simonides, a scarlet one dyed with the juice of the fruit of the dex, which was to be hoisted in case of their safe return. Previous to their departure, the victims joined in an offering to Apollo, of a branch of consecrated olive, bound with white wool. They embarked on the sixth of April; and upon their arrival in Crete, the poets and historians agree in stating, that Ariadne falling in love with Theseus, gave him a clue of thread, instructing him how to pass through the intricacies of the labyrinth. By this means, he killed the Minotaur, and escaped with Ariadne, and his companions in trouble. The Cretan historians, however, dispute the whole of this story, respecting the destruction of the young perenn; and affirm the labyrinth to have been only a peculiar kind of prison, and the captives to have become the parents of a race of slaves. The fancy of the poets has invested the return of Theseus with a variety of circumstances, which it is not necessary to enumerate. Plutarch states, that he touched at Delos, and after sacrificing to Apollo, dedicated a statue to Venus, which he received from Ariadne, and then joined the young men in a dance, afterwards practised by the Delians. Games also were instituted by him, in which the mazes of the labyrinth were initiated; from which originated the custom of bestowing a palm on victors. When they approached Attica, both Theseus and the pilot were no transported with joy, that they forgot to hoist the sail, the appointed signal of safety; which threw *Ægeus* into despair, who cast himself down a precipice, and was dashed to pieces. Theseus, upon his disembarkation, dispatched the intelligence of his arrival to the city, after performing sacrifices to the gods agreeably to his vow at Phalerum. The messenger met numbers of people lamenting the king, others rejoicing at the return of Theseus. When he came back to the sea-shore, the hero was seized in his sacrificial offerings, which he did not choose to interrupt; and therefore waited in silence their completion, when he announced the death of *Ægeus*. They all listened in the utmost grief in the city, where having solemnly interred his father, Theseus paid his vows to Apollo. The *Ouchophoria*, or *Feast of Boughs*, was afterwards established in commemoration of these circumstances; those present at the libations calling

Theseus.
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B. C.
1236.

Adventure.

Biography. out *Eleten! Jôû, Jôû!*—an exclamation both of haste and confusion. A branch was also carried, bound round with wool, such as was used in supplications, which they called *Eireione*, laden with fruits. To intimate the ceasing of scarcity at the time, the following strain was sung:

"The golden ear, th' ambrosial hives
In fair *Romane* thrives
See the juicy figs appear!
O'er the crown the wealthy year!
See the cluster, bending vine,
See, and drink, and deep stupor shine!"

The chronology of the return of Theseus from Crete may be fixed about B.C. 1235. But it is not certain what heame of Ariadne. Several stories concur in representing her as deserted, probably at the isle of Naxos; but other writers say, there were two Minos; and two Ariadnes: one married to Bacchus in Naxos; the other, of later date, carried off by Theseus, who being forsaken, came to this island for an asylum, with her nurse Corecye. There she died, and received appropriate honours. The poet Poon represents her as put to shore in a tempest at Cyprus, where she was only to remain during its violence; but Theseus, being driven out again to sea, was unable to return till some time afterwards. During the interval, she had died in childbirth, though kindly attended, and received funeral rites. Theseus being deeply afflicted, left money with the people, with a desire to render her divine honour, and caused two statues, the one of silver, the other of brass, to be made. A strange festival was observed in commemoration of her; and the Athenians show her tomb, calling the grove in which it is placed the *Grove of Venus Ariadne*.

Conduct on the throne. Scarcely had Theseus ascended the throne, which had been left vacant by the death of Ægeus, when he commenced a novel and beneficial plan of government. The twelve boroughs or districts into which Cecrops had divided Attica were become so many independent republics, with their separate magistrates, and clashing interests. Division had generated discord, which not unfrequently terminated in sanguinary contests; and while the inhabitants cherished reciprocal jealousies, the fluctuating character of the supreme authority, sometimes proving despotic, at others servile, rendered the people alternately slaves and freebooters. The foundations of a just confidence being removed, the entire superstructure of the Attic community was gradually falling to ruin. Theseus foreseeing the consequences of their present division, instantly formed a sagacious plan to prevent it, and took upon himself the labour of carrying it into execution. Traversing Attica in different directions, he represented to the several classes of the people the advantages of his proposed arrangement; which, as they seemed adapted to promote liberty, captivated the lower orders; but, though he suggested to the more opulent citizens the happiness which must result from the democratic system, in which he wished only to act as the guardian of the laws, and the general of their armies, many of them felt apprehensive of his influence, and submitted, rather than acquiesced in the scheme. The city of Athens was now constituted the metropolis of the empire;—the separate councils and corporations in each district were abolished, or blended into one common court-hall, called the *Prytaneum*; and

the people were classified under three divisions:—the nobles, husbandmen, and mechanics the former were to superintend the affairs of religion, the magistracy, and the administration of the laws; and to serve as a balance against the preponderating influence of that splendour with which they were invested, the husbandmen were raised into importance by their services to the state; and the artificers by the superiority of their numbers. The currency was marked with the impression of an ox, probably with reference to the Marathonian bull, or perhaps as significant of agriculture, which Theseus was solicitous of encouraging. A solemn festival was instituted, called the *Metageia*, or *feast of the migration*; to commemorate the removal of the people from their cities, to become incorporated into one society: the feast of Panathenea was established as a common sacrifice; and the Isthmian games in honour of Neptune were restored. These were intended to attract strangers, and to incite them to form a settlement at Athens: they were incorporated into the republic with common privileges. "Come hither, all ye people," are said to have been the commencing words of the proclamation which Theseus issued.

He enlarged the capital, added the territory of Megara to the country, and erected a pillar on the isthmus of Corinth, as a boundary between Attica and Peloponnesus. This pillar, Strabo informs us (lib. ix), continued to the reign of Codrus, when it was demolished by the Heraclidae, who gained possession of the Megarensian territory. Our legislator further made an agreement with the Corinthians, that they should relinquish the place of honour to the Athenians at the Isthmian games, as far as the ground could be covered by stretching over it the sail of the public ship.

Amidst all these peaceful and judicious arrangements, Theseus could not totally abandon his original passion for military renown. The glory of Hercules was perpetually stimulating his too ardent feelings, and he wished to rival his fame by some new exploits. Plutarch quotes some ancient writers, who have particularized his adventurous expedition into the Euxine sea, in company with Hercules, to carry on a war with the Amazons: but the most credible historians consider the whole statement as fabulous. Many other expeditions are attributed to him; in some of which he unquestionably participated. He assisted the Lapithæ against the centaurs of Theessaly: he joined in the chase of the wild boar of Calydon, for which pursuit Meleager had assembled the most celebrated princes; and some have represented him as accompanying Jason to Colchis.

Conformably with the romantic heroism of the times, a Thessalian sovereign, named Pirithoüs, the son of Ixion, made an incursion into the plains of Marathon, and carried off the oxen. Theseus immediately prepared to revenge the injury: but the aggressor, instead of flying from his fury, approached to meet him; and being struck with admiration of his character and exploits, offered his hand in token of peace, declaring at the same moment that he would abide by whatever sentence he might think proper to inflict. "Be my judge," said he; "what satisfaction do you demand?" Theseus equally impressed with the courage of his adversary, intimated that the only satisfaction he required was that of engaging him as his friend and fellow warrior: upon which they mutually took the

Theseus
A. H.
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—
B. C.
1236.

Peithoüs.

Biography. oath of indissoluble union, and arranged together the plans of future enterprise. Hence, the attention of all Greece was directed to the three heroes—Hercules, Pirithoüs, and Theseus—who from similarity of disposition had bound together in the ties of such a friendship as that of which we may suppose such barbarians capable; and who rivalled each other in the pursuit of that fame, which the temper of the times readily bestowed as the reward of their actions.

One cannot but regret that a life which might have been honourable, had it been wholly consecrated to the superintendence of that government which Theseus had displayed such capacity in framing, should have lost all its dignity and use, by being occupied in ridiculous or criminal adventures. We have now to follow him to Sparta, whither he was accompanied by Pirithoüs, who assisted him in a deed of villany, which drew in its train the most fatal misfortunes, and raised the perpetrators to the very pinnacle of a shameful celebrity. Seeing a young girl of the name of Helen, who was reckoned the greatest beauty in the world, performing a dance in the temple of Diana, they seized her, and escaped with all possible haste, from pursuers who followed no farther than Tegea; when they agreed to determine by lot to whom she should belong. Theseus, by this means, became possessed of her; but on account of her tender age he placed her with her mother, under the care of Aphidnus; availing himself of this interval to fulfil a promise to Pirithoüs, of procuring him another wife, by accompanying him into Epirus, for the purpose of gaining Proserpine, the daughter of Aidoneus, king of the Molossians. This king had a dog named Cerberus, whom all his daughter's suitors were required to fight upon condition that the victorious combatant should be entitled to his daughter. Finding, however, that the heroes did not visit him with honourable intentions, but were planning to carry off Proserpine by force, he threw Pirithoüs to his dog, and imprisoned Theseus. From this miserable confinement he was only released by the friendly interposition of Hercules, who happened to come on a visit to Aidoneus, to whom, as a testimony of his gratitude, he afterwards assigned all the temples and groves which his citizens had bestowed on him, with the exception of four, changing their denomination from *Thesea* to *Heraclea*.

Helen. The period of his return was most inauspicious; for his kingdom was torn with factions, and his family in a state of disgrace. His enemies had taken advantage of his absence to inflame the people against him, and assiduously employed every artifice to bring contempt upon his administration. Menestheus, great-grandson of Eretheus, was the exciter and ringleader of this sedition; and being endowed with a fascinating eloquence, he was precisely adapted to influence the popular mind. His never ceasing insinuations that they were ill governed, and that instead of being under the pleasing authority of a native king, they were oppressed by the despotism of a foreigner, combined with a war proclaimed against the state by the Tyndarids, to excite the general discontent. Castor and Pollux, the brothers of Helen, produced their complaints against the royal ruffian who had stolen their sister; and before rescuing her from the custody of those with whom she had been placed by Theseus, ravaged Attica, and in consequence filled every bosom with indignation against his debased sensuality. At the same time, the Pallantides, aided by the principal citizens, endeavoured to seize and secure the supreme authority.

Overpowered by faction, and finding his affairs irretrievable, Theseus dismissed his children privately into Eubœa, to Elepheor, taking refuge himself in the court of king Lysomedes, in the isle of Scyros. The bitter imprecations which he uttered against the Athenians induced them afterwards to appoint solemn sacrifices to appease his ghost, and to render him divine honours. In this state of voluntary exile he died, whether by accident or by treachery is by no means ascertained; some affirming that he fell down a precipice, through missing his step, in one of his customary perambulations; others, that Lysomedes threw him down, in order to acquire the friendship of Menestheus, who succeeded Theseus in the government of Attica. After his death the sons of his predecessor, who had attended Elepheor to the Trojan war, returned and regained the kingdom. "The actions of Theseus," remarks the Abbé Barthélemy, "and the impressions they made on the minds of men during his youth, at the commencement of his reign, and at the end of his life, present to us successively the image of a hero, a king, and an adventurer; and under these different points of view, he merited the admiration, the love, and the contempt of the Athenians." Their revolt was afterwards expiated by a conduct expressive of extraordinary veneration. Having consulted the oracle of Apollo, they were ordered to take up his bones and inter them at Athens. This was accomplished by Cimon, son of Miltiades, who subdued the island; and having found the grave of the departed hero, he conveyed his remains to the city, where the Athenians received them with transport, and re-interred them near the gymnasium. A temple was erected over the tomb, which became the asylum of the wretched of every description, and was richly decorated by the arts. His memory was honoured by the institution of various sacrifices; the principal of which was appointed on the eighth of October, in commemoration of his return from Crete. He was also regarded as one of the goëti who presided over the days of every month.

Theseus. A. M. 2768. — B. C. 1236. **Castor and Pollux.**

Flight of Theseus.

D. Ath.

Proserpine.

Factions state of the kingdom.

SAMUEL

AND THE

JUDGES OF THE ISRAELITES.

TO THE MONARCHY UNDER DAVID.

A. M. 2561. B. C. 1443.

TO

A. M. 2941. B. C. 1063.

Biography.

A. M.
2561.
B. C.
1443.

JOSHUA had no immediate successor. The dispositions of the people over whom he had presided with such singular success, were now relaxing into that indifference to the divine favours which is the sure prelude of their withdrawal; and thus neglectful of the principles of their unity, as a nation, they lost the secret of their strength and of their past progress. Joshua, indeed, as presiding over the whole of the tribes of Israel, and carrying forward victoriously the accomplishment of God's promises to give them all the land of Canaan, had no successor until the times of DAVID. It will accord, then, at once with our plan, and with the circumstances of the case, to give a brief view of the fates of this remarkable people during the time of their JUDGES, under the name of the most distinguished of them (and perhaps their own historian), SAMUEL, as the connecting link between the conquests of Joshua and those of David.

Tribe of Judah presides.

By a divine decision, the tribe of Judah was selected, shortly after the death of Joshua, to lead forward their brethren in their future wars; and over that tribe CALB, the distinguished and faithful companion of their late commander, appears at this time to have presided. As the possessions of Judah closely bordered upon those of the tribe of Simeon, the cautious veteran was induced to call for the assistance of the latter tribe more particularly than for that of the rest, and their first efforts were directed to the deliverance of their own respective territories from the hand of the enemy. The two tribes unitedly undertook the siege of Bezek (a town of Canaan, near the Jordan, about seventeen miles from Shechem) and Jerusalem. In the neighbourhood of Bezek they obtained a complete victory over the united forces of the Canaanites and Perizzites, amounting to upwards of 10,000 men, and finding in the city seventy mutilated princes who "gathered their meat under the table" of Adoni-Bezek, the tyrant of the place, they inflicted upon him a retaliatory punishment by cutting off his thumbs and great toes. Jerusalem, then called Jebus, submitted to their arms at about the same time, for to this place they brought the captive king of Bezek (whose conscience appears to have been touched with the justice of the government of God), and there he died. Though the king of Jerusalem had formerly placed

himself at the head of that alliance over which Joshua gained his great victory at Gibeon, the Jewish general does not appear to have subdued the capital, which was now taken by assault and burnt; except a strong fortress on the top of Mount Zion, which resisted every attack. The mountainous country around, and towards the south, to the wilderness of Paran, was immediately added to the lot of Judah; and the united tribes proceeded to attack in succession, Hebron, Debir, Gaza, Askelon, and Zephath, the possession of which they divided between them. At Debir we hear finally of Caleb, in the proclamation which he issued, offering his daughter in marriage to whoever might subdue the place; and on his nephew Othniel, the son of Kenaz (afterwards the first of the Judges) becoming the successful champion, he adds a liberal dowry to that honourable gift. The character of Caleb will always rank high among that of the greatest of men. He was one of the few "among the faithless, faithful" found, when twelve princes of the tribes were deputed from the wilderness to search the promised land; and their report was so important to the hopes, and even to the peaceable conduct of the people. Joshua and Caleb were the heroes and helpers of that day, who, when the whole of their companions discouraged all further trust in God, and in his servant Moses, "stilled the people," avowed the difficulties, but anticipated the future triumphs of their way; and at the peril of their lives insisted that what their eyes had seen of the promised possessions, would abundantly compensate for every effort in obtaining them. He had the testimony of God "that he followed" Him "fully"—was the only individual then above twenty years of age, except Joshua, who afterwards was permitted to enter into the land he had described—and at the period before us, of his last achievements, as a leader and commander of God's people, was engaged in the subjugation of a portion of that very race ("the sons of Anak"), whose gigantic stature had been transferred to all the people of the land, and formed one of the chief grounds of the cowardly and faithless apprehensions of his brethren.

The other tribes, aroused by these repeated successes, made several efforts to extend their respective territories. The tribes of Ephraim and Manasseh assisted the

Biography.

A. M.
2561.
B. C.
1443.

Apostasy of
the Israel-
ites.

A. M.
2599.
B. C.
1406.

Micah's idola-
try.

Danites in the subjugation of the Amorites, and took possession of Bethel; but contented themselves, even "in their strength," with rendering the conquered nations tributary, instead of fulfilling the divine commission to extirpate them from the land. This now became the general conduct of the fickle but highly favoured tribes. They found, perhaps, in the immediate possession of the skill and labours of their captives, in the splendour and imposing character of their idolatry, the soothing solemnities of their groves, and the silver and gold of their idols, (which they were commanded "nterly to detest,") as well as in the personal charms of their females, those very seductions from obedience to the true God, of which they had been so often warned, and which constituted one of the principal reasons for the awful mandate of the entire destruction of these nations. While the Canaanites, on the other hand, would have every motive to submit for a time to that yoke to which resistance was so evidently in vain, and to contract alliances which enervated the conquerors more than the conquered; as they might ultimately have the opportunity of shaking them off at pleasure. A divine messenger announced to the Israelites God's high disapprobation of this idle and unfaithful policy; but at the death of Caleb that generation was swept away, which had seen His greater interpositions on their behalf, and the rising generation appears to have mingled without reluctance in all the habits and idolatries of the land.

During these times of confusion and apostasy, occurred the two events, highly characteristic of such a period, which are related, at considerable length, at the conclusion of the book of JUDGES, that the narrative of the public affairs of this people might not be too much interrupted. An Ephraimite, of the name of Micah, having erected a splendid private temple for certain idols belonging to his mother, made his own son his priest. But a young Levite accidentally travelling into the neighbourhood, Micah persuaded him to accept the office, regularly stipulated his salary, and provided for him habiliments in imitation of those in which the regular priesthood were accustomed to appear before God in Shiloh. This ignorant devotee now anticipated with confidence that his worship would be acceptable to Jehovah; but the Levite, upon whose idolatrous services he so warmly congratulated himself, became the means of his utter ruin. A party of Danites, in their researches after a more extended territory, came to Mount Ephraim, and lodged at Micah's house. Finding in the Levite an old acquaintance, and having inquired into the nature of his present occupations, they first pretended to ask the counsel of God respecting their success in a projected enterprise upon Laish, and receiving a favourable answer, the army of the tribe assembled in the neighbourhood. But instead of manifesting any gratitude for the hospitality of Micah to their messengers, or reverence for the character assumed by his priest, they now took advantage of their numbers to seize upon his idol, and the riches of his shrine, which they carried with the accommodating priest to Laish; and having subjugated the city to their own dominion, set up the idol for public worship there. Here it is said that he had been established and resorted to, all the time that the ark of God was in Shiloh. The idols of Micah remind us of the *teraphim* of Laban, the *talismans* of the oriental nations, and the *penates* of the Romans. In

some instances, as in the case of Micah, they seem to have been hieroglyphics, or symbols, borrowed perhaps from the eberaim, or such figures as were commanded to be made for the tabernacle, and which might be supposed to be emblems of Deity; although image worship was expressly forbidden, and the Israelites were reminded that, neither in the giving of the law, nor upon any other occasion, had the Deity appeared in a visible shape. In the case of Laban, they were not unlikely household gods, similar to the *penates* of the later ages of idolatry, as it is highly probable that such a man as Laban would yield to the superstitious customs around him, especially if it should in any way conduce to his worldly interest. It seems, by the testimony of the Rabbins, that *teraphim* is a word sometimes applied to magical preparations, involving the most cruel rites, and supposed to possess oracular powers. The *talismans* of the east were metal figures formed under the aspects of certain planets, and supposed to possess great efficacy in active and protecting qualities and virtues. It is evident, that in families in which we should have expected greater purity, we find a strange propensity to idolatry—even in that of Jacob, who commanded his household to deliver to him their idols previous to his going to Bethel to worship, and he buried them under an oak. Various conjectures have been formed respecting a word (*עֲבֹדִים*) which in various parts of the scriptures signifies simply an image of any kind.

The other circumstance which the inspired penman has perpetuated, presents a still more disgraceful picture of the times, and was more extensively disastrous to the tribes. A Levite of Mount Ephraim was returning home with a concubine who had eloped from him, and lodged for the night with a brother Ephraimite at Gibeah, a town belonging to the tribe of Benjamin; when the inhabitants of the place surrounded the hospitable abode, and demanded the stranger for the gratification of their brutal lusts. In vain, like just Lot, did the master of the house expostulate with these wretches; no method of appeasing them could be found except that of delivering up the concubine of his guest, who remained with them until morning; when she died at the door from the cruelty of their treatment. The Levite, with the coolness of determined vengeance predominating in his mind, took the body home, divided it into twelve pieces, and sent one to each of the tribes, with an appeal against the outrage he had suffered. A general assembly of the Israelites was called in consequence at Mizpeh, amongst whom appeared an army of 400,000 men. Here they examined into the case of the indignant Levite more fully, and agreeing that nothing so disgraceful had ever occurred amongst them since they had been formed into a nation, the whole assembly resolved that they would not return until their bones until the perpetrators of this abominable deed were brought to punishment. Messengers were despatched, making instant requisition for them of the princes of the tribe of Benjamin; who instead of uniting in detestation of the crime, armed themselves in defence of the criminals to the number of 20,000 chosen men. The divine approbation seems to have sanctioned the sense of justice which now appeared to fill the bosom of the tribes; but as it existed very feebly there, and in union with vindictive and oppressive dispositions, God's interposition for them was but partial and temporary. They were instructed by an oracular communi-

Samuel and
the Judges
A. M.
2599.
B. C.
1406.

Outrage at
Gibeah.

Biography. cation to march as heretofore under the direction of the tribe of Judah; they penetrated quickly to the town of Gibeah, and though twice repulsed with considerable loss, they obtained (partly by stratagem) a final and most decisive victory over the Benjamites, who were all put to the sword except about 600 men. These fled into the mountains of the neighbourhood, while the fury of the other tribes urged them to the utter destruction of the cities and villages, and even the wives and children of their devoted brethren. Of this excessive vengeance, however, they soon saw reason to repent. The threatened extinction of a tribe from Israel, by its own sin or their own arbitrary measures in punishing it, was an unparalleled calamity, and the tribes again met in council, over the consequences. The 600 men who fled into the rocks of Rimmon, constituted the whole remaining strength of the tribe of Benjamin; and at the beginning of the war, the other tribes had vowed to give no Benjamite wife from amongst them. They now therefore devised two most strange and unjustifiable expedients to obviate the effects of this rash vow. Finding that the inhabitants of Jabesh-Gilead (a portion of the tribe of Manasseh) had not repaired to the general assembly at Mizpeh, and recollecting an awful oath they then had made respecting all who did not come, they issued an edict for the destruction of that place, with the exception of the unmarried women, whom they assigned to the Benjamites. They also encouraged them to take advantage of the annual feast unto God in Shiloh, by seizing for wives the young women who repaired thither. The fugitives availed themselves of these expedients, and the tribe, though it always remained a small one, gradually recovered from these severe disasters.

Othniel. The valor of OTHNIEL, who seems to have been born to sustain the honours of Caleb's family, had shortly after these transactions, a noble field for its display. The tribes of Israel by their impiety and pusillanimity, after the death of his father-in-law, had been subjected to the dominion of Cushan-Rishathaim, king of Mesopotamia, for upwards of eight years; when Othniel found means to raise an army against the oppressor; and so unwearied and successful were his exertions, that he established a permanent deliverance for the Israelites, and judged them in peace forty years. Their captain in the season of difficulty and danger, and guided generally in his steps by the immediate dictation of the Spirit of God, this important person would naturally obtain that ascendancy in the national councils which the proper improvement of his own victories might require, and which the prevention of future subjugation would appear to make essential to the public safety. Ever in danger from their own propensities to rebellion against God, and from the watchful ambition of the neighbouring states and princes, the tribes required a description of governors to be thus especially raised up for them by their Almighty King, as their zealous magistrates in peace, to watch over and extirpate the seeds of all their calamities in their vices and idolatries; and to lead them into in the divine strength to war. A series of such deliverers, now called JUDGES, and generally men of exemplary piety and virtue, began in the person of Othniel, was continued at intervals, and according to the public exigency, for the space of three hundred years, and ended in that of SAMUEL.

On the death of their first distinguished leader of this series, the Israelites fell under the yoke of the Moabish

princes for eighteen years, and appear to have been in the habit of acknowledging their suzerainty by an annual tribute. EUTH, a Benjamite, who became their second judge, was deputed to carry this token of submission, at the end of that period, to Eglon, the king of Moab, whom he privately stabbed on the occasion, and roused the Israelites in the adjacent provinces to immediate revolt. He seized the passes of the Jordan, and obtained a complete victory over the Moabish forces, which established the eastern part of Canaan in a peace of eighty years. Disconnected from those considerations which must always be preserved in recollection while reading the history of these and similar transactions, the conduct of Ehud can only be viewed with abhorrence; but if he acted under a commission from heaven, it admits of that vindication which we have already suggested with regard to the general conquest of Canaan.

To Ehud succeeded SHAMGAR, the son of Anath, Shamgar, but of what tribe is uncertain. As the Philistines insisted the western coasts by their perpetual incursions, he was raised up to repel their attacks, and keep them in constant check. It is recorded, that he slew six hundred of them with an ox-goad, or, as the Vulgate and the Septuagint render it, "a plough-share" which, whether it were accomplished on one occasion, or in the course of several interruptions, was sufficient to advance him to the distinction of a deliverer of Israel. The insignificance of his weapon proves that he must have possessed extraordinary dexterity and zeal, combined with incessant vigilance.

After the decease of Ehud, the Israelites again departed from God; and their disobedience and misconduct compelled their divine protector to subject them to similar discipline with that which had previously restored them to allegiance. Although the city of Hazor had been, at a former period, utterly consumed by Joshua, the Canaanites, it seems, availing themselves of the unsettled state of the country, had repaired thither and rebuilt it. Here Jabin, who assumed the more general designation of king of Canaan, had fixed his residence, and oppressed the people of Israel, who are described as "sold into his hand," during twenty years, i.e. from a.c. 1316 to a.c. 1296. He commanded a mighty armament, supported by nine hundred chariots of iron, which had diffused such consternation abroad, that many of the tribes were in a state of despair, and others were on the point of emigrating into distant countries. The Greeks were accustomed to fight in chariots, as we learn from Homer, and others. They were first adopted, probably, for the purpose of elevating the warrior, and thus enabling him to see the field and direct his course whither it might be most necessary, as well as for giving him an advantage in taking a surer aim with the bow, the sword, or the javelin; and they were especially adapted for speed, either for succour or flight. Those of the king of Canaan, under the command of Sisera, appear to have been constructed for strength, either to resist attack, or to break the ranks of opposing warriors. Thus the war-chariots of the ancient Britons were armed with scythes and other deadly instruments, turning with the wheels of the carriage, and driven with great fury; wherever they were impelled, such machines would become almost irresistible, mowing down whole files of men, and producing the most terrible slaughter.

Trade now perished, for no caravans dared to occupy

Samuel and the Judges

A. M.
2650.
B. C.
1354
Ehud.

A. M.
2708.
B. C.
1333.

A. M.
2688.
B. C.
1316.

A. M.
2650.
B. C.
1354.

Biography. the public roads, which were infested by banditti; the course of justice was miserably impeded in consequence of the difficulty of communication between the towns and districts; and the agricultural interests of the country were sacrificed to those apprehensions which were too justly entertained of the marauding enemy who pressed to the very gates of the fortified places.

Deborah.

A. M.

2708.

B. C.

1296.

Barak.

In this critical emergency, DEBORAH, a prophetess, was also a judge and ruler of several, if not of all the tribes of Israel. She is represented, in conformity with the simplicity of the times, as sitting under a palm-tree, between Rama and Bethel, in Mount Ephraim, to discharge the important duties of her station. As the supreme magistrate, she sent an authoritative message to Barak, the son of Abinoam, who resided in Kedesh-Naphtali, to collect forces from the tribes of Zebulun and Naphtali to the amount of ten thousand men, and repair immediately to Mount Tabor, assuring him of complete success in an expedition against the army of Canaan, under Sisera. This disclosure of the event, with which Deborah was of course acquainted by an immediate inspiration, was intended to dissipate those feelings of despondency, which had so long prevailed even in the pious part of the Israelitish community. Barak at first started an objection, amounting to a positive refusal to go, unless accompanied by the prophetess herself, which ought perhaps rather to be imputed to that modesty which is characteristic of eminent men, than to any disinclination to engage in the service of his country, or any feelings of jealousy against its present ruler. Deborah instantly replied in terms indicative of the heroism and energy of her mind, "I will surely go with thee;" and the forces of Israel were mustered under their joint inspection, to attempt the honourable service of breaking those fetters of bondage, in which their country had been so long confined. Sisera receiving intelligence of this arrangement, encamped with his nine hundred iron chariots, between Harosheth and the river Kishon. The numerical superiority of the enemy might well have excited a painful apprehension of the issue, had not full confidence in God inspired both the prophetess and her general with a courage suited to the occasion. Deborah seized the important moment, and urged Barak to put his chosen band of intrepid warriors in motion. They descended upon the foe like a thunderbolt of providence, and discomfited the three hundred thousand foot and ten thousand horse (such is the estimate of Josephus) which stretched along the circumjacent valley of Mount Tabor. So complete was the victory, that the Canaanitish general being reduced to the utmost extremity, alighted from his chariot, and defeated, dispirited, and alone, fled to the tent of a Kenite family in the neighbourhood, with which he was acquainted. Here he was welcomed by Jaël, the wife of Heber, who appeared to pay him every attention that a sympathizing hospitality demanded; and whom he implored to guard his slumbers at the door of the tent. He felt himself additionally secure, perhaps, from the custom of the country, which interdicted all strangers from entering the women's apartments. But no sooner was he in a sound sleep, than she seized upon a long tent-nail and a hammer, and softly approaching the couch of the fugitive, she struck the nail through his head and transfixed him to the ground. In this condition she presented him to the Hebrew general, with an exultation that is more than justified by the extraor-

inary eulogium pronounced upon the action in the song composed upon the occasion of this victory, by the prophetess who planned and accomplished it. The pursuit continued the whole of the day, and the river Kishon swelling to an unusual height, and overflowing its banks, swept away thousands; so that the very elements seemed ready to assist in promoting the Israelitish cause.

The north of Canaan was now emancipated from slavery for forty years, in which interval this perverse people returned to their ancient course of rebellion, and again provoked their supreme ruler to chastise them. During this period, we read of another messenger of vengeance. They were exposed to so distressing a famine, that multitudes were necessitated to remove from their country in quest of a foreign settlement, and among these Elimelech, a Bethlehemite, with his wife Naomi, and his two sons, who afterwards married two Moabitish women, Orpah and Ruth. Upon the decease of their husbands, Naomi, who was now a widow, returned to her home. She was accompanied by Ruth, Orpah having declined the journey after commencing it. The mother-in-law at length contrives an advantageous marriage of her daughter to Boaz, by whom she had Obed, the father of Jesse, and grandfather of David, through which line the Saviour of the world descended. The beautiful episode containing this story, has been thought worthy to form a distinct book of the Sacred Canon.

In consequence of the new departure of the children of Israel from God, the Midianites, in conjunction with the Amalekites, and other eastern nations, (probably the Ammonites and Moabites), were permitted to oppress them for seven years, driving them into the secret recesses of the mountains, and into the fortified places. It was in vain that they attempted to cultivate the fields, for the enemy rushed in upon them to gather the ripening harvest, covering the whole land like grasshoppers for multitude, and sweeping away every description of cattle. In this state of extreme impoverishment, they presented their earnest supplications to him whose ears were never shut against them, and whose strong arm never refused to undertake their defence. A prophet was dispatched to reprove them, but at the same time an angelic messenger arrived to provide for their deliverance. GIDEON, the son of Joash, the Abiesrite, was threshing wheat by the wine press for the purpose of concealing it from the Midianites, at the place of his residence, Ophrah, in the half tribe of Manasseh. The angel sat down under an oak, and in a familiar conversation intimated that the Lord had chosen him to the important service which the present exigencies of the Israelitish state demanded. Gideon expressed in reply, great despondency at the posture of public affairs, intimating that he was convinced they were abandoned to the merciless fury of their enemies, and that the age of miraculous interferences was past. The angel then gave him a solemn commission, accompanied with a promise of success; upon which a new difficulty arose: the good man considered himself perfectly disqualified for such an undertaking, and at the same time of too mean an extraction to be employed in so honourable a service. To this the only answer was, a preceptory command to undertake their deliverance, and an encouraging promise of divine support. Gideon expressed his wish to perform the usual rites of hos-

Samuel and the Judges.
A. M.
2708.
B. C.
1296.

Naomi and Ruth.

A. M.
2748.
B. C.
1256.

Gideon.
A. M.
2755.
B. C.
1249.

Jaël.

Jaël, the wife of Heber, who appeared to pay him every attention that a sympathizing hospitality demanded; and whom he implored to guard his slumbers at the door of the tent. He felt himself additionally secure, perhaps, from the custom of the country, which interdicted all strangers from entering the women's apartments. But no sooner was he in a sound sleep, than she seized upon a long tent-nail and a hammer, and softly approaching the couch of the fugitive, she struck the nail through his head and transfixed him to the ground. In this condition she presented him to the Hebrew general, with an exultation that is more than justified by the extraor-

Biography.

A. M.
2755.
B. C.
1249.

pitability, by spreading an entertainment before the stranger, to which he signified his assent. A kid was accordingly prepared with unleavened cakes, but the angel commanded him to place them upon a neighbouring rock, and pour out the broth: as soon as this was done, the celestial visitant touched the provisions with the end of a staff that was in his hand, and there arose fire out of the rock, which consumed it. The immediate disappearance of the instrument of this miracle, convinced the astonished Israelite of the true nature and design of this manifestation; and upon being induced to dismiss his apprehensions, by a voice from Heaven, he built an altar to the Lord upon the spot, demolishing the altar and the grove of Baal previously erected there, and offering sacrifices to the true God. The inhabitants of the city were prodigiously exasperated at this proceeding, and required Jotham to revenge the insult to their deity, upon his son. He, however, very properly suggested, that they had no need to interfere, for it belonged to Baal to maintain his own authority; which seems to have pacified these idolaters, and gave occasion to the new name of *Jerah-Baal* being conferred upon Gideon, which signifies "the opposer of Baal."

His conduct.

In the mean time the Midianites, and their allies from the east, assembled their forces and encamped in the valley of Jerzeel; intelligence of which no sooner reached Gideon, than he was instigated by a divine impulse, to summon by trumpet his own family and neighbourhood, and to despatch messengers to the tribes of Manasseh, Asher, Zebulun, and Naphtali, to unite in the common cause, and disengage themselves by one noble effort from their disgraceful servitude. With this they complied, and his army soon amounted to thirty-two thousand men, which, though very considerable under the circumstances, was disproportionate to the numbers of the enemy, who opposed him with a hundred and thirty-five thousand. Previously to the anticipated conflict, the Jewish leader solicited a divine manifestation to confirm his hopes, and inspire his soldiers. He placed a fleece of wool on the ground, which he requested might be wet with the dew of heaven, while the surrounding surface remained dry, and the next night reversed it, entreating that the fleece might be dry, while the ground was moist with dew. In both cases he was gratified, and all his apprehensions respecting the cessation of miracles removed.

This, however, was only the prelude to still greater interpositions. Gideon was informed by a divine intimation, that the army was too numerous; for daring the Theocracy, it was constantly made evident, that though an arm of flesh wielded the sword of war, success proceeded solely from the Omnipotent God; and he was required to issue a proclamation, that whoever was apprehensive of the result of the pending conflict, was at liberty to leave the camp, which occasioned the departure of two-and-twenty thousand. But as ten thousand still remained, and were still deemed too numerous, Gideon was ordered to take the soldiers to a certain water to drink, where he should decide by a certain intelligible signal upon the men who were to engage in the battle. Every one that lapped up the water with his tongue like a dog, was to be placed apart from the others who laid down to drink, the former of whom, amounting only to three hundred, were ultimately appointed to the arduous service. These three hundred chosen men were divided into three companies, with a trumpet in every man's

hand, and a lamp in an empty pitcher. While this arrangement was making, Gideon, by divine direction, took his servant, and went down to the Midianish camp, where he overheard a conversation between two soldiers, in which one was relating to the other a dream, which the latter interpreted as significant of the complete overthrow of their army. Returning to the camp, the general drew out his men, and advanced upon the Midianites at the commencement of the middle watch of the night; when suddenly breaking their pitchers, and sounding their trumpets, they exclaimed, "The sword of the Lord, and of Gideon!" This unusual sound and appearance at the dew of the night, spread instant consternation throughout the Midianish camp; every one smote his fellow, incapable of distinguishing each other in the darkness, and impelled to mutual slaughter by a spirit of insatiation from the Lord; and the whole host fled in different directions with the utmost precipitation. While Gideon warmly pursued them, he despatched messengers into Mount Ephraim, and the vicinity, requiring the adoption of measures to secure without delay the passes of the river Jordan, to intercept the enemy's retreat. Two Midianish princes, Oreb and Zeeb, soon fell into the hands of their pursuers, and were immediately decapitated.

Gideon, with his three hundred men, having crossed Jordan, "his faint, yet pursuing," applied to the towns of Succoth and Peniel, for a supply of provisions; but meeting with a refusal, he went forward, leaving only a threat of exercising upon them an exemplary retaliation at his return. The two kings of Midian, Zebah and Zalmunna, being at Karkor, with fifteen thousand of their own troops, and as many of their confederates as had survived this disastrous flight, the Israelite hero suddenly attacked and dispersed them, taking captive the kings. He hastened back in triumph to the two cities that had refused him provisions, and ridiculed his inferiority of force; the princes of Succoth he tore in pieces with thorns and briars; the inhabitants of Peniel he slew, and demolished their fortifications. As Zebah and Zalmunna had slain his brethren at Tabor, Gideon desired his son Jether to fall upon them; but his youthful timidity left the hero to execute his vengeance with his own hands. These instances of real induced the people to solicit his acceptance of the supreme authority, proposing to secure the succession to his posterity; his impression, however, of the true nature of that government under which they lived, and the guilt of usurping the divine dominion, led him at once to decline their offer, and to satisfy himself with merely taking the golden ear-rings, with the other ornaments and apparel of the Midianish sovereigns, and the chains with which their superstition, no less than their vanity, invested the necks of their camels. Of these materials, he formed an ephod, which he placed as a memorial of his successes in the city of Ophrah; but it afterwards proved a snare to his family, and to the tribes, who perverted it to idolatrous purposes. Gideon had many wives, by whom he had seventy sons, and one named Abimelech, by a concubine at Shechem. He had given so effectual a blow to the enemies of his country, that it enjoyed forty years of tranquillity during his administration, and he expired at Ophrah at an advanced age. But no sooner had they closed his sepulchre, than the Israelites revolted from God, addicted themselves to the worship of Baalberith,

Summit and the Judges.

A. M.
2755.
B. C.
1249.

Destruction of the Midianites.

Abimelech.

A. M.
2795.
B. C.
1209.

Biography.

A. M.
2795.
—
B. C.
1209.Jotham's
parable.

and superadded to their other impieties the basest ingratitude towards the family of their late deliverer.

At length Abimelech, full of ambitious projects, repaired to Shechem, where he obtained the interest of his family connections to support his claims to royalty; and after putting an effectual end to the rivalry of his seventy brethren, at Ophrah, by murdering them, with the single exception of Jotham, who contrived to escape, the fratricide returned to receive the dignity of king from a people who ought rather to have promoted him to a scaffold. As soon as Jotham was informed of this proceeding, he hastened in the top of Mount Gerizim, whence he overlooked Shechem, and addressed the inhabitants in a parable, descriptive of the great superiority of the modest Gideon above the vain aspirant whom their votes had elevated to royal power, comparing the one to a bramble, and the other to the olive tree. The parable of Jotham, the most ancient in the world, is also one of the greatest beauty. Its force, point, simplicity, adaptation to the feelings of the speaker, and the circumstances which had overwhelmed him with indignation, impart to it the most touching pathos. His glances at the services rendered by his father to an ungrateful people—the humility which had characterized him in his glorious career—the mean birth, the cruel qualities, and the boundless ambition of Abimelech—and concludes with a burst of indignant passion, calculated to move the most insensible heart. Antiquity, afterwards so fruitful in parables, can produce few things that equal, and none that surpass, this first specimen of figurative reproof and instruction.

Jotham's remonstrance, however, does not seem at the time to have produced any considerable effect; but at the expiration of three years, the sin of Abimelech began to find its punishment; his subjects became universally dissatisfied, and even formed a plan of assassination. One Gaal, the son of Elbed, at this crisis insinuated himself into their confidence, assumed a temporary government, protected their agricultural labours, and promoted by his example, that spirit of dissipation which accords with an unsettled and factious state of public affairs. In the absence of Abimelech, Zebul, who acted for him, communicated all that passed; the threats of Gaal and his companions, and the measures which they had already adopted, by fortifying the city, to exclude him for ever from the sovereignty. Abimelech hastened by forced marches all night, and invested the city in four companies. Gaal went out to meet him, but was soon defeated. The next day the attack was renewed: Zebul procured the expulsion of Gaal; Abimelech pressed into the gates, carried the place, and utterly destroyed it: the inhabitants perished miserably; a thousand of them were burned by the conqueror and his associates, in a fort belonging to the temple of their god, whether they had fled for refuge. The neighbouring town of Thebez having united in the revolt, Abimelech immediately assaulted and took it, hot the inhabitants endeavoured to secure themselves in a tower. He attempted to set this also on fire; but a woman cast a piece of millstone upon the head of Abimelech, which fractured his skull, so that he had only time to desire his armour-bearer to despatch him, that he might be saved from the dishonour of so ignominious a death. The Israelites instantly dispersed, and the civil commotion subsided.

TOLA, the son of Pniah, of the tribe of Issachar,

next succeeded to the government, which he held with ^{the Judges.} Samuel and seeming credit to himself during three-and-twenty years. After him JAIR, a Gileadite, judged Israel two-and-twenty years. He was intent upon the aggrandizement of his own family, and suffered the people to relapse into so corrupt a state, that there was not an idol of any neighboring nation which they did not worship: in consequence of which they were delivered up by providence to the power of the Philistines and the Ammonites.

Punishment, as on former occasions of a similar kind, restored them to their senses; and becoming deeply humbled for their transgressions, a new deliverer was raised up in the person of JEPHTHAH. He was the son of Gilead, by a concubine; and when his father was dead, the sons of his wife expelled him from their society, on the ground of his illegitimate birth, which disqualified him for a common inheritance. He accordingly took up his residence in the land of Tob, a place no where else mentioned, but probably situated near Gilead, at the entrance of Arabia Deserta. In process of time the Ammonites sought an occasion of war, and the Gileadites sent their chiefs to solicit Jephthah to head their forces. He at first reproached them for their past disrespectful treatment; but at length agreed to accept the command, upon condition of their engaging to confer the government upon him, in case of success. His first measure was to send an embassy to the king of Ammon, to demand an explanation of the cause of his hostility; to which an answer was returned, intimating his title to a land of which he had been unjustly deprived during the journey of the Israelites from Egypt: to which Jephthah replied, that the Amorites, who were the original proprietors of the country, had been dispossessed by the successful arms of his ancestors, in consequence of their refusal to allow the Israelites to pass through it; and that the right to the continued possession of what conquest had conferred upon them, and a conquest obtained under the special direction of heaven, had never been disputed, till his unwarrantable invasion, for the period of three hundred years. This negotiation was, however, closed by the determination of the king of Ammon at all events to prosecute the war. Jephthah, therefore, immediately made the necessary arrangements, under the direction of a supernatural influence; and, according to the religious custom of the times, pledged himself in a vow to God, that if he should be favoured with success, whatever came forth of the doors of his house to meet him upon his return, should be devoted to the Lord as a burnt-offering. His most sanguine expectations were speedily accomplished, in a complete victory over the enemy, with a general slaughter. Upon his return to his house at Mizpeh, to his inexpressible sorrow, his daughter, an only child, came out to meet him with those congratulations which from the nature of his vow must have awakened the deepest anguish; but whether to fulfil it he really sacrificed her, is an historical question, that has occasioned many and vehement disputations.*

* Although it is not possible here to recapitulate the various arguments adduced by opposite writers on this great question, we acknowledge ourselves disposed to submit to the judgment of our readers as our opinion, upon the whole, that she was not sacrificed, but consecrated. 1. Because such an offering would have been impious; human sacrifices being held up always in the scriptures as most abhorrent to God. 2. Because a provision was made in the

A. M.
2798.
—
B. C.
1206.Tob, Jair,
Ac.A. M.
2821.
—
B. C.
1183.A. M.
2843.
—
B. C.
1161.

Jephthah.

Biography.

A. M.
2861.
S. C.
1143.

After these transactions, a disturbance of a different nature, and quite unexpected, arose from the resentful feelings of the Ephraimites, and involved Jephthah in great embarrassment. They fancied themselves neglected in the summons which had been issued to unite against the late invaders of the country, and threatened to set his house on fire to revenge the insult. They had expressed a similar jealousy on a former occasion, and had been pacified; but now they were so perverse that Jephthah found it necessary to resort to arms; and, having conquered them in battle, he took possession of the passes of Jordan, whither if any one came, and they discovered him to be an Ephraimite, which was ascertained by his pronunciation of the word *Shiloheth*, he was slain. On this fatal day forty-two thousand perished. Thus, after an honourable administration of public affairs for six years, Jephthah died, and was buried in one of the cities of Gilead.

A. M.
2867.S. C.
1137.Dean, Elton,
and Abdon.

Of his next three successors, *ISAX* of Bethlehem, who judged Israel seven years, *ELOX*, a Zebulonite, who held the government ten years, and *ABDON*, the son of Hillel, a Pirathonite, who ruled eight years, nothing remarkable is recorded, excepting that the first and the last had numerous families.

A. M.
2892.S. C.
1112.

It is again said of the Israelites, that they "did evil in the sight of the Lord;" and in consequence of this defection, they were delivered up to the oppression of the Philistines forty years; for although these enemies were very inconsiderable in point of numbers, in comparison with the Hebrew nation, having only five cities of any magnitude, yet were they the appointed scourge of the rebellious people of God, who determined to display his interposing authority and providence, by the feebleness of the human agent employed to execute his purposes of punishment, as well as by the grandeur of his miraculous manifestations in dispensing victory, to Israel. Once more a person of a singular character was raised up to effect a new deliverance. The circumstances of his birth, the course of his life, and the manner of his death, were all extraordinary. *SAMSON* was the son of *Manoah*, a Danite, whose wife was assured by a celestial visitant, that the barrenness which had so long occasioned her very painful anxieties, should be removed; and as it was the divine intention to bestow a child upon them, he gave directions respecting her own mode of living, which was to be abstemious, and the consecration of her future son as a *Nazarite* from the womb; a term applied to those who were separated, either voluntarily or by their parents, to a life of mortification and hardship, with a view to

Samson.

accomplish some important design. She hastened to communicate the pleasing intelligence to her husband, who entreated God to permit the return of the messenger, whom he supposed to be an ordinary prophet; but his second visit was to his wife, in the solitude of the field. She immediately went in search of *Manoah*, to whom the same injunctions were repeated with those which had been previously given to his partner; after which the truth of the prediction, and the real character of the stranger, were attested by a miraculous disappearance in the flame of a meat-offering.

Samson, the son of this pious pair, gave frequent indications of his martial spirit in his youth, and is expressly said to have been blessed by the Lord, and at times moved by his Spirit. (*Judges* xiii. 24, 25.) At a maturer age he fell in love with a Philistine woman at Timnath, from a connection with whom his parents in vain endeavoured to dissuade him, ignorant at the time that this was a secret arrangement of Providence to accomplish important purposes. Their objections, however, soon yielded to parental fondness, and they accompanied him to Timnath, in order to negotiate the projected union. On the journey he had an opportunity of displaying his strength and heroism, by destroying a lion; though it was done in some bye-path into which he had turned, and for the present he concealed the exploit from his parents. Upon his return some time afterwards to consummate the marriage, he found a swarm of bees and honey in the carcase of the lion; for though, as naturalists have observed, these insects are averse to flesh, and to any offensive smell, it is easy to believe that in so sultry a climate the moisture was quickly exhaled from the carcase, leaving nothing but a dry skeleton, on which the bees settled. He took the honey, and shared it with his father and mother, without informing them how he had obtained it. A few days afterwards, at the wedding-feast at Timnath, where thirty youths had been invited to do him honour, he proposed a riddle in these words, "Out of the eater came forth meat, and out of the strong came forth sweetness," which they could only explain, after seven days of vain conjecture, by forcibly obtaining the secret from the bride. He had of course to pay the forfeit, which he had himself appointed, of thirty sheets and thirty suits of clothes; but to procure them he repaired to Askelon, where he slew thirty men; an action which cannot be even plausibly defended, excepting on the ground of a divine impulse prompting him to hostilities against the Philistines, and thus assiduously maintaining the prerogatives of the Theocracy. The treachery of his wife, however, induced him to leave her, though without any formal divorce. Soon afterwards he took a kid as a present, and went to seek a reconciliation with his wife; but being denied admittance to her chamber by her father, who informed him that she had been given to one of his companions during his absence, he sternly refused the offer of her firmer sister, and prepared to resent the injury upon the Philistines, whom he regarded as the secret contrivers of his misfortune. Having procured about three hundred foxes, or jackals, he fastened them tail to tail in couples, with a lighted firebrand between, and turned them into the corn-fields, which they set on fire, with the vines and olive-trees. This singular act of *Samson* will remind the classical reader of a feat observed by the Romans, and mentioned by Ovid, to which it would be difficult to assign any other origin,

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the Judges.A. M.
2863.
S. C.
1141.His first ex-
ploits.

Jewish law for the redemption of that which was not suitable for a burnt-offering, at a price expressly stipulated in the law. 3. Because the original text does not require any such conclusion; the Hebrew particle *u* signifying *or*, as well as *and*: *Jephthah's* vow will then read, "It shall surely be the Lord's; or, I will offer it up for a burnt-offering." I. e. supposing it to be a victim fit for sacrifice, otherwise it shall be devoted by consecration. Nor does the story affirm the sacrifice, every subsequent part of it stating only that he did "according to his vow." 4. Because her desire to break her virginity, and the visits of the daughters of Israel seasonally, appear best to accord with this representation—the same word, which is rendered to lament her, being capable of the translation to mourn with her. The Fathers, indeed, take the other side of the question. There can be no doubt that the story of the sacrifice of *Isidore* originated here; and it is remarkable, that several of the learned writers who relate it, represent the goddess *Diana* (the patroness of virginity) as interposing and preventing the execution of so horrid a purpose.

Destruction
of the corn
of the Phil-
istines.

Biography. It was held in April, the time of the Jewish harvest; and one ceremony was, to let loose foxes with torches tied to their tails.

A. M.
2883.
—
B. C.
1141.

*Cor ignis miser vinctis ardentia iudis
Tergis ferant vulpes, caussa decemda iudis.*

Orid. Fant. lib. iv. l. 691.

As soon as the Philistines discovered the author of this mischief, they burned his father-in-law and wife in the house, which only provoked him to fresh and eager resentment. Great numbers of them were slain by his hand, when he retreated to the rock Etam, in the tribe of Judah, and took up his residence on its summit; but the Philistines being determined to avenge themselves, collected a considerable force, and demanded of the people that they should deliver up Samson. Willing to comply, probably from an apprehension of the consequences of a refusal, they sent three thousand men, first to expostulate, and then to seize upon him. He readily yielded himself up, on condition that they should not personally interfere in the present quarrel; accordingly he was bound with two new cords, and taken to the Philistine encampment. They began to exult; when a divine impulse invigorated his nerves, and snapping the cords asunder, he snatched up the jaw-bone of an ass, and levelled a thousand men with the dust. His exhausted spirits were recruited after the action by a miraculous supply of water in answer to his prayer.

A. M.
2884.
—
B. C.
1120.

*Carries
away the
gates of
Gaza.*

After a repulse so dispiriting to the enemy, the Israelitish hero did not scruple to venture into Gaza, one of their cities, and lodge in a house of public entertainment. A guard was immediately placed round the house and at the city gates to prevent his escape; but he rose at midnight and carried off the gates, posts, bars, and chains, to the top of a hill, near or in sight of Hebron: the distance between the two places was no less than twenty miles. The guards, who did not interrupt him, were probably paralyzed with astonishment at this extraordinary, and, to every appearance, superhuman action.

The next adventure exhibits Samson in a very unfavourable light. He attached himself to a woman, named Delilah, who lived in the vale of Sorek, a place celebrated for its choice wines, and in the immediate vicinity of Eschel, whence the Israelitish spies formerly brought the luxuriant saps of grapes. Some of the Fathers maintain that this was a legal marriage, but with too little probability; no illusion being made in scripture history to any such contract, and there being nothing in the whole conduct of either to justify any other conclusion, than that she was a mercenary prostitute, and he her infatuated captive. The five Philistine princes were not a little gratified to hear of this amour, expecting that by dextrous management they might render it subservient to their hostility against Samson. They immediately offered the woman a large bribe of eleven hundred pieces of silver each, or five thousand five hundred shekels in the whole, upon condition of her ascertaining from him the source of his extraordinary strength, and how it might be contraverted. He at first amused her with the assurance that if he were bound with seven green *vitis* (probably the flexible branches of vines, which are very tough), he should become as weak as another man. This experiment was soon tried; but the Philistines found themselves deceived, for he broke them as soon as he was attacked. Next, pretending that new ropes

which had never been used would fully accomplish the purpose of enfeebling him, he suffered himself to be bound; but when they would have seized him, he snapped them as before. A third time he deceived Delilah and his enemies, by directing her to weave the seven locks of his hair, with the web, into tresses; but he awoke out of sleep, and went away with the pin of the beam and web, or the whole machinery of the loom.

At length, by incessant importunity, this crafty woman obtained the important secret that his strength lay in the preservation of his hair.* He stated to her that, having been a Nazirite from his conception, no razor had touched his hair; but that if deprived of this ornament and glory, which was also the sign of his obedience to the laws of Nazariteship, upon which divine aid depended, he should certainly be enfeebled. Upon this she despatched a message in all haste to the lords of the Philistines, who deposited in her hand the price of her treachery; and when she had cut off his hair as he lay asleep upon her lap, the Philistines took him, put out his eyes, bound him with fetters of brass, and, having carried him to Gaza, compelled him to do the work of a slave in a prison. In this ignominious condition he continued for some time, till on a certain occasion the Philistines assembled in great multitudes to offer a sacrifice and keep a feast in honour of Dagon, their god, to whom they attributed their success in securing the detested Israelite. In the midst of the festivity, and with a view to enhance its pleasures, they thought of sending for Samson, that they might indulge the dastard spirit of ridicule over a humbled enemy. But their sport was soon terminated by an unexpected calamity; for having requested the lad that he led him about, to allow him a little respite by reclining against one of the two pillars which supported the building, Samson uttered a fervent petition to heaven for strength to be avenged on the Philistines, and grasping firmly both the pillars, the one with his right hand, and the other with his left, he pulled them from their positions, and buried himself with three thousand persons, including the Philistine princes, in one mighty ruin. Thus ended the exploits of twenty years. It is not easy to determine what was the shape of the building in which the lords of the Philistines, and these immense multitudes of spectators were assembled, or to what purposes it was usually devoted. But it is evident that ancient structures frequently depended much, or wholly, upon a single pillar or stone; the whole strength of this building, for instance, rested upon the two pillars supporting the roof. A similar stress must be supposed, in other cases, upon the corner-stone (like the key-stone of the arch) to which such frequent allusion is made in the scriptures; it is said that a theatre of Rome, capable of holding many thousands of spectators, was so constructed as to depend upon a single pivot; and hence Cato expressed his astonishment at the folly and rashness of the Roman people, who would trust themselves in a building, wherein, if a single hinge gave way, more lives would be lost than were

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the Judges*
A. M.
2884.
—
B. C.
1120.

*Samson is
taken by the
Philistines.*

* — *Alcithoe, quam Nixus habet; cui splendoris extra
Inter laboratos medio de vertice casus
Crisis inheret, aequali fœdera regni.*
— *Tullianus turbarum paucos
Invenit; ei (hæc facinus!) statim nata parentem
Crisis totum spoliat.*

Orid. Metam. lib. viii. l. 10 et 63—86.

Biography. sacrificed in the battle of Cannæ. His relations now fetched home Samson's remains, which were yielded without hesitation in the universal panic, to give them an honourable interment in his father's sepulchre.

A. M.

2884.

B. C.

1120.

Eli.

During the entire life of Samson, and after his death, the Israelites were in a state of general subjection to their enemies; and in what sense Samson is denominated a *judge* is not very obvious: not certainly as a civil magistrate, but probably as exercising a defensive power in behalf of the Israelites, against the exactions and insolence of their oppressors. As from the very nature of their office, the judges were not so much regular governors, as extraordinary protectors raised up and invested with a divine commission, for the purposes of occasional interference to effect reformation, or to afford a defence, we are not to be surprised that Eli, who is usually ranked in the order of succession next to Samson, should, however, be rather considered as supreme in the state during the period in which the latter performed his exploits. But although for forty years he united in himself the two principal civil and ecclesiastical functions, and though in some respects he was highly estimable, his history, as given in Scripture, consists only of a few fragments, interspersed through the more important life of his successor, SAMUEL; and in a similar manner we shall interweave it in our narrative, rather than aim to give it a very distinct prominence.

Hannah and Elkanah.

It was at the time when Eli was presiding as high priest at Shiloh, that Hannah, the wife of Elkanah, a Levite, and an inhabitant of Ramah, having gone to the usual sacrificial festival at Shiloh, availed herself of an opportunity of "pouring out her soul before God" at the tabernacle; requesting the removal of the reproach which she daily suffered from Peinnah, her copartner in the embraces, though far her inferior in the affections of Elkanah, by the bestowal of a son. The fervent, yet silent manner of her appeal induced Eli to mistake her emotions for intoxication, with which he most precipitately accused her, but upon the circumstance being explained, he as readily retracted, and changed the language of uncharitableness into that of benediction. The acceptance of Hannah's prayer was at length corroborated in the birth of a child, whom her piety and gratitude concurred to name SAMUEL, that is "asked of God." Having been devoted as a Nazirite from his infancy, he was no sooner weaned, than his parents presented him to Eli for the service of the tabernacle, by whom he was invested with the distinguishing ephod.

A. M.

2833.

B. C.

1171.

Samuel.

The extraordinary character of Samuel soon began to be developed, in a commission which he received immediately from Heaven, to denounce its displeasure against Eli, for his criminal remissness with regard to his two sons, Hophni and Phinehas, whose libertine baseness was severely reprov'd, and not at all restrained by parental authority. The spirit of the aged priest upon the occasion, demands notice, and deserves imitation; "It is the Lord" he exclaimed, "let him do what seemeth him good." The appearance of a prophet like Samuel in this period of suspended revelations, awakening in the bosoms of the almost desponding Israelites the liveliest anticipations, they immediately adopted measures to disenthral themselves from Philistine subjugation; but they were defeated with the loss of four thousand men. As they imputed this disaster to the

absence of the ark, it was fetched into the camp amidst great exultations, but a second overthrow involved the loss of thirty thousand foot (among whom were Hophni and Phinehas), and above all of the ark, which the enemy captured; intelligence of which latter calamity being suddenly communicated to Eli, he fell backwards "and his neck brake, and he died." The Philistines had but little cause to triumph in the captivity of the ark. This sacred possession was carried into the temple of Dagon, to whom they ascribed their victory; and the priests, upon entering the national shrine, the next morning, found their god fallen to the ground before the ark. Imputing this circumstance to accident, they again set up the statue. The following day, the image was discovered again fallen, and the head and hands broken upon the threshold of his own temple, so as to leave the trunk only remaining. The people themselves were smitten with grievous bodily diseases, which pursued them from city to city, wherever they transported the ark, until they restored it, with commemorative offerings, to the Israelites. Dagon is described by the sacred historian as being human in the upper part of his figure: in the lower, he is supposed, upon authorities too numerous to cite, to have been in the shape of a fish.

The captivity of the ark, and the consequent suspension of the public services at Shiloh, tended to the increasing debasement and degeneration of the people, which only stimulated our eminent prophet and ruler to exert his energies to accomplish a general reformation, by whose means an assembly was at length convened at Mizpel, for the purpose of publicly renouncing their sins, and returning to God by fasting, humiliation, sacrifice, and prayer. This solemnity excited the apprehensions of their enemies, who accordingly determined upon frustrating their plans, by coming suddenly upon them; but as their repentance was sincere, and their consequent reconciliation to offended goodness immediate, the Supreme Being declared himself in their favour after Samuel's sacrifice and intercession; the Philistines were panic-struck by a tremendous thunder-storm, and by their flight and dispersion enabled the pursuing Israelites ultimately to dictate terms of peace: in commemoration of which deliverance, Samuel erected a monumental memorial, which he called *Ebenzer*, or "the stone of help."

While victory had now rendered the Israelites secure from external attacks, the proper administration of justice, by their illustrious governor, conferred upon them internal prosperity and happiness. Samuel exercised his judicial authority with evident advantage to all classes of the community, and by annual circuits took upon himself the inspection and regulation of civil affairs. He moreover erected a public altar of worship, as the best substitution for the deserted ordinances of Shiloh; and to him have been ascribed those institutions which were called the *schools of the prophets*, of which we cannot at this distance of time of the prophets collect any very exact information. They appear to have been originally established in the cities of the Levites, which were diffused through the different tribes for the sake of facilitating the plan of general instruction. In these seminaries the prophets devoted themselves to the study of the law, were taught the art of psalmody, and awaited the call into public life under the superintendence of one of the same

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A. M.

2863.

B. C.

1141.

Samuel re-
spected to as
a prophet.The schools
of the proph-
ets.

class, venerable for wisdom or years. Age, however, relaxed the vigour of his administration; and Samuel, in consequence of appointing his two sons, Joel and Abiah, to execute his office, soon found, by the complaints of the elders, that he had devolved it into unworthy hands. He was in consequence solicited to appoint a king over them, that they might enjoy a similar form of government to that of other nations. This was no doubt an offensive request to Samuel, as it was an impious and ungrateful one toward their supreme Lord and benefactor. He at once, therefore, applied to God, in the exigency, who directed him to comply with their desires, after a solemn protest against their proceedings.

The introduction of SAUL, the son of Kish, to Samuel, and the several circumstances which attended his election to royalty, furnish remarkable illustrations of the ever active agency of providence; controlling every seeming casualty, and subordinating to its plans the most trifling coincidences. Saul and his servant were dispatched in pursuit of his father's asses, which had strayed from home; and having arrived at Ramah, at the instigation of the latter, Samuel was inquired after for information respecting them. The prophet had been already prepared for the visit, and instructed how to act, by a divine intimation. Treating him accordingly with marked distinction and respect, he first held a conference with Saul in the evening, probably to explain the secret designs of providence, and in the ensuing morning, after sending the servant to a proper distance, proceeded to anoint him the future king of Israel, giving him prophetic information of some other events in which he would be personally interested. This appointment, it must be remarked, was now only a private transaction, but calculated to satisfy him with regard to the divine decision of the lot by which he was subsequently chosen at Mizpeh. To that place, whither the ark was conducted, Samuel convened the people; and when the lot was cast, which successively pointed to the tribe of Benjamin, the family of Matri, and the person of Saul, his majestic appearance so well seconded the commendatory speech of Samuel, that he at once gained, with few exceptions, the universal attachment. He very soon signalized himself by rendering prompt and effectual succour to the inhabitants of Jabesh-Gilead, who were besieged by the Ammonites, and on the very point of a surrender; a victory which, by enhancing his fame, gave him a triumph over his secret enemies. A general meeting was accordingly called by Samuel, at Gilgal, where the election of Saul was confirmed, with the accompaniment of public sacrifices and rejoicings. Having now wholly to resign the government into the hands of the person he had himself anointed for the office, Samuel concluded his more public life by an oration, truly characteristic of his integrity of principle and his piety of mind. He challenged the people to produce any instances of perdition or iniquity during his administration; recapitulated some of the facts of their past history, which were illustrative of the consequences of disobedience, and intimated the impropriety of their conduct in desiring a king; appealing to a miraculous attestation of the displeasure of God, by calling for a thunder-storm in that season of wheat-harvest, when it was so unusual; suggesting at the same time the goodness of God in determining not

to forsake them if they did not finally renounce his authority.

In the second year of Saul's reign, hostilities were renewed against the Philistines. The king having repaired to Gilgal, waited with impatience for Samuel to assist in presenting burnt-offerings, till at length, on the seventh day, the services were ordered to proceed before his arrival; which occasioned a severe rebuke from the prophet, and an assurance that his precipitation would ultimately prove subversive of his dominion. Shortly after this, another instance of Saul's disobedience occurred; he was commanded by God through Samuel, to destroy utterly the nation of the Amalekites, but under the pretence of offering sacrifice he spared the most valuable portion of the spoil, together with Agag, their king. This produced a severe remonstrance from Samuel, who turned abruptly away from his excuses; and when Saul seized his garment, which rent in his hands, Samuel took occasion to declare, that the Lord had rent the kingdom of Israel from him, and had bestowed it upon another. The king's urgent solicitations, however, induced at length a compliance with his wish that Samuel would join him in a public act of worship; after which, the prophet slew Agag, and departed to Ramah, never more to hold any personal communication with Saul.

Still, however, he retained an affection for the king, and long, and deeply lamented his misconduct; till he was roused from unavailing grief by a message from heaven, desiring him to go to Bethlehem, and bestow the royal unction upon DAVID his distinguished successor, to whom we devote a subsequent article.

After the lapse of a few years from this period, in which David was encountering the relentless malignity of Saul, we find Samuel still at Ramah, and accompanying David to Naioth, a school of the prophets, as a temporary asylum, where the scripture narrative of his life closes.

Samuel died about four years before Saul, upwards of ninety years of age, and in the year of the world 2944, deeply lamented by the whole nation. His remains were interred at Ramah, the place of his usual residence; but afterwards they are said to have been removed to Constantinople, in the reign of the emperor Arcadius. Jerome states that they were conveyed in a golden vessel, wrapped up in silk.

Samuel was a character unquestionably of the very first class; of irreproachable integrity, undaunted fortitude, unabating zeal, unaffected and unblemished piety; sincere as a friend, gentle as a man, virtuous as a judge, and bold as a prophet. In the Chronicles, he is stated to have assisted in distributing the Levites appointed by David for the temple service, and as having enriched the tabernacle by spoils taken from the enemies of Israel. He is said also to have written the history of David, in conjunction with the prophets Nathan and Gad, which, of course, can be understood only of his early transactions. The first twenty chapters of the first book that appears under his name, are with the utmost probability ascribed to him by the Talmudists; and he was the first in the broken chain of prophets, that extended to the days of Malachi, and that "foretold," according to the testimony of St. Peter (Acts, ch. iii. v. 24.), "of the final establishment and triumphs of Christianity."

Chosen by lot.

Samuel resigns the government, and exerts his integrity.

Samuel and the Judges.

A. M.
2941.
B. C.
1093.

A. M.
2917.
B. C.
1087.

Rebukes from Samuel, who turned abruptly away from his excuses; and when Saul seized his garment, which rent in his hands, Samuel took occasion to declare, that the Lord had rent the kingdom of Israel from him, and had bestowed it upon another.

Quits him finally.

A. M.
2941.
B. C.
1063.

A. M.
2942.
B. C.
1062.

A. M.
2944.
B. C.
1060.
Died.

DAVID.

BORN, A. M. 2919; B. C. 1085.

DIED, A. M. 2989; B. C. 1015.

Biography. DAVID, the prince and poet of the Jews, during one of the most prominent and most glorious periods of their history, was the first of the Jewish kings, who fully united the choice of God and man in his claims to the throne; and is the first monarch of antiquity of whose reign we possess any authentic details. He is introduced to us, by the scriptural narrative, in his youth, as early as any indications of his future greatness can well be supposed to have appeared, and he remains with us to his latest age. Perhaps he is that monarch in the history of the world of whose public and private character we possess the most complete and finished portrait.

The pretensions which have been urged by almost every nation of the globe to the honour of having once been divinely governed, were more than realized in the history of the ancient Israelites. The God of all the earth assumed the immediate direction of their affairs for several centuries, was consulted by their chiefs upon every important occasion, and suffered nothing of public consequence to be transacted without his direct commission. But when their capricious and idolatrous dispositions had broken down all the great moral distinctions between the surrounding nations and themselves, they felt that to be a restriction which God meant for a privilege; and as the chief design in the introduction of the THEOCRACY, that of a long-continued recognition of the *Unity of God* in their early history, had been accomplished, God granted them, in the first instance, a monarch of their own character, in the person of SAUL; and finally over-ruled and settled the change of their government, in subservience to his own purposes, under the administration of DAVID.

His birth and family.

This prince was born in the year of the world 2919, at the close of 406 years after the Exodus of his countrymen from Egypt, and was the son of Jesse, the son of Obed, the immediate offspring of the interesting Ruth. Of his earliest days we have no distinct account; but at the period of his first introduction into public life, and while very young, we have a remarkable character of him, from the court of his rival Saul, "as a mighty valiant man, a man of war, prudent in matters," and of an eminently pious disposition.* He was "comely in his person" too, we learn from the same authority, and accomplished in his manners. The interesting scene in which we first meet with him at Bethlehem, though singularly contrasted with the character thus given of him, is no more a necessary contradiction to it than Samuel's continued grief at the rejection of King Saul was a proof of his indulging any sense of injustice in that measure. For when David must have attained to about the 22d year of his age, this venerable prophet was directed to go to Bethlehem, where Jesse and his family resided; amongst whom, he was informed, God would intimate to him His choice of a future king; an errand toward

which Samuel manifested unusual reluctance. As an appropriate introduction to his commission, and an effectual security against his fears of Saul's interference, he was, therefore, commanded to call the town to a sacrifice, and especially to invite David's father and his brethren. Some have considered this circumstance as encouraging a MERE pretence of divine worship to accomplish ulterior and inconsistent views; or, at the least, to allow such a pretence as a cover for other and distinct objects. We presume that it is not fairly susceptible of either construction. That Samuel might not have received it as a part of his commission to call the family and neighbourhood to so suitable a service prior to the actual anointing of God's future servant, had he expressed so unwillingness towards that commission, is by no means to be gathered from the Scripture account; nor that, admitting it to be an expedient for his unwillingness, it was in any way inconsistent with one of the most eminent peculiarities of the Jewish church, reconciliation to God's will by sacrifice; while in the occurrences, as they actually stand narrated, an union of great interest and solemnity will be excited in every well-ordered mind. Jesse's sons passed in succession before Samuel. When he saw the eldest, a man of fine personal appearance, impressed forcibly, it is probable, with his similarity in this respect to Saul, "Surely," said he, silently, "the Lord's anointed is before him." A disclaimer of this construction, invaluable as a general principle of the ways of God, was immediately given—"Look not on his countenance, nor on the height of his stature, because I have refused him; for the Lord seeth not as man seeth; for man looketh on the outward appearance, but the Lord looketh at the heart." A like intimation was afforded respecting all the other sons present—"Neither hath the Lord chosen this." Samuel, who appears to have been brought into the house of this remarkable family, after the worship, and just prior to this scene, was now somewhat perplexed; until finding, on enquiry, that the youngest son of all was with the sheep in the field, he requested him to be sent for, and DAVID appeared. "He was ruddy, and of a beautiful countenance," says the inspired penman, which would evidently imply, in connection with the preceding narrative, that he possessed the rare junction of personal and mental excellence, for which the prophet had looked in vain in his predecessor Saul. "Arise, anoint him," said the Divine impulse now; "for THIS is he." Then, in the presence of David, all his relations, Samuel poured the anointing oil on David's head; the last public act of that prophet's life—and hastened home to his house at Ramath.

To what extent either David or his family were apprized by Samuel of the meaning of this ceremony, it might be difficult to ascertain. Beyond the limits of the household, the event itself was not known, as the scripture narrative would seem to intimate; and Josephus states, that the flattering secret connected with

David,
A. M.
2941.
B. C.
1063.
Samuel's journey to Bethlehem.

Anointing of David.

* 1 Sam. xvi. 18.

Biography. it was whispered only to David and to Jesse, while some writers * have conjectured that as it was usual to anoint men to the office of prophet, as well as to the regal dignity, Samuel might possibly leave the family to conjecture that the former was the designation of David. Certain it is that as immediate change of condition followed this circumstance. Though the dynasty of the most distinguished throne on earth was thus silently changed, and a peculiar blessing from God immediately followed this consecration; † (as a peculiar providence doubtless watched over the steps of David), he returned to the same honourable but unpretending obscurity in which his character had hitherto been formed; and his mercies and his merits, like the subterraneous courses of some of the noblest rivers, were destined to find their way to public notice through obstructed and unexpected channels.

David summoned to the court of Saul. Shortly after these interesting occurrences, a mysterious illness of the reigning monarch, Saul, induced the specious proposition from one of his courtiers, of sending for some skilful player on the harp to alleviate his depression. With this proposal he gave the early character of David, to which we have before alluded, and which instantly caused him to be summoned to the court. This is not the place to discuss the nature of the royal malady, nor the force of the constraint under which it is placed with the rising dispositions of David. Neither ancient nor modern times are without instances of a nervous temperament that would correspond with many indications of this disease, nor of the cheering triumphs of a growing piety that could always accomplish wonders with the harp of David. Goliath and irreligion, too, with their usual associates, perverseness, discontent, jealousy, and cruelty, have in all ages produced similar effects: Charles IX. of France, according to the testimony of Thuaus, had his symphony of singing boys to compose him to sleep after the massacre of St. Bartholemew's day; to say nothing of the awful and incontrovertible connection of man with the world of spirits. ‡ David fully answered the description of his equity friend:—he was at once the poet and the musician, designed for such a scene; and soon attracted to himself the notice and distinguished favour of Saul, who "loved him greatly," made him his armour-bearer, or one of his body-guards; and expressed a wish to his father Jesse that he should remain about his person until his disorder was completely removed. After this event, which does not appear to have embraced any considerable period of

His musical talents.

* The authors of the Universal History, vol. ii. p. 376. Note D, &c.

† 1 Samuel xiv. 14.

‡ 1h.

§ Josephus describes these paroxysms as "some strange and demoniacal disorders, which brought him such afflictions as were ready to choke him;" and calls David "the only physician against the trouble he had from the demons, whenever it was that his passion came upon him, and this by reciting of hymns, and playing upon the harp, and bringing Saul to his right mind again." Josephus, Ant. 1. vi. c. 8. *Αυτον οντος σπουδης ην εδωκεν εν τοις σωματι. Critique are very much at variance as to the true nature of the malady; that it was some species of madness, however produced, is the only point that has been generally conceded. The rest of the question seems fairly to belong to the general controversy on the Demonology of the ancients, upon which the reader may consult CUPERUS on the *Causes*, Preliminary Dissertation; the various works of FABRUS on this subject; JUSTIN on Ecclesiastical History; FELL's *Essay on Demons*, &c. "All authors," as Patrick says, "are full of the powers of music, both to stir up passions and to slay them."*

David. time, we find David, whether from the enviousness of royal favour, or the entreaties of the parent, who now "went amongst men for an old man," returning to the care of his father's flock; again, and finally, to be called forth to very different scenes.

The Philistines, the ancient enemies of Israel, having recovered from a late signal defeat by the band of Jonathan, and encouraged probably by the rumours of Saul's incapacity to oppose them, had advanced to the neighbourhood of Shochoh, to the tribe of Judah; and on the appearance of the Israelitish army, under that monarch, finally encamped on the side of a hill in Ephes-dammim, between Shochoh and Azekah. To the adjacent valley of Elah, Saul had summoned all the strength of the tribes, and three of the brethren of David were included in this army. On the part of the enemy appeared a man of extraordinary stature and strength, Goliath of Gath, proposing to decide by single combat the whole fate of the war. His accomplishments were more than any other man could have sustained, and Josephus represents him as followed "by many," for the purpose of bringing them into the field. The honourable distinction of an armour-bearer carrying his shield, indicated perhaps both his illustrious birth,* and the importance which the Philistines attached to his services; while his daily appearance between the two armies, renewing his defiance of the Israelites, filled the latter with overwhelming dismay. Goliath had repeated his vaunts for the fortieth time, and the forces of Saul were pouring forth from their trenches to a desperate struggle, when David approached the confines of the camp, on an errand of kindness from Jesse to his sons; and, in the midst of their conference, overheard the challenge. The Israelites fell back, but the courage and piety of David were equally roused to enquire into the nature of this champion's offer, the manner in which it was regarded by the king, and the unaccountable forgetfulness of his countrymen, that theirs were the armies of the living God. Replying mildly to the supercilious interrogatories of his brother Eliah, "Why comest thou down hither, and with whom hast thou left those few sheep in the wilderness?" (which these active enquiries had excited): he hesitated not to offer himself in the presence of the king as the antagonist of the gigantic enemy. Saul was as surprised as his brethren had been displeased, but David was cool and determined; he assayed, with equal boldness and simplicity, his past success in the most unequal conflicts, as the ground of his present confidence, and inspired the faint heart of Saul with such emotions of exalted trust in God, that after some slight expostulation with him respecting his youth, and his ignorance of the art of war, he could conclude the conference, with no other reply than "Go! and Jehovah be with thee." The personal armour of the king was now offered to David; but having equipped himself with it, and girded on the sword, the youthful hero was encumbered, and with modest firmness declined to use them. He selected from the valley five smooth stones, which he carried in

* Thus Alexander, according to Arrian, had the shield taken out of the temple of Trojan Pallas, to be borne before him in all his battles. Some writers have assigned to Goliath two shields, the one to be carried before him for attack, the other for actual use. Patrick, after Fortunatus Scarchus, suggests that the weight of his coat of mail, "a five thousand shekels of brass," might relate, after all, to its value, rather than to its bulk.

Biography. his shepherd's bag, or scrip; and with his staff and sling alone in his hand, advanced to meet Goliath. Their first salutation, and the short conference that ensued, were, perhaps, as memorable as the result. Understanding, by this time, that some Israelitish champion was preparing to come forth, Goliath advanced in all the pomp and circumstance of war; and having assured himself that David was his real opponent, "disdained him," we are told, with the most indignant contempt. In ridicule of his shepherd-like appointments, he asks "Am I a dog, that thou comest to me with staves?" and having cursed him by all the gods of his country, vows to give him, without effort, to destruction. "Come to me," said he, "and I will give thee to the fowls of the air and the beasts of the field." David's reply was full of the dignity, the piety, and the large-hearted views that animated his whole life and character. "Thou comest to me with a sword, and with a spear, and with a shield; but I come to thee in the name of Jehovah of Hosts, the God of the armies of Israel, whom thou hast defied. This day will Jehovah deliver thee into mine hand; and I will smite thee, and take thy head from thee; and I will give the carcasses of the hosts of the Philistines this day unto the fowls of the air and to the wild beasts of the earth; that all the earth may know that there is a God in Israel. And all this assembly shall know that Jehovah saveth not with sword and spear: for the battle is Jehovah's, and he will give it into our hands." He now instantly placed one of his stones in the sling, and springing forward to meet his gigantic foe, at one happy effort, he wounded him mortally in the forehead, and Goliath fell prostrate on the earth. Advancing with equal spirit up to the fallen carcass, David proceeded to the fulfilment of his previous declaration, by cutting off Goliath's head with his own sword; and while he was ushered into the tent of Saul with this memorable trophy of his success, the panic-struck armies of the Philistines fled on every side before the Israelites. "Where are now," says the eloquent bishop Hall, on this encounter, "the two shields of Goliath, that they did not bear off this stroke of death? or wherefore serves that weaver's beam, but to strike the earth in falling? or that sword, but to behead his master? What needed David to load himself with an unnecessary weapon? One sword can serve both Goliath and him. If Goliath had a man to bear his shield, David had Goliath to bear his sword, wherewith that proud blasphemous head is severed from his shoulders. Nothing more honours God, than the turning of wicked men's forces against themselves. There are none of his enemies but carry with them their own destruction. Thus didst thou, O son of David, foil Satan with his own weapon; that wherewith he meant destruction to thee and us, vanquished him through thy mighty power, and raised thee to that glorious triumph and super-exaltation, wherein thou art, wherein we shall be with thee."

David kills Goliath.

Bishop Hall's reflections.

* It is remarkable that at this moment David had no visible means of accomplishing the greater part of this positive declaration. To smite Goliath's head from off him, was not work for a shepherd's weapons, however successful they might be in slaying him, nor to give the carcasses of an army to the fowls of the air. It implied that clear view of the end, which anticipated the sure possession of all the means. This is also the first instance in antiquity of a public single combat.

Some slight incongruity has been conceived to attach to the Scripture narrative of these circumstances. David is treated as a youth, a stripling, by Saul and his courtiers, as well as by his gigantic opponent, although he had previously been recommended to the court under the graver character of "a mighty valiant man; a man of war, and prudent in matters. But surely to remove all semblance of inconsistency here, it is enough to advert to the most ordinary varieties of language in speaking of the same person under different points of comparison with others. In the first instance, to inspire Saul with confidence in the course he prescribed, the *stripling* courtier extols the steadiness and manly accomplishments of David; in this last case he stood in contrast with a man to whom Saul was as *little* as David was *young*.

Another circumstance of alleged inconsistency has been remarked upon. That Saul should enquire "whose son David was" on this occasion; though he is said to have made him so familiarly his attendant, and almost his companion before. To this the reply of Houbigant is definitive. "Non inquire Saulum quis sit David; sed cuius filius; quin ejus intererat scire, ejus familie esset si adolescebat, cui filium suum promiserat se uxorem daturum si vinceret Philistæum." Saul did not enquire who David was, but whose son; because it was of importance to him to know of what family he was, as he had promised to give him his own daughter to wife if he should conquer the Philistine.*

The splendour of this victory secured to David the decided admiration of the people and of his prince; it involved in its consequences all the leading events of his future life, and amongst its happiest first fruits, introduced him to the memorable friendship of Jonathan, Saul's son. He was again welcomed to the court of Saul, and received a permanent appointment in the army. Here his conduct conciliated the affections of all around him; though entrusted with a most important command, he seems to have disdained all sinister views in the exercise of it; his allegiance to Saul was most honourably sustained, and but for the rising envy of that unhappy monarch, might have remained as uninterrupted as it was important. But Saul had long forsaken his own allegiance to the ultimate Government

David.
A. M.
2941.
B. C.
1063.

Apparent differences in the accounts of David.

Reconciled.

Rise of Jonathan's friendship.

* We should not omit to notice here, the doubts of Kennicott, followed by Gesenius, respecting the authenticity of the verses in 1 Samuel xlii. (1) to 32, nor that Josephus wholly omits the conversation between Saul and Abner respecting David, v. 55-58. A conjecture of Dr. Delany's is perhaps worth recording too. As "David going and returning from above Saul," would be a literal rendering of the clause in 1 Sam. xvii. (15.) as Josephus says that the physician advised him to get a man "to stand over his head," viz. as he lay in bed, to "play," &c.; and as the second message sent by Saul to David, is, "Let David, I pray thee, stand at my face," (to say nothing of the state of his mind) he could only see David's face face-shortened, and the harp might wholly hide both his face and person. Delany thinks his visits to court very temporary at first. The editor of CALDER, 3 v. 40, Lond. asks, "Was Saul, like insane persons among us, kept private in some dark apartment? Did David play in a separate apartment, &c.?" It does not appear that even Jonathan had seen David, at least familiarly, before.

* For though the immediate interferences of God with the government of the Israelites were now fewer, and the form of its administration changed, the piety of David and the despair of Saul both witness that the interferences were regarded as the highest proofs of an intimate connection between God and all their public affairs. "God is departed from me," is the climax complaint of the latter; "and knoweth me no more, neither by prophets nor by dreams;"

Biography. and true King of Israel; an allegiance that had been the source of all his personal successes, of Samuel's long and now exhausted affection for him, and of the almost exhausted attachment of his people. As David and the royal retinue were returning from the recent victory, the first indication of this change in their opinions began to appear in the congratulations of the populace. "Saul hath slain his thousands and David his ten thousands," said the women significantly, and in the very ears of Saul. However provoking to the haughty soul of the king, or indecorous towards his station such exclamations might appear, David, it is evident, was an innocent and deserving party on the occasion, but envy, which is never just, did not fail to transfer the evenommed hatred, which it was now necessary to smother, to the person of the youthful hero. "Saul eyed David," says the accurate penman of the scripture, "from that day forward." The next day, in a

paroxysm of his former disease, but sufficiently collected to form the deliberate attempt, he had the baseness to aim a javelin at the deliverer of his kingdom, and probably of his life, and repeated the attempt, but David again escaped; he gradually imbibed a settled fear of the "awful goodness" of David's character, and attributing his own vile dispositions to his rival, removed him to a command at some distance from his person. No decided arrangement appears to have been previously made for the fulfilment of his public promise to give David, as the conqueror of Goliath, his daughter in marriage; but whether that promise specified which of the daughters of Saul was intended, it may be now as difficult to decide as it was then convenient to doubt. The custom of the east at this time, and the general bearing of the scripture narration, would certainly induce us to suppose that Saul added to his other public crimes and follies, a breach of his public faith in giving, shortly after this time, his *eldest* daughter's hand to a comparative stranger. For "when Merab, Saul's daughter, should have been given to David, she was given unto Adriel, the Meholathite, to wife." Her younger sister, however, imbibed a strong personal attachment to David; and the wretched father could even congratulate himself on this circumstance as a means of ensuring David's life. Many are the steps that occur in the most decided plans of the Divine Governor that bid fair to lead to the happiness of his most rebellious subjects. There had been nothing irreconcilable with the divine decision of transferring the throne of Saul to David (compared especially with similar declarations and their fulfilment) in the continued relation of sovereign and subject between them, exactly as it now stood during Saul's life—much less in the honourable fulfilment of Saul's own proposal of an alliance with his family; which might have offered an arrangement that would have united the claims of each house. Saul now added an *ex post facto* condition to the marriage of David with his daughter Michal; that he was to bring 1000 ore-skins of the Philistines, as a dowry to his father-in-law.* Of this, David made no diffi-

culty—"What is my life, or my father's family in Israel, that I should be son-in-law to the king?" was his manner of reasoning throughout these trying circumstances; he brought double the expected dowry "in full tale" to the king, of whom we only read in this most promising circumstance of his life, that he "became David's enemy continually."

Why David's conduct in these expeditions against the Philistines, who were continually watching for opportunities to attack and subjugate his country, should need any more defence than the patriotism of other heroes of antiquity, can only be accounted for on the supposition of his peculiar claims to be the servant of God in them, which very supposition answers the chief argument of the objector, and is confirmed by all the facts of the case. "The earth was filled with violence"—God had never ceased to indicate his claims to control the evils which he did not originate; and had repeatedly asserted, and confirmed by miracles, his peculiar determination respecting this people and the land they inhabited, of which the Philistines occupied one of the richest districts. The whole history of their public conduct towards the Israelites had been marked with treachery, with insult, and with blood; often and long had they debased and disarmed them, when in their power (1 Sam. xiii. 19, 21); had outraged the sanctity of the ark, and witnessed many of the direct interferences of God for his people in vain. David appears at this time to have generally headed the military expeditions of Saul against them.

As ignorant of the mity of virtuous minds, as he was tormented with the distractions of his own, the growing friendship of David and Jonathan, was either wholly unperceived by the king (though it arose from Jonathan's opportunity of observing the correctness of David's present conduct to Saul), or he supposed that the commands of a capricious and tyrannical parent were superior to every other law with Jonathan. Certain it is, that about this time, Saul made no secret of his determination, if possible, to take David's life. "The voice of the charmer" could touch his heart no more, for the voice of nature, and of common gratitude, was stifled within him. He issued an express command to Jonathan, and to his confidential servants, to watch the opportunity of secretly dispatching David; and though that true friend and respectful son expostulated with the besotted parent of them both, not altogether in vain;† war having ensued between the Philistines and the Israelites, fresh obligations were incurred by Saul, with every act of David's valour; and the hateful burden of gratitude under which he could not learn to feel

"At once
Inebriated and discharged"—

urged him again to throw his javelin at the hero, from which he very narrowly escaped. These spears, which were probably the origin of sceptres, it was a custom of antiquity to have constantly about the person of a monarch, and very frequently in his hand.† Saul now

while David speaks, in one of his last addresses to the people, of Solomon being advised to "sit upon the throne of the kingdom of JARONAH over Israel."

* According to the custom at this time, and still subsisting in some eastern nations, of the husband bringing a dowry to the wife or her friends. Compare Gen. xxiv. 12, and Ex. xii. 16, 17.

* Ps. lxxi. 5. a passage which might allude to this memorable period of David's life.

† 1 Sam. xiv. 6.

† The classical reader will not fail to remember Homer's kings, and their sceptres. Pausanias says, expressly, that the kings of Argos called their sceptres, spears; and Justin tells us, that in the first ages of the Romans, they had spears as ensigns of royalty, which the Greeks call sceptres.

David
A. M.
2941.
B. C.
1063.

David justified in attacking the Philistines

Saul's son, died malignantly towards David.

A. M.
2942.
B. C.
1062.

Biography.

A. M.
2942.
—
B. C.
1062.Michal's
stratagem.

sent openly in pursuit of David, yet retained some compunction at the thought of violating the sleeping couch of his own son-in-law. He directed the messengers to encompass the house, and put him to death in the morning; but the affection of Michal enabled David to elude their vigilance. From an unperceived part of the wall she let him down, and substituted an image covered with a cloth, and adorned with goats' hair, for his person, in the bed. The oriental goat is said to be capable of yielding a shining, silky hair, which might have deceived completely a casual glance on a supposed sick bed, if we understand, as the original phrase will admit us to do, that she used it as an imitation of David's flaxen locks, and not for his pillow. The guards too would thus be capable of saying they had seen him stretched upon the couch. Saul quickly commanded them to return, and bring David, sick or in health, to his feet; Michal's expedient was discovered, and the unrelenting tyrant reproached her with sending away "his enemy," and becoming so herself. Other outrages were to complete this monarch's abandoned character. David fled to *Samuel*, at Ramah—to *Nanniel* their common friend, and the upright judge of Israel—could Saul have alleged any just complaint against David. Here he narrated his persecutions and his dangers, which induced *Nanniel* to proceed with him to the neighbouring establishment of some of the prophets at *Naioth*, where it is probable he frequently resorted to watch over their education, and occasionally conducted their worship. The messengers of Saul having pursued him thither, arrived at the moment of its celebration, and were incapacitated from accomplishing their errand by catching a kind of kindred devotion. Other messengers arrived a second and third time, and suffering David to remain unmolested from the same cause, Saul himself proceeded to the spot, and fell under the power of similar impressions. He cast aside his armour and royal vestments ("rejecit veste superiore," as Tacitus says of the Germans, when they throw off their upper garments), and again astonished his subjects by continuing a whole day and night amongst the prophets.

Returns to
Jonathan.

David availed himself of this unexpected detention of Saul at *Naioth*, to rejoin Jonathan at Gibeah, the seat of the royal government, and freely to commune with him on his present situation. Jonathan endeavoured himself, perhaps, to believe in the sincerity of his father's present change, much of whose confidence he still retained, assured him there was no present danger; but promised to ascertain Saul's mind more fully, and devised a method of communicating the result to David. He was to wait at an appointed spot, in the field where they were communing, and Jonathan, after sounding his father's disposition, on his return, proposed to bring his archery and an attendant on the ground the third day, as if for the purpose of shooting arrows at a mark; when, if Saul continued implacable in his enmity to David, he was to call to the lad that the arrows were "loosed" him; and David was forthwith to escape. As this may be called the last deliberate interview between these illustrious friends, and as for constance, disinterestedness, and discretion, their attachment has been rarely if ever equalled, we may be allowed to advert the more freely to so memorable an occurrence in David's life. By a solemn appeal to God, the princely Jonathan declared his present openness and full determination of mind to communicate

to David every thing that should concern his future interest; imploring pathetically a final blessing on his friend should Saul's rage render it impossible and unavailing for them to abide together. And now, as if with a presentiment that this might be their last meeting, he opened up a further view of things, which must have awoken all the powerful feelings of David's soul, and brought every principal circumstance and prospect of his life distinctly before him. "Thou shalt not only while yet I live," said he, "show me the kindness of Jehovah, that I die not: (it was too much to expect, at this time, that he should refer more explicitly to David's designation to the throne) "but also, thou shalt not cut off thy kindness from my house for ever: not when Jehovah hath cut off the enemies of David every one from the face of the earth." To this effect he pressed David twice to swear; and concluded the interview with the memorable and repeated adjuration, "Jehovah be between me and thee for ever." His father was found in the sequel as malignant as David could have anticipated;—disappointed of whom as the object of his rage, he was wise enough to hurl his spear at Jonathan as his supposed protector: the appointed signal of this state of Saul's mind was given: the friends met to weep together, until "David exceeded;" (for the noblest minds like some of the noblest metals, according to the ancient proverb, can still be melted) and Jonathan and David parted to renew their former constant intercourse no more.

§ 2. David's exile, and personal situation, until his final possession of the throne of all Israel.

The life of David assumes a singular and instructive division into four very distinct periods:—his *personal prosperity*, succeeded by his *personal trials*, previous to his possession of the throne; and his *public prosperity*, succeeded by his *public trials*, after that memorable event.

Hitherto, though followed all the way by the unnatural, but not surprising, efforts of envy and malignity, his path has been shining, his steps have been just. A shepherd youth, the youngest son of an inconsiderable family, has been expressly designated as God's future king over his people; introduced within the precincts of that very court in which he was afterwards to preside, he has enjoyed an unrestricted personal access to the monarch, but has made no personal efforts after the throne. His accomplishments, and his distinguished valour, have been devoted, on the contrary, to the service and support of its present possessor. He has obtained an alliance with his family, and the closest friendship of the immediate heir to that throne (while he has excited by the same conduct the vilest passions in the king), but he has never attempted to invade the filial duty of Jonathan; he has voluntarily disturbed neither the domestic nor the public peace of Saul. But the long period of David's *personal trials* had now commenced; and commentators have ascribed to this part of his life the composition of the seventeenth Psalm. Certainly the devout reader will feel no small pleasure in perusing it in connection with his present circumstances. We shall occasionally venture to give an opinion upon the probable date of some other of these compositions, as entering strictly into the character of one of the earliest and most eminent poets of antiquity.

From the late interview with Jonathan, David hast-

David.

A. M.
2942.
—
B. C.
1062.Memorable
interview of
the friends.

Review.

David flees
to the high-
priest.

Biography.

A. M.
2342.
B. C.
1062.

Doeg.

ened to the shade of the high priest Ahimelech, or Ahithair, at Nob, a city of the tribe of Benjamin; prevented, it is probable, by his profound respect for the character of Samuel, from again disturbing the repose of his old age. But whether with a deliberate design to quit the kingdom of Saul, at this time, as he shortly afterwards did; or whether the unwelcome presence of the wily Edomite, Doeg, whom he accidentally found here, induced him to resolve on this step as a further measure for his safety, does not appear. Perhaps, that circumstance, however, had some influence in the reply which he gave to the enquiry of Ahimelech, why he came unattended? David stated that the king had entrusted him with a confidential business, upon which his servants were to meet him at a further place. He requested of the high priest some loaves of the shew bread, in his necessity (a measure afterwards justified upon this ground by the highest authority*) and any weapons for his personal use, which might be deposited at the sanctuary. The well-known sword of Goliath, happening to be the only one, was therefore offered him; and supplied to him originally by God's peculiar providence, he made no hesitation of accepting it, exclaiming, "There is none like that." Whether David may not be justly charged with a criminal violation of truth on this occasion, we are not inclined to dispute. Saul had sent him on no such errand. It was a remarkable beginning of his personal troubles, in any case, and led to other degrading expedients.† Let us be allowed to suggest, however, that as David would anticipate Saul's future knowledge of these circumstances, the case does not rest altogether on an effort for self-preservation, but he might suppose that this account of himself would furnish to Ahimelech, as it afterwards did, a plausible excuse for assisting him.

To Gath.

Expelled.

David now, for the first time under the influence of "fear," resolved to throw himself on the protection of a stranger; and repaired to the court of Achish king of Gath. His stay, however, was short, and his measures unworthy of his spirit. Finding that the princes of Gath remembered, with as much hostility as Saul, his popularity in Israel, and the national songs in which he was celebrated, he feigned himself to be deranged, and seemed glad of the expulsion of a madman, as a refuge from worse treatment. We need not occupy our pages with references to similar conduct in the heroes of ancient times, upon less perplexing occasions; but neither Ulysses nor Solon had the same excuse for this unmanly degradation; while Brutus, perhaps, in the opinion of many of our readers might plead a better. On the occasion of his first dangers (which probably led to his personal confinement) at the court of Gath, he penned the fifty-sixth Psalm, and on his escape, the thirty-fourth.

Retreats to
Adullam.

His next retreat was the cave of Adullam, near a city of the same name, in his own tribe. Here his family and friends quickly joined him, with many others that were

discontented or in difficulties; amongst whom were Joab, David, Ahishai, and Benaiah; and those eleven distinguished Gadites who are described in the final register of his captives (1 Chron. xii. 8.), as "men of might and war, fit for the battle; that could handle shield and buckler, whose faces were like the faces of lions, and they were swift as the roes upon the mountains." After these came an unexpected reinforcement from the mixed tribes of Benjamin and Judah, under the direction of Amasa. David, justly cautious of such a considerable number of Saul's tribe, but no longer fearful of committing his cause into the hand of God, met them with a pious frankness. "If," said he, "ye be come peaceably unto me to help me, my heart shall be knit unto you; but if ye be come unto me to betray me unto mine enemies, seeing there is no wrong to mine hand, the God of our fathers look down thereon and rebuke it." To this address their leader replied with similar candour and devotion, "Thine we are, O David, and on thy side, O son of Jesse. Peace be to thee, and peace to thy helpers. For thy God helpeth thee!" David's forces now amounted to upwards of four hundred men.

His first precaution, on finding himself in strength, was to place his father and mother in security—the questionable security of the court of the king of Moab. Perhaps, however, David conceived his own continuance in the neighbourhood as a sufficient guarantee of their safety; while the precarious and comfortable shades he inhabited, would ill suit the extreme age of his parents. From Adullam he departed, at the command of the prophet Gad, into the forest of Hareth, in the interior of the tribe of Judah; and not far remote from the scenes of his former advancement and retreat, at Gibeah and Ramah, where Saul quickly heard of him. On his expostulating with the neighbouring tribes for their partiality to David, the official zeal of Doeg now revealed to Saul the succour formerly afforded to David by Ahimelech; and that wretched king, after a mockery of expostulation with him, sacrificed nearly the whole of the sacerdotal family to his rage, and destroyed the town of Nob; while David was pressing towards the relief of his country from an invasion of the Philistines. Abiathar, the only surviving male branch of the high-priest's family, escaped to David.

The town of Keilah was situated to the south-west of the tribe of Judah, bordering on the territory of the Philistines, and these marauders came up, in repeated incursions, after the time of harvest, to rob the threshing floors of the Israelites. David, through the prophet or the priest who now adorned his camp, enquired the will of God respecting the propriety of attacking them; and presents the singular instance of a public man, who could only maintain himself with difficulty against the tyrannical government of his own country, advancing to the attack of her enemies. His men appeared sensible of the danger of being thus placed between two inveterate foes, but David having ascertained God's will, proceeded without hesitation to the battle, and to victory. Danger now arose from a third quarter, and the last that could have been expected. Saul hearing of David's stay in the town, sent a message to the inhabitants of Keilah to deliver him up, and, ungrateful as their master, they were ready to obey. Assured of this by the divine oracle, David fled to Ziph (his men now amounting to 600), and successively to the wilderness of Maon and Engedi; Saul pursuing him (with

David.
A. M.
2342.
B. C.
1062.

His followers.

* Matt. xii. 4.

† We know of no service that it can yield the cause of truth to observe on such occasions, with some commentators, that Esau's idea is of opinion, when truth is likely to be attended with great evil, falsehood is pardonable; or, that Cicero says, he is a good man who does all the good he can to others, and injures no one unless grievously provoked: any more than it would apologize for David's fault to add, that a celebrated moralist of our own country admits of some fashionable and some legal lies.

Biography. n slight interruption from the Philistines)* all the way, and latterly with a force of 30000 men. At Ziph, in another n the friendly wilds of nature, Jonathan and David met for the last time. The interview was short, but full of the greatest consolation to David that any creature could have afforded him. The sacred historian says that Jonathan "strengthened his hand in God." His friend could now speak expressly (if he did not speak prophetically), not only of David's final deliverance from Saul, but of his future possession of the throne: "and I," said he, fondly, and with the due mixture of what was human in his views, "shall be next unto thee, and that also Saul my father knoweth." They here again renewed their solemn engagements to each other in the name of Jehovah, and parted to meet no more.

Spores Saul at Engedi.

At Engedi was a cave of some considerable extent, in which David and some few attendants had secreted themselves, when Saul came into it to rest, or for some other temporary purpose.† His men now urged David by every consideration of justice and propriety, to avail himself of this complete committal of their common enemy into his hand. David advanced toward the mouth of the cave,—and cut away a part of Saul's outer robe, but strictly forbade his men to touch the person of the king. When Saul had withdrawn, he presented himself with this irresistible proof of his forbearance before the rival troops. Addressing Saul with the utmost respect, and appealing to God for the patency of his motives, he again subdued the guilty conscience of the king, before the voice of truth and reason; until Saul acknowledged, with an ill-founded humiliation, the superiority of David's character, and his conviction that he would ultimately possess the throne.‡

A. M. 2944.
B. C. 1060.

We next find David in the wilderness of Paran, which exhibits one of the most characteristic scenes of his life. Nabal, a rich, but childish landholder, who had previously been indebted to David's protection for the security of his flocks, was shearing sheep in Carmel; and David sent a respectful request to him to be allowed to participate in his abundance. To this he replied by an insulting taunt, and David advanced at the head of 400 of his men to resent it. But Nabal had a wife of a very opposite character, "a woman of good understanding, and of a beautiful countenance," who hearing the account of this refusal, prepared in person to avert the consequences. While her husband was revelling in wine, she met David with a valuable present of provisions, and delicately requesting him to impute the conduct to herself, which she now entreated he would pardon, reminded him that when Jehovah should have destroyed all his enemies, it would be "no grief nor offence of heart" unto him if he should have forbore to shed blood carelessly in such an instance as this. This appeal to all David's best principles was irresistible; he assured her of peace, and even of his gratitude for

her interference; and on the death of Nabal, shortly afterwards, made this interesting woman his wife. Some writers assert to consider the conduct and character of David at this juncture, as that of a mere captain of banditti. Many forcible appeals are made to our justice on behalf of the suffering creditors of his hands in particular; but not one decided feature of such a character is made to appear. What districts did he ravage but those of the enemies of his country? Whose property did he invade, or whose domestic tranquillity did he disturb? Moreover did he not place all these debtors in far more promising circumstances than those in which he found them? It is no small credit to his associates to have known and followed such a master. For their use and at an early period of their acquaintance, Delaney thinks he composed the 34th Psalm, and planted the vineyards of Engedi.

Once more Saul is brought in contact with David. The Ziphites giving intelligence of David's retreat in their neighbourhood, Saul pitched in the hills of Hachilah with a considerable force, and lodged personally amongst the baggage. David having intelligence of his exact situation, and attended only by Abishai, ventured promptly, in the dead of night, into the royal tent, and again saw his bitterest foe at his feet, with a spear stuck in the ground at his head. But he again resisted the thought of violating his security, and only took away the spear and a cruse of water. The next morning he ascends the opposite hill, and calling for Abner, Saul's general, in a fine vein of satirical reproach relates the fact, and exhibits the proofs. This produced a final acknowledgment from Saul that he had sinned, "and played the fool exceedingly," and a vow that he would seek to injure David no more. How far this promise was observed there are no means of directly ascertaining, but David seems to have apprehended fresh outrages; for we find him a second time in extreme despondency, and fleeing, as before, to Gath. Here he continued for about a year and a half, during which period he invaded several of the minor states (the old enemies of his country), in the south of Judah, but seems to have taken no part in the public affairs of Achish until the memorable and decisive period of a war breaking out between the Philistines and Saul.*

The town of Ziklag, near the southern borders of the tribe of Judah, was assigned to David at this time by

* We have no direct concern in this place with the circumstance of Saul's consultation of the witch of Endor. But as all the other events in the life of that unhappy prince have connected themselves naturally with the life of Samuel or of David, we may be allowed to state our opinion of the reality of Samuel's appearance to Saul on that occasion, by an immediate interposition of God, which as much confounded the juggler as the monarch. 1. It was an occasion on which the *dygma videlicet adus* was not wanting. The rebellious king of God's rebellious people had assembled one of the largest armies they ever brought into the field, to struggle with a powerful foe for every thing that was still dear to Saul in personal honour and the public safety.—Samuel, David and Abishai were with him no more. 2. The predictions were true that were uttered, and the phenomenon was worthy that prophet. It were to give credit to a still greater miracle, first to believe in the power of the witch to raise a specter, and, as has been thought, denominal representation of Samuel; and then that this personage was endued with an enigmatical and accurate prescience. 3. And above all, the Scriptures on this occasion are very explicit; "The woman saw Samuel," we are told. "Saul perceived that it was Samuel.—Samuel himself," as it will very well bear to be rendered, "and Samuel said to Saul" all that passed;—*namque, for the first time by divine authority; who should be his successful rival.*—David.

Nabal and Abigail.

* To the period of this providential diversion of Saul's forces, Patrick, and others, ascribe the composition of the 54th Psalm.
† *Etrogynae* are the male goats.—Josephus. *U* purgare recitum.—Vulgate.

‡ We have a psalm expressly penned by David on this occasion. Psalm cxxi. "But good thoughts," says Dr. Trapp, speaking of Saul's confession, "make but a thoroughfare of wicked hearts; they stay not there, as those that like not their lodging; their purposes, for want of performance, are lost as clouds without rain; or as Herod's club in the tragedy, of a great bulk, but stuffed with noise and rubbish."

David.
A. M. 2944.
B. C. 1060.

Saul's life again started

A. M. 2946.
B. C. 1058.

David at Ziklag.

Biography.

A. M.
2948.
—
B. C.
1056.Conquest of
Amalekites
robbers.Saul and his
sons slain.

the king of Gath, for his residence, and remained ever after (with the exception we are about to relate) in the possession of the kings of Judah. David had requested this place of Achish as likely to be less obnoxious to the court, and on being dismissed from the muster of the Philistine army, through the jealousy of the princes, he was about to retire again to the town, when he found that it had been sacked by the Amalekites. David's men now manifested for the first time symptoms of revolt—the town had been burnt, their wives and children taken captives, and the chieftain and his followers were equally perplexed and desponding, "but David encouraged himself in the Lord his God." He called for the ephod, and was oracularly assured, through Abiathar the priest, that if he instantly pursued the enemy he might yet recover all. David needed no other encouragement; he selected 600 of his best troops for the expedition, and meeting opportunely with an Egyptian slave whom the Amalekites had left behind, he was enabled to track their route, and came up with them while they were in the act of rejoicing over their great spoil. After a well-fought day he routed the whole force of the enemy, which seems to have been considerable (as 400 of them still fled homeward), and according to the prediction, brought back in safety all the families and flocks of his followers. Two hundred of them, however, who were detained by fatigue from following the pursuit, were now navillingly allowed their share in the booty by the rest, but David took occasion at this time to establish a law, long afterwards observed in the Jewish wars, that all soldiers fairly embarked in a contest should equally divide the spoils. He also distributed large presents on this occasion to various towns which had been friendly to himself and his men.

The Philistine army in the interim had marched to Jazerel. The sword which David would not raise against his "master," as he still considered Saul, was committed to less scrupulous hands, and in a general engagement in the plains of Githon, to which Saul appears to have brought the whole of his forces, and all the effective male branches of his family, the Israelites were totally defeated; the sons of Saul, Jonathan, Abinadab, and Melchishua, were slain, and he himself in a close pursuit was mortally wounded. He now called upon his armour-bearer to dispatch him, retaining an unavailing aversion to die by the hands of "the uncircumcised," and on his refusal fled, in fact, by his own hand, in falling upon his sword. The Israelites fled in all directions, and ultimately abandoned a large tract of their territory; the Philistines stripped the body of Saul, which they nailed to the wall of Beth-shan, with the remains of his sons, while they deposited his armour in the temple of Ashtaroth; but the brave inhabitants of Jabesh-Gilead soon recovered the royal corpse, and buried them with due solemnity in their own neighbourhood.

Upon the generous David, the tidings of this final discomfiture of his greatest personal enemy, operated in a very different manner to what a less noble heart would imagine. He ordered a lying messenger of the news, who assumed to himself the supposed credit of dispatching Saul, to be instantly slain; he sent a message of personal thanks to the men of Jabesh-Gilead for their respectful conduct to the late king, and composed a memorable funeral ode on the death of the

fallen family, in which it is only difficult to decide, whether the just and generous enemy, or the affectionate friend, shine more conspicuous. It was an occasion to call forth all his soul, and all his soul is in it. The joy and pride of his life were involved in the friendship of the fallen Jonathan; all the trouble and degradation of his past days were terminated in the death of Saul. But both shine "as the beauty of Israel" in his song; both are celebrated as "the mighty fallen." Our limits will not allow us to transcribe this honourable effusion of pious and dignified grief, upon which all comments are superfluous; but we fear not to refer the reader to the entire composition, as exceeding, under the circumstances, any rival production of antiquity.

David's path to the throne was now comparatively smooth and unoccupied, but he moved not without consulting that divine Director who had always been his first resort in distress. He was commanded to repair to Hebron, where all the princes of his own tribe and that of Benjamin (greatly intermixed with it) met him, and solemnly tendered him the crown. A rival, however, appeared in the person of Ish-bosheth, a weak surviving prince of Saul's house, whom Abner, his uncle, supported, and declared king of all the remaining tribes. "There was long war" between the contending claimants, but little of active hostility, as it would seem from the sacred narration; the only instance of a battle originated in a kind of hostile sport between the out-posts of the armies commanded by Joab and Abner. The forces of the house of Saul were defeated on this occasion with the loss of three hundred and sixty men, while on the side of David but nineteen were missing, though Asahel the brother of Joab (through his own imprudent temerity) was amongst the slain. During this interval the family of David increased considerably, and of his sons, Amnon, Chislegab, Absalom, Adonijah, Shephatiah, and Ithream, were given to him in Hebron. The correctness of his administration daily increased his power, and his well-known talents for war kept all the outward enemies of his people in check. The period approached that was to consummate his early anointing, and evident designation to the throne of all Israel; his foes were divided amongst themselves; and Abner, after seven years of inglorious and unavailing opposition, secretly offered to abandon the wretched Ish-bosheth, and transfer his influence to David. From this event we date

§ 3. The period of David's public prosperity.

But that God to whom David resigned every thing, and who in every thing relating to his advancement, appeared peculiarly to evince his independence of means, was hastening the catastrophe of Saul's house from another quarter. Abner perished by the hand of Joab as he was about to bring his various projects to completion. Two of the principal officers of Ish-bosheth, under pretence of hringing or taking out wheat for the household, approached the palace of this unhappy prince at noon-day, and finding him asleep on his couch, assassinated him, and travelled thence at day and night to bring his head to David. Their reception was worthy their deed, and of the often-tried magnanimity of the king. "As the Lord liveth," said David, solemnly, "who hath redeemed my soul out of all adversity, when one told me, saying, behold Saul is dead, thinking to have brought good tidings, I took David.

David.

A. M.
2948.
—
A. M.
1056.David's
beautiful
ode on the
occasion.Elected
king of Ju-
dah.A. M.
2949.
—
B. C.
1055.Ish-bosheth
and Abner.A. M.
2951.
—
B. C.
1053.Ish-bo-
sheth's
death.Abner is
killed by
Joab.

Biography. hold of him, and show him in Ziklag; how much more when wicked men have slain a righteous person in his bed: shall I not, therefore, require his blood of your hand, and take you away from the earth?" He instantly ordered their execution, and interred the head of Ish-bosheth in the sepulchre of Abner.

The tribes now unanimously invited David to the throne. In the midst of their past inconstancy to God, and inconsistency with the character of his chosen people, a silent stream of pious and observant individuals still fertilized the moral waste of Israel, and in the present public acknowledgment of David as peculiarly their "bone and flesh," their leader, their shepherd, and their captain, such persons would doubtless remember the ancient promise to all Israel, in the distinguished tribe of Judah, that *there*, at least, a law-giver and a sceptre should always be found, until SHILON, his greater son, should gather the nations to his feet. David is recorded to have been at this time in the thirty-eighth year of his age, during seven of which he reigned over the united tribes of Judah and Benjamin, in Hebron.

After three days devoted to gratitude and national festivity,* we find David marching forth to war, for the first time since he wore the honours of royalty, against the Jebusites at Jerusalem. This place never before was fully subdued to the Israelitish yoke. Jeshua slew its king, and Caleb, a worthy predecessor of David, in the history of the tribe of Judah, had taken the town, but there was a strong fortress, now called ZION, which resisted every attack, and in which the ancient inhabitants seem to have possessed a long and secure retreat. Emboldened by this circumstance, they sent out an insulting message to David, that if he could contrive to take away the blind and the lame out of the fortress, he might, perhaps, prevail against it; but some commentators have understood this to allude to the Israelites having culled the idols of the old inhabitants by these opprobrious names. However this may be, the taunt seems peculiarly to have excited David's anger, and he ordered, in consequence, the assault of the place; promising immediate promotion to the first who should succeed in smiting the blind and the lame, thus described. The fort quickly fell, and David is supposed to have celebrated the conquest in the 115th Psalm, part of which (v. 2 to 8), would strongly confirm the conjectured allusion. David enlarged this fortress considerably, removed the seat of government to Jerusalem, and called this part of it the city of David.

Prosperity now shone upon this illustrious prince, with a steadiness only equalled by his patience in obtaining it. He went on, and grew great, "going and growing," until it was at once the conclusion of truth and modesty, that God had "exalted his kingdom for his people Israel's sake." He formed a friendship of great public benefit to him with Hiram, the king of Tyre, from whose dominions he imported timber and masonry, and received a considerable accession of artificers in the various public buildings he carried on. To this season of uninterrupted peace most critics have assigned the filling up of a considerable valley between the fortress of Zion above named, and the hill *Akra*, on the south of Jerusalem, with streets, "Midlo," in which he is said to have "built round

about and inward," is thought to have been the name of this valley. He erected a sumptuous palace in that quarter of the city which was honoured by his name, and increased his family by various children: he indulged also in the evils of polygamy, and afterwards repaid its bitter fruits.

A new war, however, upon a most formidable scale, now demanded his attention, and for a short time suspended all his improvements. The Philistines, confederated, as Josephus states, with the Phœnicians, the Syrians, and several other surrounding nations, appeared in great force in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem. The irruption appears to have been sudden and well concerted, for David was evidently unprepared for the war; and was compelled to retire to his former refuge in the fastnesses of Adullam. In this well-known retreat, he marshalled his troops with his accustomed prudence and piety; and at this time occurred the adventurous journey of his three valiant chiefs through the encampments of the Philistines, to fetch water for David from the well of Bethlehem (1 Chron. xi. 15), and his memorable reply—"Shall I drink the blood of these men that have put their lives in jeopardy; my God forbid it me that I should do this thing!" and he poured out the water as a libation of thanks to God. But his army was now to be prepared and animated to more serious strife. The enemy filled the rich valley of Rephaim, on the south-west of Jerusalem, about the time of barley harvest, and David must have been most anxious to dislodge them. He commends his cause to God in the 83d Psalm, and pressed forward so eagerly in person to attack the Philistines, that this appears to have been the time when he suddenly found himself, with his three chief captives, alone in the midst of them; and gathering courage from the danger, headed the route described in 2 Sam. xxiii. 10, until, with his brave supporters, "his hand was weary, but it still clave to his sword." If this adventure shall appear rash, it must be remembered that he was stimulated to it by counsel that never misled him, and though the victory was but partial, he commemorated the deliverance by surmounting the place *Perazim*, the place of breaches; for God, he said, had appeared for him as suddenly and unexpectedly as the breaking out of waters. The enemy were soon able, however, to re-occupy their former position, and David was directed to a very different kind of victory. He was to march round their encampment toward some mulberry-trees in the rear, and when he heard (either by means of an unusual wind, or some other decisive interposition) a sound as of a flying army in the tops of the trees, he was forthwith to commence the attack, assured of success. He obeyed the monition, and obtained a triumph which compelled the enemy to retreat, and ultimately closed the war.

The consequences of these repulses of the Philistines are not further stated than that they brought him fame and glory in all the neighbouring nations; but they now left him leisure to prosecute a design, which he appears previously to have meditated, of removing the ark of God to Zion. To assist at this solemnity he summoned all the Levites, princes, and rulers of his people, from Sihon of Egypt (near the mouth of the Nile) to Hamath northward, at the fountains of the Jordan, a description of his northern and southern frontier, which may give us some conception of the

David.
A. M.
2961.
B. C.
1043.

Perilous war with the Philistines.

* To which occasion Delany assigns the composition of the 60th Psalm, objecting to its present title.

David attempts to fetch the ark to Zion.
A. M.
2962.
B. C.
1042.

Biography. extent of his dominions. At the appointed period, the king himself, attended by 30,000 troops, the high-priest and his brethren, and all the magistracy of the land, repaired to a hill near Kenath-jerim, in the tribe of Judah, and removed the ark from its long abode in the house of Abinadab and his family. According to the best chronologists, it had been deposited here about 90 years.

To success
at first.

David led the way in the heartfelt melodies of the occasion, and played before the Lord, we are told, "with all Israel, on all manner of instruments made of fir wood, with singing, and with harps, and with psalteries, and on timbrels, and on cornets, and on cymbals." But the procession was imperfectly arranged, and ended in a fatal error. A new cart, or open carriage of some description, drawn by oxen, was intended some confused memorial of the miracle whereby the ark had been brought back in the preceding century from the land of the Philistines, as it is certain (on the other hand) in the conductors appointed, Uzzah and Abio, the sons of Abinadab, there was a strange forgetfulness of the express designation of the Levites only, to the care of every part of the tabernacle, Num. i. 51. Times of confusion, however, had long been corrupting the public mind; God was now pleased to show that his laws, when forgotten by us, are not necessarily extinct with Him. The oxen arriving near a corn floor at Gath-rimmon, in the tribe of Dan, suddenly grew restive and shook the ark, which Uzzah venturing to touch, in the effort to replace it, to the terror of the people and of David, fell dead upon the spot. Convicted of an error which as yet he could not comprehend, David now wisely delayed the further execution of his design, until he should be able to offer a more acceptable service. He ordered the ark to be deposited in the house of a neighbouring Levite, Obededom, and proceeded to Jerusalem disappointed, but still determined to understand the will of God in this affair. No one could better fit explain than, after a very short interval, he was enabled to do. "The Lord our God made a breach upon us," he says, "for that we sought him not after the due order."

Final and
joyful re-
moving of
the ark.

Having ascertained what this was correctly, and given the Levites that prominence in his new arrangements which the law of God had so expressly assigned them, within the period of about three months from the first attempt, David once more essayed to bring up this sacred vessel to Jerusalem, and in the animated language of his own poem on that occasion (the sixty-eighth Psalm), "The singers" again "went before, the players on instruments followed after, among them were the damsels playing with timbrels." And finding, on advancing a few paces, no further interruption to his progress, he offered oxen and fatlings on the spot, and probably at intervals all the way. David's animation increasing with his progress and evident acceptance with God, the whole of the interesting composition alluded to was appropriately sung as they approached Jerusalem.—(Delany has suggested the possible adaptation of the twenty-fourth Psalm as a final chorus at this time, and certainly it is eminently in unison with the occasion.)—David danced in the sacred procession, and gave his soul up to joy, as the ark of God passed to its rest in the hill of Zion, and

Jehovah in his chosen symbols "ascended on high," leading these once dishonoured "captives captive!"

One painful interruption of the festival, now instituted, was found in the unaccountable conduct of Michal, his lately restored wife. Seeing David's almost boundless devotion in the scene just closed, she charged him with an indecorous exposure of his person before the women in the procession; an allegation so unfounded, and arguing a state of mind so averse to David's conduct on the occasion, and so forgetful of his generosity to her, that David warmly retorted the rebuke, and she was visited with the opprobrium of haughtiness for her impiety. He closed this most important of all his triumphs by the composition of a Psalm, given at length in 1 Chron. xvi. and forming part of the 96th and 105th of the canon.

David now proceeded to regulate to the best of his discretion, and with the constant aid of God's appointed ministers, the various religious services connected with the immediate presence of the ark at Jerusalem; but comparing his unparalleled honours and security with all the previous history of his people, his heart gradually overflowed with a desire to consecrate some nobler dwelling than he had yet found to the service of his God. The eighty-fourth Psalm will be found to express great anxiety on this point, though some commentators have ascribed it to scenes of greater distance from God's worship than David could now complain of. To the general disposition evinced by his deeply-seated desires upon this subject, the prophet Nathan was commissioned to reply with God's decided approval; but the execution of his wish to consecrate a settled and magnificent temple to Jehovah, was almost immediately denied to him, and referred to a promised and more peaceful son. Yet for his anxiety to erect a house for God's worship, he was assured that God would "build *him* an house;" that his mercy should not depart from him, as it had departed from Saul; but that his seed should possess the throne of Israel "for ever." An eloquent and humble acknowledgment of these distinguished mercies closed the several interviews with the prophet on these occasions, and will be found in 2 Sam. vii. 18—29.

From the Philistines, David shortly after these circumstances took the important town of Gath and its dependencies, called in one part of the sacred narrative "Metheg-Ammah," or the Uddle of the Angle, because it commanded all the adjacent country of Judah, and had often, indeed, been a bridge on its inhabitants. He next invested and subdued the greater portion of the territory of the Moabites, fulfilling an ancient prediction of a prophet of their own, that "a sceptre should arise out of Israel, and smite the corners of Moab, and destroy all the children of Seth: that Edom also, and Seir, should be a possession, and Israel should do valiantly."

The Syrians and Edomites then submitted to his arms. Of the former, Hadadzer seems to have been the magnificent ruler, and the scripture narrative of his subjugation is confirmed by Nicolaus Damascus, who says, as quoted by Josephus, "that Hadad, who reigned over Damascus and the other parts of Syria, except Phœnicia, made war against David, the king of Judea, and tried his fortune in many battles, but was beaten at last at the Euphrates." It is said, that "David smote Hadadzer as he went to recover his border at the river Euphrates," which seems to bear

David.
A. M.
2962.
B. C.
1042.

Religious
services set
in order.

David's de-
sire to build
a temple.

A. M.
2964.
B. C.
1040.

Subdued
Moab.

The Syrians
submit.
Hadadzer.

Biography.

A. M.
2964.
—
B. C.
1040.

reference to the ancient covenant with Abraham, never fulfilled until this period, "Unto thy seed have I given this land from the river of Egypt unto the great river, the river Euphrates." The prisoners and spoil which David took on this occasion were very considerable, "a thousand chariots and seven hundred horsemen," and "twenty thousand footmen;" while the Syrians of Damascus afterwards coming to the succour of Hadad, or Hadadezer, incurred a loss of twenty thousand slain. David destroyed all the chariots, according to an express precept of God, and hamstringing all the horses except a hundred, which were probably reserved, however questionably, for purposes of state. From Hadadezer several shields of solid gold (some have thought from an allusion in the Song of Solomon, ch. iv. v. 4, as many as a thousand) were taken and sent to Jerusalem, and from his cities Betab and Berothai, large quantities of brass; "wherewith Solomon," adds the writer of the Book of Chronicles, "made the brazen sea, and the pillars, and the vessels of brass" for the temple.

The Edomites.

The tidings of these successes brought David the homage of Toi, king of Hamath, and several valuable presents by the hand of his son. This prince appears to have had the further impulse of having been formerly at war with the defeated Hadadezer. Throughout the land of Edom, almost without a struggle, David planted garrisons and exacted a regular tribute, dedicating the accumulated spoil of all those various nations (except what was currently required for the exigencies of the state) to his cherished plan of a magnificent temple to Jehovah, and generally to his future service.

Mephobosheth.

David now inquired diligently for any of the surviving family of Saul, that toward them he might fulfil his well-remembered vows to his early friend Jonathan, and finding that a son of his friend was living, named Mephobosheth, (a cripple in both his feet), immediately sent for him to court. He restored to him and his family all the land which was the private property of Saul, appointed the servant who had acquainted him with Mephobosheth's circumstances, steward of the estate, and welcomed that afflicted and grateful prince himself to his own daily table.

David insulted by Hanan.

A. M.
2967.
—
B. C.
1037.

A friend of David's dying a short time after this occurrence in the king of the Ammonites, he sent ambassadors to congratulate his son Hanan, on his succession to the throne. The young prince had the folly to affect to consider them as spies, and eat off a considerable part of their clothes and beards, and sent them back in this state to David, who felt justly indignant. Aware of the probability of this, and perhaps eager to try his strength with this renowned conqueror, Hanan engaged the Syrians of Rehob and of Zobah, to the amount of 20,000 men, the king of Maacah with 1000, and the king of Ishbosh with 12,000 men, amongst whom were included 32,000 chariots, to come to his assistance. Against this formidable host David saw it necessary to arouse his strength, and sent out a well appointed army, under Joab and Abishai. Joab selected his best troops to engage with the Syrians in person, entrusting the command of the rest and the attack of the Ammonites and other nations to Abishai; the battle once more declared itself for Israel, and all the confederates fled. After this, they made head again at Helan, but David now joined the war, and in a second signal de-

Defeats the troops to engage with the Syrians in person, entrusting the command of the rest and the attack of the Ammonites and other nations to Abishai; the battle once more declared itself for Israel, and all the confederates fled.

After this, they made head again at Helan, but David now joined the war, and in a second signal de-

feet, seven hundred chariots and forty thousand horsemen were routed and fell, with Shohach the Syrian commander in chief. "So the Syrians," we are told, "feared to help the children of Ammon any more," and the latter were besieged in their capital city Rabbah.

A circumstance occurred at this time, in the life of David, upon which the malignity both of ancient and modern infidels has fastened with characteristic ardour. The facts of the case admit neither of colouring nor of apology. They charge upon David, certainly, some of the blackest of human crimes; for which, however, it is but just to add, that they exhibit also unaffected repentance and condign punishment. We shall endeavour to place these facts before the reader with the faithfulness and simplicity of the sacred historian.

This highly-favoured monarch was enjoying at Jerusalem that repose, during the season of war, to which his whole life had been hitherto a stranger, when, walking in the evening on the roof of his palace (after refreshing himself, according to the custom of the east, with a short sleep in the afternoon), the sight of a woman exceedingly beautiful attracted his attention and hurried him away from the path of rectitude. She was bathing in a neighbouring house or garden. A kind of merciful check to his rising passion appears to have been afforded by some honest courtier, in the answer which met David's first inquiries after this unhappy female. "Is not this Bathsheba, the daughter of Eliam, the wife of Uriah the Hittite?" But in vain! In the wife of a valiant "pillar of his state," and a convert probably to his religion; in the daughter of another of his most distinguished commanders; and the granddaughter of his chief counsellor, he saw an insuperable obstacle to the gratification of his lust, which he instantly indulged. The sudden pregnancy of Bathsheba now induced him to send to the army for her husband, under the pretext of receiving information of the war, but in reality to conceal, if possible, the violation of his bed.

Uriah came, but could not be induced to visit his wife. He constantly slept amongst the garrisons at the palace, and David, finding it impossible by any artifice to transfer to the living husband the fruit of his perfidy, rushed into the "blood-guiltiness" of ordering his death. "Set ye Uriah in the forefront of the hottest battle, and retire ye from him, that he may be smitten and die," were the words of his own death-warrant, with which this ill-fated warrior was sent back to his general. The cruel mandate was but too readily obeyed; Uriah's life was taken, with that of several of his brave companions, in an hopeless attack upon the besieged Ammonites; and Joab quickly dispatched the tidings of his death to Jerusalem. The guilty monarch, with apparent impunity, made Bathsheba immediately his wife.

A child was born from this adulterous cohabitation, before the message of God's wrath was sent to David. Perhaps he was mingling good and evil in rejoicing at his birth, when the prophet appeared, denouncing the evil of his conduct and the child's death! Under the parable of a rich man who had spared his own flocks and herds, and seized the only and favourite lamb of his poor neighbour to entertain a guest, he excited a warm and even angry sense of justice in the king, who instantly pronounced the rich man's death, though the law of Moses (still the criminal code of the state) did not

Death.

A. M.
2969.
—
B. C.
1035.

David's mortal fall.

Sends for Uriah.

Orders his death.

A. M. 2970.

B. C. 1034.

Nathan's Parable.

Biography.

A. M.

2970.

B. C.

1034.

Divine

threaten-

ings.

David's

confession.

Death of

the child.

Remarks

demand so severe a retribution. "He shall surely die," said David, with an oath, "and he shall restore the lamb fourfold, because he did this thing, and because he had no pity." With prophetic boldness Nathan answered, "THOU ART THE MAN;" and then proceeded to charge the monarch with his unaccountable ingratitude to God, and baseness to Uriah, in these complicated and disgraceful transactions. He threatens him, in conclusion, with those divine chastisements in the present life, and that immediate interposition of the Just Governor of all, to punish his sins after their own kind, for which these early ages of the world were distinguished. As he had slain Uriah with the sword, and desolated his family hopelessly, the sword was not to depart from his house for ever; and however secretly he had violated the honour of another, his own wives, the prophet declared, should be polluted in the face of the sun.

The memorable union of persuasiveness and power in this message of Nathan, quickly found its way to the monarch's heart. "I have sinned against the Lord," said David, frankly, and with such undissembled penitence, that the prophet immediately assures him of an alleviation in his punishment and the pardon of his guilt. The penalty of *death*, which he had pronounced upon the cruel robber of another's property (though expressly prescribed by the law of Moses for *adultery*), was graciously remitted by God, who assured him, however, that the fruit of his illicit intercourse was doomed to die; a sentence of which David afterwards, by fervent prayer and entreaty, endeavoured to obtain a repeal in vain.

While it would be idle to deny, in reply to the observations of infidelity on these painful facts, that the Scriptures both of the Old and New Testament exhibit David as a distinguished servant of God, and on the whole, as good a man, as he was a brave and great one, it is wholly contrary to every other instance estimating human character, to pronounce upon that of David from this single, though most disgraceful circumstance. It proves him but man in his present awfully degenerated state, while the whole tenor of his life beside will be found to exhibit a singular and most satisfactory freedom from the usual vices of his station and opportunities—the very vices here exhibited. Though he was extensively engaged in war, his *general* character is not that of a cruel man, nor do we find any other instance of his violating the bonds, or even the courtesies of social life; not, though he was for so many years treated as a kind of out-cast himself, and possessed of abundant means. The business, on the whole, must be considered either in its relation to the character of the criminal, or to the moral government of God. With respect to its connection with the general character of David, the friends of inspiration are entitled to insist upon it being considered an awful and most surprising exception to the general tenor of his life. They are entitled to add, that while they reprobate the whole affair as abominably gross and unjustifiable iniquity, it exhibits almost unparalleled repentance; perhaps taken in connection with those penitential Psalms* that immediately arose out of these circumstances, the most striking and most dolorous breathings of repentance, in the whole history of human crimes. As with regard to its connec-

* Psalm lx. lxi. &c.

tion with the divine government, it will be found, we would submit, THAT CRIME which was punished in the person of the transgressor with the greatest severity of any sin on record.[†]

David now felt it a duty to administer all possible consolation (mingled doubtless with the affectionate faithfulness to which he owed so much) to Bathsheba; of whom, as if to seal his forgiveness, and mark God's altered view of the sinner, though he long suffered for his sin, Solomon, the promised son of peace, was born shortly afterwards, and pronounced, by an express prophetic message, the Beloved of the Lord.

With heavy recollections of the past, however, David must have gone down to close the siege of Rabbah;—Josh having informed him that he was upon the point of taking the town; and with the generosity of a brave spirit (never to be denied this general in all his acts of public warfare) having requested David to come and reap the honours of the war. Rabbah is mentioned by Polybius (Hist. lib. v.) as advantageously situated on the top of several small eminences. When Antiochus took it, it was again a considerable city, and was, at this time, the capital of a large surrounding district in Arabia Felix, watered by the river Jabbock. The king David formally deposed from a station he had filled most unworthily, and probably placed Shobi, another son of his friend Nahash, of whom we shortly afterwards read in this neighbourhood, at victory over the place. The inhabitants of the town he brought forth, and "put them to the saw, to iron mines, and to iron axes, and transported them to the brick kilns," or "to the brick furnace and hod." In other words, he reduced them to slavery, and put them to the most servile employments of sawing, making iron harrows, working in the mines, &c. useful employments, as a substitute for the trade of war and private plunder. So, at some length, the learned Chaudler proposes to render this account of David's present conduct, and to his Life of David, vol. ii. p. 227—233, we refer the reader for some able criticism on these phrases.

§ 4. The period of David's public trials.

Now commenced, and though these principally arose from domestic circumstances, and were inflicted for the greater part by his own children, they place both his crown and character in a series of awful straits and storms which lasted to the very close of his reign.

About two years after the king's return from Rabbah to Jerusalem, Amnon, his son by Ahinoam, a Jezreelitess, conceived an incestuous passion for his sister Tamar, and feigning illness busied to avail himself of her affectionate attentions, violated her person and suddenly dismissed her from his house. Attired as she was, in a dress peculiar to her station, and which, from the secluded habits of females of rank and character in the east, might subject the last feelings of her out-

* The defilement of an affectionate daughter and sister by her own brother; the death of four sons, three of them before his own eyes, and one by the hand of his brother; Absalom's monstrous rebellion, which brought his father almost to the brink of ruin; the prostitution of ten of his wives before all Israel; to say nothing of the visitations of divine wrath upon his remnant's posterity (with which he was expressly made acquainted as a punishment), form the tremendous catalogue of misfortunes which attended upon this crime.

† And who brought David very large supplies of provision on his flight from Absalom, 2 Sam. xvii. 27, a proof that he did not at this time depopulate the district in the extensive way, a literal construction of this sacred narrative (2 Sam. xii. 31) would seem to import.

David.

A. M.

2970.

B. C.

1034.

Takes Rab-

bah.

A. M.

2972.

B. C.

1032.

Amnon's

outrage.

Biography.

A. M.
2972.
—
B. C.
1032.

raged virtue to the worst of reproaches, she seems to have felt most keenly this final insult, and grieved to the quick, fled to the house of her brother Absalom. David's apathy or irresolution on hearing of this transaction, is almost unaccountable; certainly it paved the way to future extended mischiefs in his house. We are told he was "very wroth," and some writers have imagined that he was deterred from pronouncing judgment by there being no law strictly applicable to the offence. However this may be, Absalom, after retaining his revengeful purpose "two full years" unexecuted, and impelled by other motives than those of justice, or even, perhaps, of resentment, for this particular crime, entrapped Amnon (his elder brother), to a feast at his sheep-shearing, dispatched him and fled.

Amnon's death and Absalom's flight.

A. M.
2974.
—
B. C.
1030.

Absalom's return and plans.

A. M.
2981.
—
B. C.
1023.

David now indulged an unavailing grief which gradually centred itself in the loss of Absalom, until Joab employed a woman of considerable address to induce him to give orders for his return. She appeared before the king with a well-constructed tale of a calamity similar to his own, and representing the demands of justice upon the life of one of her sons for the murder of his brother, with all a mother's feelings, she softened him to the purpose of her employer; who first procured a permission for Absalom to return to Jerusalem, and after two further years of penance, to the presence of his unhappy father.

Within about four years after this period, the true character of Absalom was finally developed. Availing himself of the now advancing age of David, and of the certainty of finding individual murmurs amongst the claimants for public justice, this ambitious prince could devote the revenue assigned him by his father to the purpose of producing disaffection in the hearts of his subjects. He appeared in splendid equipages, he soothed the discontented, and inflamed the clamorous, until "the conspiracy was strong," and a message came to David that the hearts of the men of Israel were with Absalom. David now seems fully to have anticipated the baseness of which this favorite child was capable; he was driven from his capital, and after a pious remonstrance with Zadok, the priest, who wished the ark of God to partake in his banishment, "he went up by the ascent of Mount Olivet, and wept as he went up, and had his head covered and he went barefoot"; halting a little beyond the hill, to understand the extent of the treason, and make proper dispositions for receiving tidings of his progress.

His rebellion.

Ahithophel, one of his chief statesmen, had joined the standard of revolt; David again commits himself to a wisdom rarely sought by statesmen; and keeping his eye firmly on the master-point of the enemy's strength (as that wisdom alone could enable him to do), he seems to embark his whole cause and crown on the issue of his memorable prayer, That "JEHOVAH would turn the counsel of Ahithophel into foolishness." He was not disappointed. After enduring the shameful curses and personal violence of Shimei, who stigmatized him as a bloody man and an usurper, and, in the spirit of his best days, forbidding Abishai to resent them;—after hearing of the violation of his wives by the counsel of Ahithophel, as predicted by Nathan, when he had outraged the honour of that statesman's own family;—after the very counsel had been given to Absalom which would have affected the final ruin of David; that counsel was overruled by a

* See the peculiar provision made Deut. xiii. 23, 24.

specious declamation of the secret friend of David, Hushai, who had joined himself to the advisers of Absalom; and the indignant Ahithophel hung himself! The king had now passed the Jordan, and encamped at Mahanaim, whither he summoned all his troops, and placing them under the joint command of Joab, Abishai, Ittai, and himself, prepared to go forth with them to the coast. Absalom in the interim had conferred the command of his forces upon Amasa, and had followed his father to the wood of Ephraim. The adherents of David remonstrating with him, on the needless exposure of his person which might ensue in a general engagement, he finally agreed to wait with a reserved force in the town of Mahanaim; and the day of this most unnatural strife approached. Peculiar inheclity would appear to have attended all the measures of Absalom; we read scarcely of any orderly resistance which his forces made; "the battle was scattered over all the face of the country," 20,000 of his followers fell, and "the wood devoured more people that day than the sword." In the sequel this aspiring prince himself was found suspended by his hair in an oak, which had thus entangled him in his flight, and Joab receiving the intelligence, came up and dispatched him there. Against this catastrophe David had so far expressly provided as to employ upon all his followers to spare the prince; and received the tidings of his death with heartfelt agony. *O my son Absalom, my son, my son Absalom! Would God I had died for thee, O Absalom my son, my son!* were the bitter strains which he repeated; and until roused by the anafeling threats of Joab, seemed hardly sensible that he had regained a kingdom, and had still the arduous task of ruling it.

Returning to Jerusalem over the Jordan, he was now met by the sly Shimei, suing for his life, which David promised him; by the grateful Mephibosheth, who came to refute the calumny with which Ziba had met David on his retreat; and by Barzillai, a Gadite, who had munificently supplied him with provisions at Mahanaim. But an unhappy jealousy arose between the men of Judah and the other tribes. The former had been most active in bringing back the king, and their brethren were angry that they were not specially invited to join them. An artificial political incendiary, Sheba, availed himself of this inflamed state of the popular mind; and the king had scarcely settled himself at Jerusalem when the great body of the tribes again revolted from him. Amasa, the former general of Absalom, who on his defeat had been peculiarly active in securing the tribe of Judah to the king, was now called upon to head the army; but being somewhat dilatory in his measures, a reinforcement was sent out, including the troops under the immediate command of Joab. This powerful chief once more becomes an assassin. Jealous of Amasa's present distinction, he stabbed him in a friendly embrace, and to silence the anticipated resentment of the king, proceeds after Sheba, and quickly brings back his head.

A famine now occurred throughout the whole of the dominions of David for three successive years. Inquiring the cause, he was answered by the divine oracle, that it was for Saul and his bloody house, because he slew the Gibeonites; a people, it will be recollected, whom Joshua, the ancient commander of the tribes, swore to spare from the general fate of the Canaanites. By the same authority he seems to have been directed to order the execution of seven of Saul's surviving

David.

A. M.
2981.
—
B. C.
1023.

His death.

A. M.
2982.
—
B. C.
1022.

Sheba's revolt.

Biography. posterity (indeed Josephus asserts it expressly), and the famous cedar.

Three years after this period there was a short war renewed with the Philistines, chiefly remarkable for the personal danger in which David was thrown by another of the Philistine giants, from whom he so narrowly escaped, that the people resolved he should go out personally to battle no more. Four other men of remarkable stature and strength (all of them probably of the family of Goliath, and one of them expressly called his brother) fell at this time by the hand of David's servants and generals.

Another great public error produces a final public chastisement of David and his people. The most probable account of this appears to be that suggested by Delaney. The Israelites were commanded by the Mosaic law, whenever the people were numbered, to pay half a shekel into the sanctuary for every man twenty years old. David now seems to have ordered this census without paying the Mosaic ransom, and God immediately visited it as an act of pride and presumption. Of three evils, he was commanded to choose one; whether he would endure three years famine in the land, three days' pestilence, or flee three months before his enemies. He seems hardly to have chosen either in the general expression of his resignation to God's will, *Let us fall now into the hand of the Lord for his mercies are great, and let me not fall into the hand of man*; but he evidently inclined toward that judgment which came most immediately from God's hand—the pestilence. Accordingly a plague ensued which destroyed, in less than the short interval threatened, 70,000 men from Dan to Beersheba; a calamity without a parallel in history.

To the deeply-penitent monarch a vision of appeased wrath was at last granted:—to an angel hovering between heaven and earth with a drawn sword in his hand stretched out over Jerusalem, he heard the welcome address go forth—*It is enough!*—and distinguished the spot by the purchase of the estate over which the awful messenger was standing, and the sacrifice of numerous burnt-offerings to Jehovah; declaring, at the same time, that this must be the spot on which the future temple of God should be most acceptably erected.

Preparations for the temple.

Our limits will not permit us to dwell on the catalogue of materials for this building which David now reduced to order, or the actual preparations for that work which he commenced. Suffice it to observe, that the noiseless fabric which grew afterwards together, as a holy temple unto God, was begun full two years before his death; that a complete schedule of the necessary works, and all the means of accomplishing them, were handed over by this prince to Solomon; and that his dying charge to that monarch, (now declared his successor), and to the assembled people, respected their grateful and careful use of them.

The brief and indecorous attempts of Adonijah to disturb the arrangements of his dying father, as more properly belonging to the reign of Solomon, are given in a subsequent article. It remains but to notice some two or three personal particulars of the last charge of David to Solomon, which have been thought to exhibit a duplicity unworthy his character. That he should direct the speedy punishment of Joab for the crimes he specifies, the murder of Abner and Amasa, can surely need no apology; or that he gratefully remembered the attentions of Barzilai. But a difficulty

has been found in reconciling the instruction to Solomon respecting Shimei, with David's oath to that worthless person, that he should not die for his former crimes. We submit to the reader, that David himself very prominently names that oath in his charge to Solomon on this occasion, which there could have been no conceivable motive to do, had he meant that it should be violated; that he means to describe his true moral character, as David's it afterwards was fully confirmed, when he says, but charge. "hold him not guiltless," which he certainly was not; that the appeal to Solomon's wisdom had been useless ("for now thou art a wise man, and knowest what thou oughtest to do unto him") had no discretion been left with him, nothing but a plain direction to punish; and that the construction of the whole, therefore, fairly is, that the particular observation of Solomon must be directed toward this quarter, in which David plainly says he would find reason at last to inflict the vengeance which he did.*

David died in peace at Jerusalem, in the seventy-first year of his age, thirty-three of which he had reigned over the whole people of Israel, and seven over the united tribes of Judah and Benjamin, at his capital in Hebron.

What shall we say of a character which the writings of infidelity present with some new shade of deformity to every age? That it has no shades of its own? There is no candid reader of this memoir of David that will suspect us of leaning to such a folly; for do the Scriptures either profess to give us more than our perfect model of human character, or spare any one that comes short of it?

David was a poet of high natural genius, commanding a flexible and copious versification, in a comparatively barbarous age; the poets of all countries have borrowed from him, and the most distinguished of our own country have yielded him the highest praise. We first find his talents devoted to soothing the degrading and dangerous malady of a known rival; afterwards at numerous intervals they breathe forth God's praises in exile and in affliction, in defeat and in death. As the candidate for a throne to which he was divinely appointed, he spends the noon-tide warms of life upon lessons of patience, moderation, and unparalleled forbearance; possessing the throne of Judah and Benjamin, the most powerful of all the tribes, and more than equal under his administration to the forces of all the rest, he waits from thirty years of age to forty for the full establishment of his kingdom after the death of Saul. Brave and skilful in war, the habit of his soul was peace; successful as a commander, he is most conspicuous for his pious dependence upon God; as a friend his attachment to Jonathan never was surpassed; as an enemy his conduct to Saul is matchless; born in obscurity, he left his son the richest prince of his age; nursed in adversity, his counsels were remembered and practised by the wisest and most prosperous of men. "In youth a hero," as Delaney finely closes his character, "in manhood a monarch; in age a saint! This is DAVID. What his revilers are their own revivings tell!"

* Delaney contends, that the particle rendered, *consequently* in our received Version, should be translated *disjunctively*, as in Prov. xix. 3, when the charge would run thus, "Now, therefore, neither hold him guiltless (for thou art a wise man, and knowest what thou oughtest to do unto him) nor his hour hand bring thou down to the grave with blood."

David.

A. M.
2987.
—
B. C.
1017.

Death.

A. M.
2989.
—
B. C.
1015.

HISTORY.

CHAPTER III.

THE ISRAELITISH MONARCHY,

FROM THE REIGN OF SOLOMON TO THE CAPTIVITY OF THE TEN TRIBES.

History.

A. M.
2989.
B. C.
1015.

Prosperity
of Solo-
mon's reign.

His unex-
pected fall.

David's
project for a
national
temple

THE era of History now to pass before us, will pre-
sent all those mingled characters, and sudden transi-
tions, which might well be deemed an epitome of
human affairs upon the largest scale, and a map of the
political changes made on the face of the whole earth
from age to age. It opens with a splendour eclipsing
the glory of the mightiest empires; it closes under a
cloud, which may diminish all notions of their instabi-
lity, and of the claims of truth and righteousness
to be the firmest pillars of a state. Nothing can more
distinctly prove the extent of the renown of the Jewish
empire at the period of which we speak, than the fact,
that the name of Solomon has passed over all countries,
and has ever been associated with the qualities of
power, of wisdom, and of glory; while the very fables
with which imagination has connected them, tend to
establish the facts which are recorded of this monarch
in the Scriptures. Had he been any thing less than
he is there represented, it had never occurred to the
wildest fancy to decorate him, almost in preference
to every other potentate, with superhuman attributes.
But all the east resounds with his name and his praise;
and the system of Mohammed has borrowed its most
vivid beauties from the traditions which have been cir-
culated relative to this prince. Not satisfied with the
fact, that he developed the secret laws of nature, they
assigned to him the command of the elements; and,
as though the material universe were too limited a do-
minion, they have subjected to his control the rebel
spirits and the invisible world; they have invested
him with an authority which survives the kingdom over
which he ruled; and have constructed the mighty
machinery of geni and magic upon the traditions of
his wisdom and their conceptions of his majesty.

The reign of David terminated in glory, yet it was
troubled to the last moment. He named Solomon his
successor, neither from caprice nor from parental par-
tiality, but by divine appointment. That illustrious
monarch had projected the building a splendid temple
to Jehovah; and the design was approved, but he was
not to be the instrument of carrying it into effect.
His hands were polluted with blood; the stormy char-
acter of his reign had compelled him too frequently
to make appeal to the sword, for the God of Peace to
think it fitting that he should rear the national sanc-
tuary; and when Solomon, whose very name became

a pledge of the peaceful character of his reign (מָלֵךְ
peacable, from שָׁלוֹם), was appointed as his successor,
it was promised that he should accomplish this pious
purpose; that the throne of David should be estab-
lished in him; and as well for the consolation of the
father, under the loss of his first child by Bathsheba,
as to mark the divine favour to this young prince, he
received another title from Nathan the prophet, Jedaiah,
i. e. *Beloved of the Lord*.

Notwithstanding this appointment, so evidently under
divine disposal, the eldest son of David, Adonijah, in
the closing days of that monarch, attempted to usurp his
throne, and formed a powerful conspiracy, in which Joab,
the celebrated Israelitish general, and Abiathar the
priest, who had remained faithful during the revolt of
Absalom, were involved, to exclude Solomon from the
succession. The tidings of this formidable coalition
were brought to the ears of the aged sovereign by
Nathan the prophet, and Benaiah, a rising general,
through Bathsheba, the mother of Solomon. In this
extremity, David commanded the immediate coronation
of Solomon, who thus came to the kingdom before the
death of his father; and Adonijah, unable to establish
his pretensions, submitted to the youthful monarch, and
was forgiven his rash attempt upon the empire. This
clemency proved, in the event, of little avail.

David having issued instructions relative to the pro-
jected temple, and placed in the hand of his son a
schedule of the immense materials he had prepared
for that purpose, in giving his last charge, did not
forget the indignities which he had suffered from Shimei
and Joab; the latter of whom he rejoined upon Solomon
decidedly to punish, while he was carefully to watch
over the conduct of the former. Accordingly, upon
the death of his father, one of the first acts of Solomon's
reign was to deal with these offenders. Adonijah, who
seems to have forgotten the perilous circumstances
from which he was just rescued, with a rashness at
which one cannot but be astonished, requested that he
might be permitted to marry Abishag, the wife of the
late king. This petition was also put in the most ar-
rogant terms, enforcing his right of primogeniture,
affirming the choice of the people, and making a merit
of the resignation of the throne, for which he would
consider the grant of this favour as a sufficient remu-
neration. It seems still more remarkable, that Bath-

Israelitish
Monarchy.

A. M.
2989.
B. C.
1015.

Referred to
Solomon.
Adonijah's
conspiracy.

Solomon
crowned.

David's last
charge.

Adonijah's
rashness.

History sheba should have consented to prefer a demand so couched, especially when to marry any of the king's concubines was notoriously considered, by oriental nations, treason against the royal dignity. Solomon instantly perceived those covert designs, as well as the gross insult, which his mother had overlooked; and enraged at the temerity of Adonijah, he commanded him to be immediately put to death, and proceeded to the punishment of others involved in the former conspiracy.

Punishment of Adonijah. The king dispossessed Abiathar of the priesthood, and put Zadoc in his place; but he spared his life in consideration of his fidelity to his father; and, with strong menaces, confined him to his possessions in Anathoth. Thus, at the close of a century and a-half, the house of Eli was visited in the person of Abiathar, as had been predicted by Samuel; and the punishment which commenced with the death of Hophni and Phinehas, reached even to the reign of Solomon. Joab heard of these proceedings, and foresaw his own destruction. He fled to the tabernacle as a sanctuary, and was slain, even while he clung to the horns of the altar. This severity was justified by the crime of Joab, in shedding innocent blood in two instances, which the perilous situation of David's affairs at the time, did not allow him to punish. Benaiah, who executed the king's sentence, received his appointment as commander of the forces, in the room of Joab. It remained only to visit Shimei; and Solomon appears to have respected the original promise of David, that he should not die for his former offence (2 Sam. xix. 23.), by only confining him within the walls of Jerusalem;—at the same time apprising him that if he presumed to trespass upon the injunction his life would be the forfeit. To this condition Shimei thankfully subscribed; but violating it, three years afterwards, by passing over to Gath in pursuit of two of his servants who had fled from him, he voluntarily incurred the penalty, which Solomon immediately executed.

and of Shimei. Having firmly seated himself on the throne, Solomon sought to strengthen his kingdom by foreign alliances; and married the daughter of the king of Egypt, at that time one of the most powerful empires existing. This marriage has been differently regarded by different writers. Some, considering it a violation of the Mosaic law (Deut. vii. 3.), at least in the spirit of it, as including all foreign alliances, besides those expressly enumerated, have seen in this connexion the source of that idolatry into which this distinguished prince degenerated in his old age; while others have supposed that this princess had embraced the Jewish religion before he married her. It is certain that no disapprobation is expressed, or implied, on the part of Deity, and that this event was immediately followed by a very signal mark of divine favour at Gibeon, which laid the basis of Solomon's pre-eminent wisdom; while the idolatry of his advanced life may be traced to another origin than his alliance with the Egyptian princess, in his connexion with "many strange women (besides the daughter of Pharaoh):" from those very nations with whom marriages had been expressly prohibited, and whose manners and superstitions he was seduced to imitate. Upon occasion of his union with the Egyptian princess, it is supposed that matchless specimen of oriental poetry, called Solomon's Song, was composed as an epithalamium: together with the sublime forty-

Solomon's Song.

fifth Psalm. The latter bears evident reference to something beyond the occasion, and involves considerations relative to the empire of the Messiah of the highest order; and that the former should be considered not merely as an epithalamium, but as having a hidden and spiritual meaning conveyed in its symbolic imagery—its position in the sacred canon, and the concurrent judgment of many distinguished divines, may well induce us to suppose.

Before the erection of the temple, the tabernacle was at Gibeon; and while this sumptuous structure was rearing, Solomon went up thither to sacrifice. Hitherto, the testimony respecting him was, "Solomon loved the Lord:" and this testimony was recorded *after* his marriage with Pharaoh's daughter. On one solemn occasion, he offered no less than a thousand sacrifices. While he remained at Gibeon, it pleased God "in a dream by night," to signify his approbation of the youthful monarch; and to say, "Ask what I shall give thee." Sensible of the weight of government which rested upon his youthful shoulders, he implored for wisdom in preference to every other blessing. This choice was approved so highly, that not only was it promised he should excel all other men in knowledge, but the honour, and riches, which he had not sought, were superadded; and it was further stated, on condition of his keeping the divine statutes, that his days should be lengthened also.

An occurrence soon happened to put his qualifications to a public test. Two women brought before him a living and a dead child, each affirming herself to be the mother of the living infant, and assigning the dead one to her antagonist. The plea seemed so equal, that in the absence of other evidence than their own, which was directly contradictory, it was impossible to decide which had the real right in the surviving babe. Solomon took the most effectual way of determining this intricate question, by irresistibly calling forth the feelings of nature. He commanded a sword to be brought, that the living child might be divided between the claimants. This the real mother could not endure, but consented to relinquish her interest in the babe, rather than be accessory to its death; while the other applauded the equity of the sentence. To her whose tenderness discovered her relationship to the child, he commanded it to be delivered, amidst the admiration of his surrounding counsellors, and the reverence of his people, among whom the report of this instance of his penetration soon diffused itself.

The wisdom of Solomon was further demonstrated in his political appointments; the princes whom he called round his person, and the general provisions for the government of his empire. The prosperity and glory of his reign may be gathered from the extent of his dominions, from the Euphrates to the Nile, and even beyond the Euphrates; and from the profound peace which prevailed during his life. The nations around him were either tributary to him, or strengthened him with their alliance: "and Judah and Israel dwelt safely, every man under his vine, and under his fig-tree, from Dan even unto Beersheba, all the days of Solomon." In the mean while, the unbounded researches of his mighty mind were exploring the fields of nature; the animal and vegetable world submitted to his scrutiny; nothing escaped his penetration, from the loftiest to the most minute forms of the creation; while the

Isaiah's Monarchy.

A. M.
2990.
—
A. C.
1014.

Solomon's dream and choice.

His wise judgment.

National prosperity.

History. fountains of intellectual being were broken up to his view, and displayed in productions, some of which only survive to tell the world what he was, and others have passed away with the age that produced them. His fame reached the remotest parts of the known world, and incorporated itself with the history of all countries.

Hiram. The attached and tried friend of his father David, Hiram, king of Tyre, was among the first to offer his sincere congratulations to the young prince, who so ably filled the throne. This prompt tender of friendship was as frankly and warmly met on the part of Solomon, who concerted with this monarch the means of carrying into effect the intention of his father, and of accomplishing his own magnificent plans for the temple.

Avails him in building the temple. Hiram engaged to furnish him with skilful artificers to co-operate with his own workmen, and to transport cedars, fir-trees, and other wood, from Lebanon, in floats to his own ports. Solomon, in return, agreed to furnish him yearly with "20,000 measures of wheat, for food to his household, and 20 measures of pure oil;" so the Hebrew and the Vulgate read; but it is generally agreed that it ought to be read, 20,000 measures of oil also. Starting as this circumstance

Variation of numbers. may at first appear, it should be remembered that the ancient mode of defining numbers by letters, with super-added marks, the least of which would swell units into thousands, and the omission of a point sink thousands into units, will easily account for certain numerical variations, almost unavoidable in such a process, while these variations, so easily and naturally accounted for, in mere numbers, leave the authenticity of the history unimpaired, and its general features unchanged. We make this remark here, and once for all, because other instances occur of differences in numbers, arising from those obvious causes, between the historical accounts of the books of Kings and Chronicles, while the facts in both are one and the same.

A. M. 2992. B. C. 1012. In the fourth year of his reign, and the 480th of the departure of Israel from Egypt, Solomon began that stupendous work, which was the admiration of the world while it stood, and has since been the theme of all ages. He employed, of the descendants of the Cannanites, 70,000 to bear burdens, 80,000 to hew timber and stone in the mountains, under 3,600 overseers; making a total of 153,600. In addition to these strangers, he levied 30,000 Israelites, whom he sent, 10,000 a month, by courses, under the direction of

The temple. Adoniram. To describe the magnificent structure which rose out of these astonishing labours, would demand a separate article, and cannot be attempted here. It may be necessary, however, to remark, that the only certain account of the temple must be gathered from the books of Kings and Chronicles; that in the general sketches furnished by these, many particulars must be deficient; that it is not safe to supply these from the extravagances of the Jewish rabbins; that Josephus himself had no other information respecting the first temple than that which lies before us in the sacred writings; that his descriptions, so far as they extend beyond the naked text, should not be depended upon, especially when his fondness for tradition is considered; that many who have written upon this subject, besides adopting such traditions, have confounded the temple of Ezekiel, as seen in vision, with the features and

proportions of the actual temple of Solomon; and that, after the closest investigation, we cannot arrive at any absolute certainty as to its form and dimensions.

Some remarkable circumstances in connection with this extraordinary structure must not be omitted. Of whatever its several parts consisted, the trees were shaped as they were felled, the stones were moulded at their quarries, the metals were formed for their several purposes at the forge, or the depository; every thing was completed before it came to Jerusalem, "so that there was neither hammer, nor axe, nor any tool of iron heard in the house while it was building; every part of the materials fitted for its respective position required nothing more than to be adjusted and cemented. The site of the temple was Mount Moriah, a solid rock, presenting unequal surfaces, which must have been levelled with prodigious labour, and might possibly have been attempted, and partly achieved, before the death of David, who had not only prepared materials for this stupendous structure, but actually assembled Tyrian workmen around him. The work being facilitated by these preparatory measures, stimulated by the ardent zeal of the youthful monarch, and superintended by the commanding spirit of wisdom which distinguished him, this astonishing edifice was reared in seven years. Completed.

It would be unpardonable to pass over a minute fact, which is one of those incidental circumstances that would be naturally noted by a true historian, but never occur to any man who planned a fiction. It is said, in the account of the placing the ark in the temple, "There was nothing in the ark save the two tables of stone which Moses put there at Horeb, when the Lord made a covenant with the children of Israel, when they came out of the land of Egypt." A confirmation is thus indirectly furnished of the history contained in the books of Moses, 491 years after that legislator had written. (See Exod. xiv. 16 and 21, compared with 1 Kings, viii. 9, and 2 Chron. v. 10.) In this magnificent sanctuary was a profusion of cedar, brass, silver, gold, and "costly stones," with the richest produce of Tyre, as well in materials as workmanship; nor can a more lively apprehension of the unbounded wealth of this monarch be furnished, than by regarding the golden shields, and the splendid furniture of a temple literally overlaid internally with the most precious of all the metals.

The dedication of the temple took place in the year of the ninth Jubilee, celebrated by the Jews; and a little delay seems to have occurred after the completion of the work, that its consecration might, by this circumstance, acquire additional splendour. No sooner was the ark deposited in its sacred receptacle, than the luminous cloud, the visible symbol of the Divine Presence, filled the temple, the brightness of which was so insufferable, that the priests were compelled to suspend their ministerial functions. It was then that Solomon, who had been standing upon a brass scaffold, before the altar, kneeled down, in the presence of his assembled subjects, and offered up a prayer of consecration, so solemn, so sublime, and so comprehensive, that it is difficult to say what quality was pre-eminent in a devotional effusion which excelled in all. The sacrifices offered were immense; that of the first day of a feast which lasted seven, consisted of 22,000 oxen, and 120,000 sheep. To this august ceremony succeeded the feast of tabernacles, which

Israelitish Monarchy.

A. M. 2992. B. C. 1012.

Began.

A. M. 3000.

B. C. 1004.

Ark deposited.

Dedication of the temple.

Sacrifices and offerings.

History.

A. M.
3000.
—
B. C.
1004.

also lasted seven days; so that the public rejoicings continued uninterruptedly an entire fortnight. At the close of these, a second *vianna* was vouchsafed to Solomon, assuring him of the divine favour, if he held fast his fidelity to God; and warning him, at the same time, that if he forsook the God of his fathers, it was not the magnificence of the house which he had consecrated that should secure it from desolation; but that, in such an event, it should assuredly be laid waste, and his people, carried into captivity, be scattered among all nations.

A. M.
3012.
—
B. C.
992.

Solomon's palaces.

This superb structure was followed by other embellishments of Jerusalem, suitable to the splendour of his own mind, and according with the prosperity of his reign. He built a palace for himself, which consumed thirteen years in its erection; a second, which he called "the house of the forest of Lebanon;" and a third for his queen, "the daughter of Pharaoh." These were all constructed on plans of the utmost magnificence. His wealth was prodigious—all his establishments of surpassing grandeur—his wisdom unrivalled in Egypt, and throughout the east—his writings, of which only a few remain, innumerable—his power equal to his prosperity—since he rendered the whole of the remaining Canaanites tributary—and his empire extended over the Philistines, the ancient enemies of Israel, "even to the border of Egypt." Two things which added to his princely magnificence and amazing riches, have been considered as a departure from the prescriptions of Deity, relative to the government of the Jews; the one, the multiplication of chariots and horsemen, as well for war, as for purposes of state; and the other, the commercial relations which he formed with other nations, stimulated probably by his very intimate connection with Tyre, but inconsistent, apparently, with the duties of a people, who were commanded, as the badge of their peculiar destination, to keep themselves separate from all other states.*

Hiram's discontent.

The mutual agreement between Solomon and the king of Tyre did not terminate so happily as it promised: for Hiram was displeased with the twenty cities in Galilee which the king of Israel had assigned to him in acknowledgment of his assistance in the stupendous works of Jerusalem, and marked his disapprobation as well by his expostulations, as by the name which he imposed upon them: nor would he retain them; and Solomon appointed them in consequence as the residence of certain colonies of his own subjects.

Jerusalem fortified.

Amidst the prosperity of his peaceful reign, this great monarch did not neglect whatever was essential to the security of his dominions, either in his own, or after-times. To him Jerusalem owed its almost impregnable walls; and various other towns, and positions of importance, in his vast empire, were fortified with great care and expence.

Queen of Sheba.

Among the illustrious visitors whom the fame of Solomon's wisdom and power drew to Jerusalem, the most distinguished was the queen of Sheba. And here a question arises, as to the country of this renowned princess. She is called "the queen of the south;" and our Lord says, "she came from the uttermost parts of

the earth, to hear the wisdom of Solomon." Our attention is naturally directed to countries south of Jerusalem, and an examination of those parts most distant from the seat of the Israelitish empire, from which an acknowledgment of the greatness and renown of Solomon was voluntarily offered. The point at issue appears to lie between Arabia and Ethiopia; both of which are south of Judea. But there is a very important circumstance, long agitated, and more lately illustrated by Mr. Bruce, which seems to point more distinctly to Ethiopia. He found that the Abyssinians (in other words, the Ethiopians) maintain to this hour, that this princess was of their country; that her posterity long reigned there; that she had a son by Solomon, from whom the regal stock is derived; and they hold various traditions respecting this monarch. It is not impossible, however, that the queen of Ethiopia might be sovereign of Arabia also—an empire divided only by the Red sea; and thus the differences of those accounts, which agree in many essential points, become reconciled. Whatever might be the precise spot of her empire, it is evident that she was governed by an ardent thirst of knowledge, which could attract her to Jerusalem, confessedly very remote from her country. She was overwhelmed by his magnificence, and still more by his matchless wisdom; which she proved, according to the practice of the times (which long after prevailed, and was recognized by the seven Grecian sages, at their meetings), by difficult questions and abstruse propositions; her satisfaction was so entire at his solution of her enquiries, and her admiration so unbounded at the splendour of his state, that she avowed fame had not done him justice; for "the half had not been told her." After an interchange of presents, they parted, mutually gratified; and this memorable interview was but one more tribute to a wisdom, to which all existing monarchs paid homage, and which all succeeding ages have consented to eulogize.

Israelitish Monarchy.

A. M.
3012.
—
B. C.
992.

Her country.

Her admission of Solomon.

It may be proper to pause here, and mark more particularly those principal occurrences in the Scripture narrative of the reign of Solomon, which have that collateral and foreign confirmation we should expect to find. About this time, or rather later, the earliest Grecian poetry has its origin; from which the first historians of antiquity gathered most of the materials of their records.

The temple of Solomon was a structure too celebrated not to be referred to as an actually existing monument of the power and wealth of the Hebrews at that time; and the temple of Vulcan in Egypt, and other magnificent sanctuaries in the heathen world, borrowed their grand outline from this stupendous edifice. To affirm the existence of such a building, supposing it never to have existed, must have subjected the records of the country boasting of it to derision and contempt. To admit its existence, and in the splendour assumed, must afford sufficient evidence of the prosperity of the Israelitish empire at that time, and of the power, magnificence, and wealth, of the reigning monarch. The facts, whatever they were, must have been known to the Tyrians, who assisted in the execution of the design; and to the Babylonians, who were the instruments of its destruction; and had any thing been affirmed in the Jewish writings contrary to truth on those points, their testimony must have been arraigned and exposed by the records of

Collateral evidences of Solomon's history.

* The nature and extent of his commercial pursuits appear to us, at least, questionable; while the multiplication of chariots, the accumulation of great wealth, and especially the multitude of wives, are expressly prohibited. See Deut. xvii. 14—20.

History. these countries. The wisdom of Solomon also was not confined within the limits of his empire, extensive as that was, but the earth is filled with his fame.—His penetration—his knowledge—his majesty and might, were recorded by nations the most remote from each other, in point of position; the most opposed in political interests; and the most unlike as to habits and circumstances.

A. M. We are now to notice a melancholy reverse of all this wisdom and glory—to see the sun darkening as it declined, and finally setting behind an impenetrable cloud. An awful lesson is afforded to the world when such an understanding as that of Solomon was capable of being seduced; and the desolating power of sin is affecting shown, contrasted with so much moral and intellectual beauty. As he advanced in life he multiplied his wives and his concubines to an enormous extent, having seven hundred of the former, and three hundred of the latter; and these, in violation of an express law, were indiscriminately taken from foreign and idolatrous nations. Their ascendancy over the king induced him to adopt their various superstitions; and he filled his country with altars and groves dedicated to their respective idols; which, abounding in Jerusalem, polluted the very fane that he had himself reared at such immense cost, and consecrated to Jehovah. Among these were the objects of the worship of the Ammonites and of the Moabites, distinguished for the foul and cruel rites practised by their adorers; and “*Astarteth*, the goddess of the Sidonians,” a popular deity in that and subsequent ages; called also *Astarte* by the Phenicians, and *Astartar* by the Saxons, whence our term *Easter* is said to be derived, sacrifices being offered to this idol in the month of April. These idols had temples erected to them on the Mount of Olives, directly over against the temple of Jerusalem. The divine displeasure was now marked in another communication to the anxious monarch, far different from his two former dreams; and it was distinctly told him, that his kingdom should be divided, and the largest portion pass away from his family, a remnant only remaining, in reward of the piety of his father David. In compassion also to one whose youth was so full of promise, it was added, that the threatened separation should not take place in his day. While this communication was made to Solomon, the means of carrying into effect its substance were actually adopting, and the last days of Solomon were disturbed by incipient troubles which fell heavily upon his successors. Hadad, the king of Edom, cherished an irreconcilable hostility against the family of David, by whom his country had been laid waste; and although he was compelled to shelter himself in Egypt, during the reign of that monarch, and a part of that of his illustrious successor, his inextinguishable hatred burnt with a fury over which time had no power. He strengthened himself by alliances in Egypt, and subsequently by preparations at home, to strike a decisive blow at his adversary, the first opportune moment that might present itself. Another enemy to Solomon and to Israel was found in the person of Rezon, who first revolted from the king of Zobah, and afterwards, at the head of a band of men, who joined his fortunes, established a kingdom at Damascus, and reigned over Syria. It appears, from the sacred historian, that each of these adversaries, so formidable afterwards,

harassed the Israelites during the close of Solomon's reign. The prophet Ahab had received the divine command to state to Jeroboam, an Ephraimite, of a quick judgment and a daring spirit, whom Solomon had patronized and employed, that ten of the tribes of Israel should, at the death of the king, come under his government (the remainder alone being spared to the royal heir), because of the idolatries of Solomon, yet that this division should not take place while the reigning monarch lived. The manner in which this prediction was conveyed, accorded with the symbolical usages of the age and country. Jeroboam, being clothed in a new garment, met the prophet alone in a field, by whom his robe was taken off, and rent into twelve pieces, of which he gave Jeroboam ten, signifying thereby not only the division of the empire, but the proportionate share which he should have in it. This extraordinary rencounter, with all its circumstances, coming to the ear of the king, Jeroboam was compelled to flee to Shishak, king of Egypt, under whose protection he lived until the death of Solomon.

Whether these conspiring events, attended by the express admonition which he had received, wrought repentance in the heart of the aged monarch is not said, nor does it become us to attempt to decide upon the great question of his final state. This has been frequently agitated, and often with little decorum. If we were to venture an opinion, it would be a favourable one; for he who was honoured with the distinguished title, *the beloved of the Lord*, in his youth, one would fain conclude, would not be left wholly to perish in his age. Besides which, it has been thought, with a high degree of probability, that the book of Ecclesiastes was the production of his old age, and the depository of his better thoughts, when the delusions of life were fast fading from his eyes. This is a point, however, upon which we have no evidence; and it appears to us to comport with the justice and purity of the divine character, that the state of even such a man as Solomon should be left doubtful, as a punishment of his apostasy, and an alarming instance of the malignity of sin; he died after a reign of forty years; precisely the date of his father David's sovereignty; and so far as we can judge, upon the reasonable supposition that he came to the throne in his eighteenth year, about fifty-eight years old. Thus the riches and glory which were promised him, as annexed to his wisdom, because he made so judicious a choice, were granted; but the length of days, which was conditionally held out to him, if he adhered to the divine statutes, was denied; for the statement of Josephus, who assigns to him eighty years of reign, and ninety-four of life, is not only without foundation, but will appear upon examination to be a palpable error.

Solomon, at sixteen years of age, when he came to the throne, began to astonish Israel with that wisdom which afterwards spread through the whole earth; Rehoboam, who succeeded him at the age of forty, afforded, at the commencement of his inauspicious reign, such an instance of his folly and tyranny, as revolted the hearts of his subjects, and alienated ten parts of his empire. How unlike to his illustrious predecessor! and how striking an exemplification of Solomon's own description of “a foolish son!” That eminent men should have weak children, is an occurrence not uncommon in the history of mankind—why it is so, is not

Israelitish Monarchy.
A. M.
3024.
—
B. C.
980.
Jerusalem.

The prophet Ahab.

Solomon's defection.

Astarteth.

Solomon threatened.

Hadad.

Rezon.

Solomon's repentance uncertain.

A. M.
3029.
—
B. C.
975.
His death.

Error of Josephus.

Rehoboam.

His folly.

History.

A. M.
3029.
—
B. C.
975.His answer
to the
people.Revolt of
the ten
tribes.Jeroboam's
idols.Royal and
priestly
dignity
united.

easily soluble on any philosophical principle. At forty, Rehoboam was old enough to have preferred the wise policy of his father's tried and aged counsellors—nor could the young men who "grew up with him" have been novices; but they seem to have had the same measure of understanding with himself; and it is the characteristic of a weak man to delight in the company of fools. Upon the death of the king of Israel, Jeroboam returned out of Egypt, and Shechem being the place at which the new monarch intended to receive the homage of his people, this adventurer presented himself at the head of a multitude, who thought themselves aggrieved by certain taxes imposed by Solomon, and required a relaxation of these burdens as the condition of their allegiance. Contrary to the advice of his father's ministers, Rehoboam, at the close of three days, which he had demanded to deliberate upon their petition, returned for answer, as he had been counselled by his rash companions, that so far from purposing to relax the severities of his predecessor, it was his fixed resolution to impose upon them a yoke incomparably heavier. This weak and wicked determination caused ten of the twelve tribes of Israel to separate from the house of David. Adoram, the collector of tribute, was slain; Jeroboam elected king of Israel; Judah and Benjamin, with a remnant of the other tribes, alone remaining faithful to the son of Solomon; and Rehoboam himself was compelled to seek his personal safety by flying to Jerusalem. In this emergency, he raised an army of 180,000 men to chastise the revolvers, and reduce them to obedience; but when this formidable force were upon the point of marching against their rebelling brethren, a message from God, by the prophet Shemaiah, forbade their expedition, and explained, that this defection had been permitted by him as a visitation for the idolatry of Solomon.

In the meanwhile Jeroboam sought to establish his newly-acquired empire, making Shechem the seat of government, until Samaria afterwards obtained that distinction (which, however, from local advantages, reverted again to Shechem after Samaria was destroyed). The policy of the new monarch of Israel suggested to him, that he would always be in danger of revolt while his subjects went up year by year to the metropolis of his rival to worship. He, therefore, erected two altars, the one at Dan, the other at Bethel, for the specious purpose of their convenience in remembering the God that brought them up out of Egypt, but in reality for idolatrous worship. According to the model furnished by Egypt, and familiar to Israel, two golden calves were set up, in imitation of the Apis of that country, to which the people had, in the wilderness, shown so fatal a preference; and, with their former ungrateful caprice, his subjects quickly complied with the suggestion of their monarch. But as he stood by the altar to offer incense, evidently for the further purpose of blending the priestly with the kingly dignity (a practice as strictly forbidden to the Jews, as it was prevalent among other nations, to the fall of the Roman empire), and approached to perform these usurped functions, a prophet, who is not named, drew near, and in a strain of vehement eloquence "cried against the altar, the name of the Lord." He predicted that the bones of these very priests, who were now officiating subordinately to the king, should be burned upon that altar,

by a future monarch, of the name of Josiah, descended from the house of David; a declaration actually fulfilled 351 years afterwards (and remarkable among the few cases in ancient prophecy, in which the instrument as well as his work was named); facts which, when well authenticated, must lead beyond dispute to the source of such predictions. As a sign of his mission, and of the certainty of the events foretold, this prophet also declared that the altar itself should immediately be rent, and the ashes poured out. Enraged at the interruption occasioned by this stranger, and still more at the import of his threatening, Jeroboam stretched forth his hand, commanding him to be seized, or perhaps as the executioner of his own haughty will. It was instantaneously withered and powerless; nor was it restored but at the intercession of the man of God: the altar also was divided as he had said. To give emphasis to his message, this nameless seer had received a strict command neither to eat at Bethel nor to return by the road by which he approached it; accordingly he refused the invitation of Jeroboam to refresh himself. But deceived by another prophet, who, for motives which are not stated, and cannot be assigned therefore by us, pretended to have received a contrary mandate, he violated the injunction of God and turned aside to the deceiver's house. Here, while the victim of his falsehood sat at his table, his seducer was seized with a prophetic spirit, and testified the punishment of his disobedience by a violent death; which occurred as he returned home, a lion killing him by the way. There is a mystery about this transaction upon which we cannot undertake to reason, but which is connected with too many acknowledged events, dependent upon it, and affecting a whole people, not to be received as an undoubted fact. The very sepulchre of this prophet, with some characteristic inscription, remained to the days of Josiah, and became the means of accomplishing the prediction in question.

Jeroboam, unaffected by this visitation, is chastised by another. His pious child, Abijah, was seized with a threatening sickness, and, anxious to ascertain the result, he sent his queen disguised to Abijah, who had predicted his sovereignty. The prophet, who was now blind with age, was inspired to know who his visitor was, and to foretell the death of her son, when she should approach her own house; not as an evil to the child, but as a punishment to his hardened parent; the ruin of whose family was also denounced. In the mean while Rehoboam had an opportunity given him of recovering his empire. The Levites, and a large body of the Israelites, disgusted at the idolatry of Jeroboam, returned to the house of David; and his forces became equal to those of his ambitious rival. But Rehoboam was the son of an Ammonite, and enslaved by his mother's idolatry and counsels. The opportunity was lost, and the corruption of Judah was not less than that of Israel. The punishment followed, in the invasion of Shishak, king of Egypt, foretold by the prophet Shemaiah; and the conqueror despoiled the temple of its golden shields and its treasures, together with the riches of the palaces. Thus, in the short interval between Solomon and Rehoboam, Jerusalem began to be impoverished, and the sanctuary profaned. Rehoboam substituted bucklers of brass, for those of gold; and for the present was spared further ruin. He seemed touched at length with his situ-

Israelitish
monarchy.A. M.
3029.
—
B. C.
975.Jeroboam's
hand with-
ered and
restored.Disobedi-
ence and
death of the
prophet.Death of
Jeroboam's
child.A. M.
3033.
—
B. C.
971.Rehoboam's
idolatry.Shishak's
invasion.

History. ation, and humbled himself before God, who suffered him to reign twelve years afterwards in peace. Having fixed upon the heir of his kingdom from among his sons, he had the prudence to make settlements for his other children suitable to their princely rank; and died at the age of fifty-eight, having sustained a weak and

Jeroboam's death.
Abijah.

Abijah, or Abijah, as the same is written indiscriminately, succeeded him. His reign was short, but not inglorious, if military exploits are to be the standard of distinction; if morals, then, alas! it is recorded of him, that he "walked in all the sins of his father." His first object was to attack Jeroboam, whom he reproached for his rebellion, and, in his expostulation, admitted the weakness of his father. The levy with which he advanced to meet his adversary, although large, was unequal in numerical force to the power opposed to him; the army of Abijah, consisting of no less than 400,000 men, being still doubled by that of Jeroboam. The king of Judah had the victory, and so completely defeated his antagonist, that Jeroboam never "recovered his strength."

A. M. — After a reign of not more than three years Abijah died, and was succeeded by his son Asa, whose attachment to religion formed the best pledge of the security of his empire. Two years after he came to the throne Jeroboam died, after a reign of 22 years, it should seem, by some sudden or unusual stroke of mortality, "since it is said, "The Lord struck him with death." Thence it is said of Jeroboam, "He was buried in Samaria."

Am's piety, action, the real life king of Judah was so ardent and sincere, that he deposed his own mother on account of her idolatry, and destroyed all the monuments of her superstition. In the mean while, Nadab, the son of Jeroboam, had succeeded to the throne of Israel; which he held only two years; for the siege of Gibbethon, belonging to the Philistines, Baasha, of the tribe of Issachar, conspired against him and slew him; and not satisfied with seizing upon his kingdom, the usurper extirpated the whole family of Jeroboam, as had been predicted. It is necessary to trace, with a rapid hand, a succession of reigns, in both kingdoms, distinguished by no features of particular interest, that circumstances more deeply important may occupy a due proportion of our attention.

an attack of Banashah, in conjunction with Benhadad, king of Syria; the latter of whom he bought off with presents, which stripped the sanctuary of its wealth, as well as emptied his own treasury. This distrust of providence, and alliance with an idolatrous monarch, called forth a severe reproof from the prophet Hanani, which enraged the king, who was now suffering with some disease in his feet, and the teen paid the penalty of incarceration for his fidelity. Several acts of perverseness, which are glanced at, but not specified by the sacred historian, disgraced the close of this otherwise distinguished reign, which lasted forty-one years.

Before the death of Asa, several important revolutions had taken place in the rival kingdom of Israel. Jehu, the son of Hanani, had been commissioned to apprise Baasha, that as he practised the sins, he should share the punishment of his predecessor, not only in his own person, but in his posterity; and these calamities respected also the violence by which he had usurped the throne. When man becomes the instrument of executing judgment upon his fellow-man, swayed only by his own ambition, and unconscious of the high behest he is accomplishing, the sentence inflicted is just; but the administrator of it is no less amenable for his own motives. Baasha died, and was succeeded by his son Elah, in the 26th year of Asa's reign. The cup which his father had administered to his master, was put to the lips of his son, by his own servant. Zimri conspired against him, and slew him, nor did he deem himself secure upon his usurped throne, until he had cut off all the house of Baasha.

Seven days only was the inglorious reign of Zimri, a Zimri's space, however, sufficient to enable him, by the expedient of a short usurpation, to fulfil the destiny of his master's family.

The usurpation of Zimri was never ratified by the Israelites; who so soon as they heard of his conspiracy and murder, chose Omer, "the captain of the host," as their monarch; he besieged Zimri in Tirzah; who, finding that the city was taken, and his cause hopeless, shut himself up in the palace, which he fired, and perished in the flames.

For as yet Omri was not firmly seated on the throne; **Tibni's rivalry and death**
 On another rival appeared in the person of Tibni, who had found means to divide the Israelites on the great frayed question of the successor to the monarchy. But the contest terminated fatally to Tibni; and in the 31st year of Aśa's reign, Omri was quietly established in the royal authority of Israel. His whole reign was about twelve years; on the first half of which he was occupied in supporting his pretensions to the diadem; the last presented him, confirmed indeed, in his authority, but immersed in the criminality of his predecessors. One circumstance is worthy attention, because it subsequently furnished a metropolis to Israel, he bought of Shemer the hill which was called after the name of its possessor, and built upon it a city, which he called Samaria: not **Omri build Samaria** however its original title.

In the 38th year of Asa, king of Judah, Omri, king of Israel died; and was succeeded by Ahab his son, who exceeded his predecessors in evil, and added to his offences in his alliance with Jezebel, daughter of the king of Zidon, but whose reign was distinguished by many important and miraculous occurrences. Among others, in his days, Hiel, the Bethelite, braving the curse of Joshua against those who should rebuild

Israelitische Monarchie

A. M.
3064.
—
B. C.
940.

A. M.
3090.
—
B. C.

A. W.
3074.

B. C.
930,
Dun-ka.

Diet,
Etc.

A. M.
3075.
B. C.
929

Omri
chosen,
and Zimri's
death.

A. M.
3079.
B. C.
925.

**Omri builds
Samaria.**

A. M.
3086.
—
B. C.
918.

Abies *procera*.

A. M.
3053.
B. C.
951.

observe, in connection with the prodigious numbers of warriors, represented in these ages as mastered on particular occasions, that they were not a standing

A. W.
3063.
—
B. C.
941.

himself perpetual hostility subsisted. An army of Ethiopians invaded him, with no less than 1,000,000 of men, whom he defeated, and received encouragement from Azariah, the son of Obed, to continue firm in his allegiance to God. His faith failed him, however, upon

History. Jericho, had the temerity to attempt it; and suffered for his rashness, the loss of his eldest and youngest child: thus sustaining the penalty of a prediction which had been delivered five centuries before.

Jericho and Joshua's curse.
A. M. 3094.
B. C. 910.
Elijah.

Fed by ravens during the drought.

"Among innumerable false, unmov'd,
Unshaken, unswerving, unshaken,
His loyalty he kept, his love, his soul!
No number, nor example, with him wrought
To sever from truth, or change his constant mind,
Though single."

Sent to Zarephath.

Miraculous supply.

Raises the widow's child.

A. M. 3098.
B. C. 906.
Jezebel.

Obadiah's piety.

Sent to Ahab.

The continuance of the drought having exhausted the brook, he was directed to go to Zarephath, a city of Zidon, and to take up his abode with a widow, whom he found so impoverished, and so hopeless because of the severity of the famine, that she was gathering a few sticks to bake the cake which she had made from the last handful of meal, and the little oil in her possession, for herself and her child; having no prospect before them afterwards but that of a miserable death by hunger. Elijah predicted that these scanty resources should prove inexhaustible, until the fruitfulness of the seasons should be restored: and, accordingly, with her he lived until that period; the barrel of meal, and the cruse of oil, having been miraculously supplied. While this lowly roof sheltered the prophet, her child died; and in the paroxysm of her anguish, she seemed disposed to impute this calamity in some way to her guest, supposing that his purity had occasioned a visitation for her sins. Elijah, who appears to have feebly sustained his patience, in this trying scene, took the body into his own chamber, and having stretched himself upon the child and prayed over him, it pleased God to restore him again to life.

In the mean while, Ahab, influenced by Jezebel, multiplied idols of every description in his empire, and gratified her cruel disposition by destroying so many of the prophets of the Lord as he could seize. In this sanguinary persecution he was secretly counteracted by Obadiah, the governor of his house; who found means to conceal, and, notwithstanding the severity of the famine, to support one hundred of the prophets of Jehovah. After the drought had continued more than three years, Elijah was commanded to visit Ahab; and as he went towards Samaria, he met Obadiah, who had been sent by the king to search the land in one direction, while he himself took another route, to discover what water-springs might remain, as the last hope of the country. Elijah commanded this officer to return

and acquaint Ahab that he awaited his arrival: a bold fellow him—to such a tyrant also as Ahab, who had, during the whole time of the prophet's concealment, earnestly sought after him to put him to death. Obadiah reluctantly undertook this commission, fearing that Elijah might be transported in the interval to some other spot, by that supernatural influence which frequently carried the prophets, by sudden transitions, from place to place; and that Ahab, disappointed in not finding him, would take the life of his messenger. Elijah assured him that he must have an interview with the king that day. Obadiah departed to apprise his sovereign, and Ahab immediately returned to encounter the prophet. They met; and Elijah returned the re-
Jezebel and Ahab seat
proaches of Ahab with a firmness and authority which the monarch could not resist. At the direction of the prophet, the king assembled the people of Israel and the prophets of Baal; and when they were convened, he proposed to put the claims of Jehovah and the pretensions of their idols to the issue of a miracle. Bullocks were prepared, and the wood laid on the altars; but no fire was put under. They were to address the objects of their respective worship, and "the God that answered by fire" was to be acknowledged as the true God. The experiment was first made by the priests of Baal; who mangled their flesh after the barbarous custom of his idolatrous worship, and cried in vain upon their deity, stimulated to persevere in their attempts to support his honour by the severe sarcasms of Elijah. It was in the evening of the day, when all the ceremonies of idolatry had been practised, and when all pretensions for further delay were exhausted, that the priests of Baal retired abashed and mortified, and Elijah drew near to repair the altar of Jehovah, which neglect, and time, and insult, had demolished. Having made ready the sacrifice, to remove all possible suspicion of concealed fire, he caused water to be poured upon the victim, the wood, and the altar, until the trench with which it was surrounded overflowed; and then calling upon that great and venerable name which had been so long dishonoured and disused, "the fire of the Lord fell, and consumed the burnt-sacrifice, and the wood, and the stones, and the dust, and licked up the water that was in the trench;" while "all the people fell on their faces," and shouted, "The Lord, he is the God! The Lord, he is the God!"

The historian Menander, in his acts of Ithobab, king of Tyre, records this death in the days of Ahab; and Julian, who, as Grotius justly observes, was "equally the enemy of Jews and Christians," admits the miracle of the fire falling from heaven to consume the sacrifice of Elijah.

The slaughter of the priests of Baal which followed, at the command of Elijah, was not the indulgence of personal revenge, but an act of retributive justice for the blood of the prophets which they had caused to be shed; and of righteous punishment for the guilt which they had incurred in seducing the Israelites from the worship of the true God; to whom also they owed allegiance as their special protector, having been by him separated from all other nations.

Neither the public miracle which had been wrought in attestation at once of the mission of the prophet, and of the true object of religious worship; nor the blessing of rain, which, at the prayer of Elijah, abun-

Israelish Monarchy.
A. M. 3098.
B. C. 906.

Elijah's challenge.

Fire from heaven consumes the sacrifices.

Foreign testimonies.

Slaughter of the priests of Baal.

History.

A. M.
3498.
B. C.
906.

Elijah flies from Jezebel.

Sent to Damascus.

Elisha chosen a prophet.

A. M.
3090.
B. C.
914.

Death of Aah; Jehoahaphat succeeds.

dantly followed, could convince or appease the queen, when Ahab told her of the slaughter of so many of her priests, and the prophet was once more compelled to flee for his life. Under these circumstances of repeated danger and difficulty, he began to desire a release from his labours and a dismissal from the world. He was favoured with a manifestation of Deity, at once sublime and affecting, preceded by the stormy elements, and speaking in "the small, still voice" of goodness and compassion. Elijah was encouraged by the prospect of an assistant in his arduous office; and enlightened as to the events of future time, which would severely punish the apostasy that he deplored, and "justify the ways of God to man." He was commanded to anoint Hazael to be king of Syria, Jehu to be king over Israel, and Elisha to be prophet in his stead. It is a remarkable circumstance, that the last only of these commissions was accomplished by the prophet. Jehu was not anointed until twenty-three years later than this event, by one of the sons of the prophets. Hazael had his greatness foretold by Elisha nine years earlier, upon his coming to inquire whether the *then* king of Syria should recover, and both events took place nearly ten years after the removal of Elijah. We must, therefore, suppose either that these events were only revealed to him for his instruction, and to teach him to wait with patience the issue of the divine dispensations, or that, in the appointment of Elisha, which was the act of this prophet, who succeeded him in his work and retained his spirit, what was done, probably, by his own direction, among the instructions he would leave with him, was recounted as done by himself; or, which is, perhaps, far better, we must leave the facts as circumstances which we ought to notice, but for which we cannot account in the silence of Sacred History itself, which offers no solution of them. His destined colleague and successor was found by him at plough, consistently with the simplicity of the times, when agriculture afforded wealth, and the rich disdained not to share in the pursuits whence they derived their abundance. The prophet "cast his mantle upon him," and he appears instantly to have understood the appointment signified by this expressive symbol. He took a yoke of oxen, which he could not have done had not the property been his own, and gave a parting feast to his friends; after which he immediately followed Elijah, and ministered to him as a servant. His service was afterwards described by a phrase truly oriental, "Elisha, who poured water upon the hands of Elijah," that being the duty of a servant when the tables are removed, in countries where ablutions are frequently used, and in which, the hands being chiefly employed at meals, the custom becomes necessary for cleanliness no less than for refreshment.

In this passage of the history of Elijah it is proper to observe, that about eight years before this period, and in the fourth year of the reign of Ahab, Aah, the king of Judah, died, after a reign of forty-one years, and was succeeded by his son Jehoahaphat, who was distinguished for his piety. The result accorded with the principle; at the same time that the neighbouring state, under the dominion of Ahab, was suffering every imaginable privation, Jehoahaphat was strengthening his fortresses, and enjoying, with his people, distin-

guished ease and prosperity. The Philistines and Israelites were tributary to him; and his empire, although so considerably retrenched by the separation of the ten tribes from his family, seemed to recover something of that ancient splendour which it had enjoyed in the days of Solomon; "and he had riches and honour in abundance."

In the eighteenth year of Ahab, and during the time that we lose sight of Elijah, Benhadad, king of Syria, at the head of an immense army, and supported by no less than thirty-two tributary monarchs, besieged Samaria. Without any pretext for the war, he sent to urge those demands which implied that the king of Israel was not only tributary to him, but his wealth and possessions wholly at his disposal. Ahab conceded even this stern requisition; but as it was followed by another yet more insolent and threatening, the king of Israel found it necessary to resist such unlimited impositions. A prophet, who is not named, predicted the entire defeat of the invading army, and prescribed the order of the battle. The victory on the part of the Israelites was complete, and the slaughter of the Syrians immense; but Ahab was warned by the same prophet, that Benhadad would renew the conflict the year succeeding.

The invasion was accordingly renewed, and the overthrow of the Syrians again predicted and achieved; and so great was the destruction of the invading army, that Benhadad was compelled to solicit the compassion of the king of Israel. Ahab exercised, in this instance, no imprudent and ill-timed clemency, for which he was severely reproved by one of the sons of the prophets, who, disguising himself, conveyed the disastrous tidings to the king, of the divine displeasure which he had incurred, in the prevailing parabolic form, a method which led the monarch unintentionally, as in the case of David, to pass sentence upon himself; and he was assured that his own life would be the forfeit of the rash and false generosity which he had exercised.

Soon after this event, Ahab wishing to obtain the vineyard of Naboth, which was near his palace, and not being able to prevail upon him to part with it (as it was contrary to the law for a man to sell his inheritance from his family), Jezebel caused Naboth to be slain upon a false accusation, and the king went down to take possession of this contested piece of ground. As he drew near he was met by Elijah, who here makes his final appearance to the king, and threatens him with the entire destruction of his queen and his family, in language so severe and awful, that even the heart of this proud tyrant was terrified, and he humbled himself, until it was promised that the evil denounced should not take place in his own reign; after which, he appears to have returned to his evil courses with unaltered effrontery.

Jehoahaphat had formed an alliance with Ahab; and at the end of three years from the treaty which the king of Israel had made with Benhadad (during which the transaction just recounted took place), the king of Judah went down to see him, and finding him about to attack Ramoth-Gilead, which the king of Syria withheld from him, offered to be his ally in the proposed war, but first wished the prophets to be consulted as to the issue. They were accordingly summoned before the two monarchs, and promised Ahab

* Grot. de Verit. lib. 1. sect. 16.

History. success in his enterprise. Jehoshaphat seems to have gathered, from some circumstance not explained, that these prophets were either deceived themselves, or disposed to flatter; for he earnestly inquired whether there did not remain some other *seer* who might be consulted. Ahab acknowledged that Micaiah was absent, who seems to have fallen under his displeasure for his blunt fidelity, and has by some been, therefore, conjectured to have been the prophet who predicted that the life of Ahab should go for the life of Benhadad. It is not unlikely that the prophets consulted were prophets of Baal, and that Jehoshaphat, perceiving this, was anxious to have called a prophet of the Lord; and if this conjecture, which is adopted, under a full persuasion of its correctness, by Calmet, be admitted, it will throw some light upon that spirit of delusion which was said, by divine permission, to rest upon them. However this may be, Micaiah predicted the overthrow and death of Ahab, who, highly incensed, ordered him to prison; and to turn aside the prophecy, persuaded Jehoshaphat to put on his royal robes, while he himself went into the battle disguised as a private man. In the course of the conflict, Jehoshaphat was so hardly pressed, the king of Syria having commanded his men to direct all their attacks against the person of the king of Israel, that he was compelled to discover himself, and with difficulty escaped with his life. Ahab, in the mean while, disguised as he was, was slain by an arrow drawn at a venture, but divinely directed, and thus perished, as was foretold.

Ahab slain.

Ahaziah succeeded his father Ahab in every sense, being as devoted to idolatry as his predecessor. Jehoshaphat returned to his kingdom after the late disastrous battle, and was so severely reproved by the prophet Jehu for his alliance with Ahab, that when Ahaziah wished to join him in a commercial enterprise, the king of Judah for some time refused all further connection with that family. Ahaziah, in the second year of his reign, was so injured by a fall that his recovery appeared extremely doubtful. He sent to inquire of Baalzebub, the idol of Ekron, what should be the issue of his sickness; and his messengers were met by Elijah, who sent them back with the information that he should never again rise from his bed. The king knew the prophet from their description of his person and dress, and sent three officers, successively, each commanding a company of fifty men, to apprehend him. Two of these parties were consumed by fire from heaven, at his word (a circumstance noted by the disciples of our Lord), and the third he spared, accompanying him to the king, and confirming his prediction in the royal presence. Ahaziah died accordingly, after a reign of two years.

His fall and sickness.

Elijah foretells his death.

A. M. 3108. The time now approached for the departure of Elijah, with all its miraculous circumstances. Accompanied by Elisha, who refused to leave him, he visited the schools of the prophets at Bethel and at Jericho; after which, he went to Jordan, and smiting the waters with his mantle, they divided, and the prophets passed over dry-shod. Having reached the opposite bank, Elijah apprized his companion that the hour of separation was come; and asked him to prefer his last request. He desired a double portion of the spirit of his master; and while he solicited this boon, an appearance as of a chariot and horses of fire parted them, and Elijah was taken up into heaven.

Elijah's translation.

His mantle fell from him as he ascended, and was regarded by Elisha as the grant of his petition. He took it up, and smiting with it the waters of Jordan, they again divided, and afforded him a passage. The sons of the prophets received him as the successor of Elijah; and his miraculous interference was solicited and exercised in cleansing the unwholesome waters, and rendering fruitful the barren lands of Jericho. Some young persons, the children probably of idolatrous parents, who insulted the religion of Jehovah in their mockery of his prophet, were punished at Bethel with a violent death.

Lowellish Monarchy. A. M. 3110. B. C. 894.

In the same year, Jehoram, the son of Ahab, and Jehoram, brother of Ahaziah, succeeded to the throne of Israel, stained with the same vices as those which dishonoured and ruined his predecessors, although not to the same idolatrous extent. Finding himself involved in a war with Moab, he sought the alliance of the governor of Edom, and of Jehoshaphat, who again shared the dangers of the rival kingdom, by a strange prepossession in favour of the family of Ahab. The confederate armies were on the point of perishing with thirst, and the king of Judah was immediately for consulting the Lord. Elisha was sent for, who, after severely reproving Jehoram, and expressing a high respect for Jehoshaphat, foretold a sudden and large supply by a land-flood, together with the defeat of the Moabites, which came to pass accordingly. Jehoshaphat himself, towards the close of his reign, was invaded by a confederacy of Ammonites, Moabites, and other nations; but whether a little before, or immediately after, the events just alluded to, it is not easy to determine. In this extremity the king of Judah proclaimed a fast, and received a message from the prophet Jehaziel, that this formidable army should fall self-destructed the next day. These allied powers turned their arms against each other, and so completely extinguished their forces, that it only remained for Jehoshaphat and his people to gather the spoil. With this miraculous transaction we close the life of this illustrious monarch, who died in peace after a prosperous reign of twenty-five years.

A. M. 3115. B. C. 889.

Jehoshaphat's victory and death.

In the meanwhile, throughout the reign of Jehoram, king of Israel, Elisha the prophet was filling up a brilliant career, of which our limits will only suffer us to give a hasty sketch. The widow of one of the prophets came to Elisha, and complained that her husband's creditor was about to sell her two sons as bondmen to liquidate a debt which she was unable to pay. This practice is prevalent through all the east, and under most despotic governments, the persons of the peasantry being considered as much the property of the master as their labour. Our Lord alludes to the circumstance more than once in his parables. A similar instance of the savage features of the age, which we passed over in the preceding narrative, was the conduct of the king of Moab, who, when he found himself pressed in the siege by the united arms of the sovereigns of Israel, Judah, and Edom, according to the superstitions of his day and country, took his own son, and sacrificed him upon the walls, to appease the offended deities; a practice afterwards notorious among the Carthaginians, and not unknown to the Israelites, who "caused their sons to pass through the fire," when they had resigned themselves to idolatry. In

Eastern despotism and superstitions.

Elisha's miracles.

History. this instance, the act of the Meablitish monarch raised such horror and indignation in the bosoms of the besiegers, that they raised the siege, and departed from him. To return to the narrative—Elisha, finding the prophet's widow possessed only a cruze of oil, ordered her to borrow as many vessels of her neighbours as she could procure, and to pour out into them, the oil multiplying miraculously until they were all filled; and by the sale of it she was enabled to discharge her debt.

Elisha multiplies the oil. A Shunamite of consideration in her city, perceiving that the prophet often passed that way, proposed to her husband to make some accommodation for him in their house.

To recompense this spontaneous benevolence, of which he availed himself, Elisha, finding she was childless, promised her a son, and his prediction was accomplished. The child grew up, and then died suddenly; probably by one of those sun-strokes which are not unusual in hot countries. She apprized Elisha of this sad event, and manifested under it a singular combination of grief and resignation. He raised the child from the dead, and in recording her speechless gratitude, the narrator produces one of those simple and affecting descriptions which so much abound in the sacred writings, and in which the whole scene passes again before us—"Then she went in, and fell at his feet, and bowed herself to the ground, and took up her son, and went out." No other language could have expressed emotions so powerful.

At Gilgal, during a severe famine, one of the sons of the prophets gathered wild gourds, and having prepared them, served them up to the people, not knowing that they were poisonous. By casting meal into the pot, Elisha miraculously rendered the food wholesome. About the same time, having received a present of twenty barley loaves, he multiplied them until one hundred men were satisfied, and left fragments of the provision.

The commander of the forces of the king of Syria, a man distinguished as well by his noble qualities as by the royal favour, was afflicted with a leprosy which appeared to be incurable. A young female slave, who had been taken away from the land of Israel in one of the invasions, mentioned Elisha as able to recover her lord; upon which, the king of Syria sent Naaman with a letter to the king of Israel, entreating his restoration to health, to the surprise and dismay of the latter monarch, who considered it intended as an occasion of war between them. Elisha required the attendance of Naaman, and recommended him to wash seven times in Jordan. Naaman, who did not consider himself as treated with sufficient respect, as the prophet did not see him, and who placed no confidence in the proposed remedy, at first refused to comply with the injunction of the prophet; but was afterwards persuaded to make trial of it, and recovered his health instantly. He now would have loaded the prophet with presents, by whom they were all peremptorily refused; but his servant, willing to enrich himself at the expence of the illustrious stranger, followed after him, and requested, in the name of his master, a talent of silver, and two changes of raiment; which were not only granted, but Naaman pressed upon his acceptance, two talents, amounting to nearly 700*l.* of English money, and the garments were probably costly. Upon his return, after concealing the articles thus fraudulently obtained, Gehazi was instantly charged with his crime by the prophet, who

sentenced him and his family to the penalty of that disease of which he had just cured Naaman. About the same period, the sons of the prophets requiring a larger dwelling, in making suitable arrangements for their accommodation, one of them dropped the head of his axe into the river, and, upon complaining to Elisha, the prophet caused the iron to swim.

At this time the king of Syria was engaged in hostilities against the king of Israel, but always defeated in his purposes, through the anticipation of his plans by his opponent. At first he suspected treachery among his own servants; but it afterwards appeared, that the inspiration of Elisha enabled him to discover the most secret councils of the Syrians to his own sovereign. The incensed monarch resolved to possess himself of his person, and sent accordingly a considerable body of troops to seize him. They encompassed the city, and the servant of the prophet was much alarmed; until, at the prayer of Elisha, his eyes were opened to discern the spiritual guardians which were planted round his master. The Syrian army was seized, in the sequel, either with an actual blindness, or a confusion of vision, which did not suffer them to distinguish objects; and in this state, as they were inquiring the road to the point of their destination, Elisha led them into the heart of Samaria, and there delivered them into the power of the king of Israel; at the same time stipulating for their safety, restoring them their sight, and after they had been refreshed with food, causing them to be sent back to Syria.

The war did not, however, so terminate. Benhadad besieged Samaria, and bitterly did the son of Ahab lament the ill-timed generosity of his father to this oppressor; for such was the extremity of the famine, that two women came to the horrible agreement to kill each of them her only child, and devour the unnatural food between them. Such an event had been predicted by Moses, when he foretold what would be the desperate circumstances of the Israelites if they forsook their God; and a similar occurrence is recorded by Josephus as having taken place in the final siege of Jerusalem by Titus. One of these mothers had actually thus destroyed her son; but her associate, who had shared the revolting provision, touched with maternal compunction, concealed her own child. On this dreadful business complaint was made to the king, who considered Elisha either as indifferent to these calamities, or as slow to remove them (presuming upon his ability, from what he had seen of his miraculous agency), and sent a messenger to command him to be beheld. The prophet detained him at the door until the king himself, who followed closely after, arrived. Elisha assured him that on the very next day, at the same hour, abundance should be enjoyed—a prediction so very unlikely in the calamitous state of the city, that it was repelled with derision by one of the attendant lords, who was threatened that he should himself see, but not partake of the plenty, which was introduced by the following circumstance. Four men, who were lepers, and, according to the law, thrust out of the city, were perishing with hunger at its gates, and wrought up to desperation, they resolved to throw themselves upon the mercy of the Syrians—satisfied that they could not die. They came accordingly to the camp, and found it deserted; the God of Israel having in the night caused the besieging army to hear a miraculous noise

Israelitish Monarchy.
A. M.
3111.
—
B. C.
893.

Causes him to swim.

Exposes the councils of the Syrians.

Strikes their host with blindness.

A. M.
3112.
—
B. C.
892.
A dreadful famine.

Elisha's danger and prophecy.

Decided.

Gehazi.

History.
A. M.
3112.
— B. C.
892.

Accomplished, and by what means.

Another famine.

Hazael.

A. M.
3115.
— B. C.
889.

Jehoram, king of Judah.

A. M.
3119.
— B. C.
885.

Ahaziah.

Jehu anointed.

as of chariots, horses, and a mighty army, they fled, with the utmost precipitation, from a force which they imagined Jehoram had found means to hire from Egypt and other nations superior to their own. When these lepers had made a report of these circumstances, the king of Israel suspected a stratagem of war; but upon further scrutiny, he found that the Syrians were actually departed. The quantity of provision they had left behind them afforded that plenty which Elisha had foretold; and the nobleman who had received the intimation with mockery, being appointed to keep one of the gates, was trampled upon by the people, in their eagerness to obtain supplies of food, and received so much injury that he died.

Another famine arose in the year succeeding, which Elisha predicted should last seven years, and he counselled the Shunamite, whose child he had restored, to leave the country until this dreadful visitation should have passed away. She accordingly departed, and at the close of the seven years, returning to petition the king of Israel for her land, she found him conversing with Gehazi respecting the miracles of Elisha, her own case being at that moment under consideration; a circumstance so propitious to her application, that she was not only reinstated in her property, but indemnified for the loss she had sustained during her absence.

At this time Elisha went down to Damascus. Benhadad being sick, sent Hazael, one of his chief ministers, to learn of the prophet if he should recover, who abruptly intimated to him his own designation to the Syrian throne;—depicting also the bloody crimes toward the Israelites that would stain his future reign. To this, Hazael replied, with that memorable indignation at his own existing dispositions, which was at once a proof of the blindness of his heart, and the correctness of his moral perceptions, "But what if thy servant a soo, that he should do this great thing?" Upon his return he murdered his sovereign, and seized upon his throne.

Jehoram had succeeded his father Jehoshaphat on the throne of Judah, and his first act was to destroy all the branches of the royal family, with several of his nobles. This barbarous custom of securing the throne by the extermination of those who might be supposed likely to advance any pretensions to it, is very prevalent in the east; and the seclusion, almost confinement, in which the princes of the family are kept, renders them an easy prey to the first jealous tyrant who assumes the reins of government. He had married the daughter of Ahab, and shared her idolatry. The Edomites revolted from his sway, and he lost also Libnah. A writing from Elijah was brought him, prepared, it should seem, some time before, as the prophet had been translated some years, foretelling the calamities which should fall upon his family, and his own mortal disease. These things happened accordingly, and he was not even buried in the royal sepulchre.

Ahaziah (or, as he is otherwise called, Jehoahaz) succeeded him, and joined Joram, king of Israel, in a second attempt to recover Ramoth-Gilead, which proved as disastrous as the former; for the king of Israel was severely wounded, and the king of Judah continued with him, on account of this indisposition; during which Elisha sent a young prophet secretly to anoint Jehu king over Israel, who was immediately acknowledged by his fellow-officers, and proceeded without delay to surprise the sick monarch at Jezreel. The

kings of Israel and Judah went out to meet him, and demand the occasion of his unexpected appearance; he slew them both, and entering the city, saw Jezebel, who was yet living, at one of the windows of the palace, from which he caused her to be precipitated, and she died. The body of Jehoram was east into the field of Naboth, whom his father Ahab had murdered; and when Jehu sent out to bury Jezebel, he found her almost devoured by dogs, according to the prophetic threatening delivered so long before.

Jehu followed these severe measures with the Jezebel slaughter of the seventy sons of Ahab and forty-two of the relations of Ahaziah. He then, with a mixture of fraud and unallowed zeal, proclaimed a solemn festival in honour of Baal; and thus assembling all the worshippers of that idol, caused them to be slain in the temple, and extirpated idolatry in general. But he afterwards fell into the practices of Jeroboam, and dishonoured his early career. Hazael at this time began to weaken the empire of Israel, and Jehu died Dies. after a reign of twenty-eight years.

Athaliah, in the meanwhile, had, at the death of her son Ahaziah, destroyed all the seed-royal, with the exception of Joash, then an infant, who was secretly conveyed beyond her malice, while she usurped the throne of Judah. At the close of six years, Jehoiaha the high-priest took such measures as terminated her tyranny, by proclaiming Joash king, and causing her to be put to death. During the life of Jehoiaha, he conducted himself uprightly, and showed his zeal for religion in repairing the temple; but when the high-priest died he turned to idolatry, and being reproved by Zechariah, the son and successor of his aged benefactor, he forgot his obligations, and commanded him to be stoned to death. This cruel act was followed by exemplary punishment. Hazael advanced upon Jerusalem with a small, but successful army, and Joash was obliged to purchase his forbearance at the expence of the treasures of the temple and of the palace. He then languished under a complication of diseases, and was soon after slain by a conspiracy of his own servants.

Jehu was succeeded by Jehoahaz in the government of Israel, who, adhering to the vices of his father, was punished by the oppressions exercised by Hazael, king of Syria, and the kingdom was greatly reduced. His reign lasted seventeen years, and he was succeeded by his son Jehoshaphat. In his reign Elisha was seized with his mortal sickness, and the king visited him with much affection. The dying prophet instructed Jehoahaz, him to "take bow and arrows," and open the windows of eastward, and shoot. He obeyed, and was told that he should smite the Syrians at Aphek. He then directed him to take the arrows and smite upon the ground; and the king smote thrice. The prophet was grieved that he had not struck it more repeatedly, and foretold that he should only prevail against Syria three times. Soon after Elisha died, and before the year closed, as and death they were proceeding to bury a man, they discerned a band of Moabites, and in their haste and terror cast the dead body into the sepulchre of the prophet; "and when the man was let down, and touched the bones of Elisha, he revived, and stood upon his feet." His bones Hazael dying, was succeeded by Benhadad his son, recover a from whom Jehoahaz recovered the cities which his dead man, father had seized, and thrice defeated him, according Benhadad. to the dying prediction of Elisha.

Israelish Monarchy.

A. M.
3119.

B. C.
885.

Kings of Israel and Judah slain.

Jezebel slain and devoured by dogs.
Jehu's zeal and idolatry.

A. M.
3120.

B. C.
884.

Athaliah.

A. M.
3164.

B. C.
840.

A. M.
3148.

B. C.
856.

Jehoahaz, king of Israel, reul.

A. M.
3165.

B. C.
839.

Sickness of Elisha.

Jezebel slain.

Jezebel slain.

Jezebel slain.

Jezebel slain.

Jezebel slain.

Jezebel slain.

Jezebel slain.

Jezebel slain.

Jezebel slain.

Jezebel slain.

Jezebel slain.

Jezebel slain.

Jezebel slain.

Jezebel slain.

History. Amaziah succeeded his father Josiah on the throne of Judah, and reigned well for a season. He punished his father's murderers with death, but spared their children, according to the law of Moses. He raised a prodigious army of his own, and increased it by hiring 100,000 Israelites. This alliance being forbidden by a prophet, he incurred the loss of the money which he had given them, and their displeasure, when he separated himself from them. He defeated the Edomites; but, among the spoil which he took, brought home their idols, and suffered himself to be betrayed by them into idolatry. Then began his disasters. A prophet was sent to reprove him, and he resented his faithful admonition. He challenged the king of Israel, by whom he was defeated, taken prisoner, and brought to Jerusalem, his own metropolis, which the conqueror stripped of its treasures, as a ransom, and demolished a considerable part of its wall, before he departed to Samaria. A conspiracy was finally formed against Amaziah at Jerusalem, from which he fled to Lachish, whither he was followed and slain; the people of Judah choosing his son Azariah, otherwise called Uzziah, as his successor, at the age of sixteen.

Jeroboam, the second of the name, was the son of Jehoash, the king of Israel, and succeeded his father, in the fifteenth year of the reign of Amaziah, king of Judah. He is charged with the prevailing sins of his house; yet his reign was prosperous, and he was distinguished for his courage, and for his enterprising spirit. He followed up the advantages which his father had gained over the Syrians, and, encouraged by the prophet Jonah, pressed on until he had restored the entire coast of Israel, "from the entering of Hamath to the sea of the plain, or the dead sea." He captured also Damascus, the Syrian capital, and reigned forty-one years.

Azariah, the son of Josiah, better known by the name Uzziah, was at that time king of Judah. The early part of his sway, and so long as he was under the counsels of a prophet of the name of Zachariah (not the person who stands upon the list of the prophetic books), was distinguished by his personal piety, and the prosperity of his empire. He defeated the Arabians, Philistines, and Moabites, and received tribute from the Ammonites. His army consisted of more than three hundred thousand men; he fortified Jerusalem, invented instruments of war, built fortresses, founded magazines, and particularly applied himself to agriculture; an attachment not often felt to home interests by princes of military genius. Prosperity produced in him, however, as in other affecting instances which have presented themselves in this chain of history, that presumption which led to lamentable reverses. He invaded the sacerdotal office, which, however blended with the regal in other nations, was expressly and carefully kept separate in the Jewish economy; he entered the temple to burn incense, and, notwithstanding the expostulations of the high priest, he persisted in his transgression, until he was suddenly smitten with a leprosy, which not only drove him from the sanctuary, but from his throne, and devolved the regency upon his son Jotham. He quitted the city, and lived in a house by himself, the leprosy cleaving to him until his death, which happened about seven years afterwards, and in the fifty-second of his reign.

Zachariah, who had succeeded Jeroboam, followed the idolatries of his ancestors, and reigned but six

months, when he was slain by the conspiracy of Shallum. Thus the dynasty of Jehu terminated in the fourth generation, as had been foretold. As Zachariah did not come to the throne until the thirty-eighth year of Uzziah's reign, archbishop Usher supposes there must have been an inter-regnum of eleven years, a chronological difficulty which it is not easy to settle, and which this is not the place to determine. The ill-gotten crown of Shallum remained on his head only a month; for, at the expiration of that period, he was put to death by Menemhen, who held the sceptre which he had thus wrested ten years. Nothing is recorded of his stormy reign but acts of cruelty, briefly expressed, but full of horror. Israel was invaded by Pul, king of Assyria, and his tyrant was compelled to purchase his forbearance and assistance at an enormous expence, which led to further exactions upon his subjects, in order to raise the sum required. He died in the fiftieth year of the reign of Uzziah, and was succeeded by his son Pekahiah. The kingdom of Israel was now fast verging to ruin; it had been long declining, and from the reign of the last branch of the house of Jehu, had presented only a succession of conspiracies and bloodshed, to its utter desolation. Pekahiah reigned but two years, when the cup of blood of which his father had caused his predecessor to drink, was transferred to his own head. He died by the conspiracy of Pekah, the son of Remaliah, one of his captains, who seized his authority, and followed his transgressions. He reigned, however, twenty years; in the second of which commenced the reign of Jotham, over Judah.

The son of Uzziah walked uprightly, after the example of his father, in the earliest and happiest days of his sovereignty. During sixteen years he supported the regal dignity with distinction, and exercised its authority for the welfare of his people. In this, and the latter part of the preceding reign, Isaiah, the prophet, flourished, and held on his illustrious career until the days of Manasseh.—(See the article ISAAIAH.) Jotham repaired the sanctuary, and built cities and fortresses in Judah. He defeated the Ammonites and rendered them tributary; and found an honourable sepulchre with his fathers, in the 41st year of his age; a short, but not inglorious life!

He was succeeded by his son Ahaz, who, unhappily for his country, was of a far different character. He also reigned sixteen years; but they were years of vice and misery. Israel had formed an unnatural alliance with Syria against Judah; and Pekah and Rezin were confederates against Ahaz. His affliction on this occasion touched Isaiah, who was sent to announce to him the speedy destruction of the allied monarchs: the particulars of which prediction will be found in the life of that prophet. Notwithstanding this encouraging assurance (and it was eventually accomplished in all its particulars), he looked abroad for that assistance which he knew he had forfeited at home. He plunged into the grossest idolatries of the heathens, and practised, with their impure rites, their most cruel superstitions—causing one of his sons "to pass through the fire." As a punishment, his enemies were suffered cruelly to lay waste his dominions, although they were not permitted wholly to vanquish him. The king of Syria, who had not succeeded in his expedition against Syria, Jerusalem, stripped him of some of his remotest possessions, and particularly deprived him of Elath, a sea-

Israelitish Monarchy.

A. M. 3231.

B. C. 773.

Zachariah.

Shallum.

Menemhen.

A. M. 3243.

B. C. 761.

Pekahiah.

A. M. 3246.

B. C. 758.

Pekah.

A. M. 3263.

B. C. 741.

Ahaz.

A. M. 3263.

B. C. 741.

Ahaz.

A. M. 3263.

B. C. 741.

Ahaz.

A. M. 3263.

B. C. 741.

Ahaz.

A. M. 3263.

B. C. 741.

Ahaz.

A. M. 3263.

B. C. 741.

Ahaz.

A. M. 3263.

B. C. 741.

Ahaz.

History. port on the Red sea, where, from the reigns of David and Solomon, a most important trade had been conducted with the East. Zichri, an Ephraimite, also slew one of his sons, the governor of his house, and his prime minister. And the king of Israel obtained still more considerable advantages over him: 120,000 men were killed in battle, and 200,000 of his people were made captive; but as these were being transported to Samaria, the prophet Obad met the triumphant array, and commanded them to restore the prisoners, and content themselves with the spoil. His remonstrances being seconded by some princes of Ephraim, they not only gave the prisoners their liberty, but clothed them from the booty, and safely conducted them so far as Jericho, in their own country. In this desperate condition of the affairs of Ahaz, he learned, to his further dismay, that the Edomites and Philistines were successfully invading his territories; and in his extremity he sent to Tiglath-pileser for assistance, in the most humble terms, at the same time plundering the temple to add to the present which he had drained from his own treasury for the king of Assyria. The present was accepted; but the aid was not so complete as the king of Judah had hoped. His ally, however, caused a diversion in his favour, by attacking the king of Syria, whom he slew, and captured Damascus, transporting its inhabitants to Kir. Upon this success, Ahaz went to Damascus to compliment Tiglath-pileser; and while he was there, his idolatrous propensities induced him to take the pattern of a heathen altar, which he sent to Jerusalem, commanding one to be constructed exactly like it. Upon his return, he was pleased with the execution of his orders—offering upon this altar—slutting up the temple, the sacred utensils of which he displaced; raising shrines to heathen deities every where, and resigning himself to the most vicious courses. He died unlamented in the 36th year of his age, but was not deposited in the royal sepulchres.

In the twelfth year of Ahaz, Hoshea, having conspired against Pekah, and slain him, reigned over Israel. This transaction is said to have taken place in the twentieth year of Jotham, king of Judah; but as Jotham only reigned sixteen years, the calculation made from the time when that monarch began to reign falls upon the fourth year of Ahaz, his successor. The tumults following Hoshea's usurpation not allowing him firmly to seat himself immediately upon the throne, it was not until eight years afterwards that he wholly established himself, and is, therefore, by a subsequent account, said to begin to reign in the twelfth year of Ahaz. Considerations of this nature are necessary to reconcile certain apparent differences between the books of Kings and Chronicles, but cannot be in every instance noted as we proceed in the narrative. Uninstructed by all the calamities of his predecessors, he followed their idolatrous practices, although not to the same extent with some of them; and in his days the captivity of Israel took place.

The ostensible cause of this captivity was, that Shalmaneser having invaded Israel in an early part of the reign of Hoshea, that monarch bought him off by presents, and declared himself tributary to the king of Assyria. But some years afterwards, the king of Israel secretly conspired against him; and having solicited the assistance of So, king of Egypt, withheld the an-

nuul tribute from Assyria. So is called Setho by Herodotus, and Sabacon by Diodorus Siculus, and is the celebrated potentate who deposed and murdered Bocchus, king of Egypt, and seized upon the empire. The revolt of Hoshea coming to the knowledge of Shalmaneser, he advanced against Samaria with a powerful army, besieged it, and led its monarch and his people into captivity. Thus terminated the Israelitish monarchy, according to Josephus, "947 years after the departure from Egypt; 800 years from the days of Joshua, and 240 years 7 months, after they had revolted from Rehoboam," to which we may add seven centuries before Christ. It commenced in the days of Pekah, and terminated with the reign of Hoshea.—The people were transported into Assyria, Media, and Persia; and other nations out of Cuthath, Ava, Hamath, and Sepharvaim, were planted in Samaria and the possessions of the Israelites. There are the Samaritans against whom the Jews bore particular hatred, and who did not fail to return it. They blended some of the observances of the Jews with the idolatrous rites of their own countries. When the Jews were in prosperity, they were willing to be thought allied to them, but in their adversity always disowned them. They thus availed themselves of the favour which Alexander showed to the Jews, when he visited them, and professed to spring from Ephraim and Manasseh, the sons of Joseph.† This mutual hatred burst with inextinguishable fury in the days of our Lord; so that 700 years had produced no reconciliation. Menander, the historian, when he wrote his chronology, and translated the Syrian chronicles into the Greek language, bore testimony to the existence, the power, and the enterprising disposition of Shalmaneser.‡

The most remarkable circumstance attending the captivity of Israel, is the loss of the ten tribes; we hear nothing more respecting them, excepting the remnant of whom they returned with Judah and Benjamin from Babylon. Josephus and St. Jerome suppose them to be absorbed in the nations among whom they were scattered. This appears also to be the prevailing opinion. Others have objected the positive terms in which a restoration of them is predicted by Amos and Hosea. It has been answered, that these prophecies were accomplished in the restoration of the remnant and the Levites with Judah. Some considerable modern writers have maintained their separate, and even their present existence; and pointed out different spots where traces of them are supposed to be found. We have probably yet to receive from the east much light on this subject, and cannot now pretend to decide, or even to discuss, the question; but we may remark, that the very obscurity into which they have dwindled, if they exist at all, is the result of their separation from the line of the Messiah, which took place when they voluntarily resigned their interest in the house of David. We have other memorable instances of a similar righteous retribution in the government of the world; and it is evident that much of the distinction of the Jews in particular depended upon this connexion.

* Jos. Antiq. Jud. lib. ix. cap. 14.

† Ib. lib. xi. cap. 8.

‡ Menander, apud Joseph. Antiq. Jud. lib. ix. cap. 14.

FLOURISHED ABOUT A. M. 2484, B. C. 1520.

Biography. JOB, in Hebrew, *יוֹב*, or "THE PERSECUTED," is, in various respects, one of the most extraordinary books of the bible; and has, hence, more than any other, engaged the attention of the learned in all ages. The difficulty of assigning to this book an accurate date has induced us to follow the stream of sacred history with regard to all the other portions of the canon thus far, without interfering with the interesting questions connected with the chronology of the book of Job. We are now approaching the latest date which has any respectable advocates; and upon our plan of recording every considerable opinion upon controverted questions in literature, we shall present a brief sketch of the various hypotheses of learned men respecting this interesting poem.

Book of Job in all the canons. Of the sacred character of the book of Job there never has been any doubt, and hence, it stands, with universal consent, in the Jewish and Christian canons; and is equally appealed to by the eastern and western churches. Yet there are various circumstances that distinguish it from all the other books of holy writ. Its author is unknown, otherwise, at least, than by conjecture: in the midst of different narratives and poems, confined exclusively (with this exception) to Jewish customs and annals, it contains the history of foreigners, and, in the opinion of many critics, of pagans, widely differing in habits, in ritual, and in religious tenets: and it is written in a language equally distinct from the rest of the sacred text, having, indeed, pure Hebrew for its basis, but with perpetual tessellations of pure Arabic. Its style, arrangement, and general composition, are of the highest pretensions, and stand altogether unrivalled; disclosing a poem with which antiquity has nothing to compare, in copiousness, sublimity, magnificence, decoration, or pathos. "The whole book of Job," says Mr. Pope, "with regard both to sublimity of thought and morality, exceeds beyond all comparison, the most noble parts of Homer." The hero of the poem is incidentally alluded to on a few occasions by other writers, in both the Old and New Testaments; but it has been made another point of controversy whether Job were a real or imaginary character; and if the former, in what epoch he flourished; whether before the exodus, or migration, of the Israelites from Egypt, during the splendid reigns of David and Solomon, or subsequently to the Babylonish captivity?

Its high claims.

Opinion of Pope.

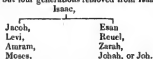
Disputed chronology of the book.

Supplement to the Greek and other versions.

Of the reality of the personage of Job no one can entertain a doubt who gives credit to the prophecy of Ezekiel, the epistle of St. James, or the apocryphal book of Tobit; for in all these he is alluded to as a real character; and as such he has been contemplated immemorially in Arabia as well as in Palestine. The most ancient monument we have concerning the genealogy of Job, and which has been received and allowed by Aristæus, Philo, Polyhistor, and several of the early fathers of the church, is contained in a supple-

ment to the canonical book, to be met with in the Greek, Arabic, and Vulgate versions, and is conjectured to have been copied from the old Syriac translation. It is hence, unquestionably, of very high antiquity, and runs as follows: "Job dwelt in the Ausitis (land of Uz or Uts), on the confines of Idumæa and Arabia. His name was at first Jobsh. He married an Arabian woman, by whom he had a son called Ennon. He himself was the son of Zerah, of the posterity of Esau, and a native of Bozrah; so that he was the fifth from Abraham. He reigned in Edom (Idumæa), and the kings before and after him reigned in the following order: Balak, the son of Boor, in the city of Dinhabah (often spelt Denabab); and next in succession Job, otherwise called Jobsh. To Job succeeded Husham, prince of Teman. After him reigned Hadad the son of Bedad, who defeated the Midianites in the field of Moab. The name of his city was Arith. The friends of Job, who came to visit him, were Eliphaz, of the line of Esau, and king of Teman; Baldad, king of the Shuhites; and Zophar, the king of the Namathites."

If this genealogy, which has the sanction of both the Greek and Latin fathers, be admitted, and the Job of the sublime poem which bears his name, be, as above asserted, the same with the Jobab of the books of Genesis and Chronicles, it will follow, as will be obvious from the annexed table, that he must have been contemporary, or nearly contemporary, with Moses, each being but four generations removed from Isaac.



It will likewise be plain, upon this view of the subject, that he reigned in the city of Denabab, or Dinhabab; for so the author of the first book of Chronicles expressly affirms. And it is an opinion embraced by the majority of biblical writers, and especially by M. Huet, that Moses, whom we know to have resided for a period of forty years with his father-in-law, Jethro, in the land of Midian, and consequently in a neighbouring region of Arabia, composed this elevated narrative shortly after the death of Job, with whom it is conceived that he was acquainted.

There are, nevertheless, various difficulties that accompany both these opinions. For, first, we are expressly told, in the opening of the book of Job, that the patriarch of this name resided in the land of Uz or Uts, which cannot easily be reconciled with his reigning in the city of Denabab; since Eschelus and St. Jerom concur in placing this city in the land of Moab, between Aroopolis and Hesbôn, while they affirm that the Ausitis, or land of Uts, according to the popular tradition of the east, embraced the city of Asiaroth Ker-

Job.
A. M.
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General opinion of critics.

Difficulties.

Biography. naim, on the farther side of the Jordan, upon the brook Janob, between Mithunaim and Edra. Next, the Arabian writers, with one accord, trace the descent of Job from Ishmael, instead of from Esau, and make him the first of their three great prophets; Jethro and Nahometh being the other two. This objection, however, may not be entitled to much attention. But it is more important to remark, thirdly, that the poem referred to closes with a passage which never could have been written by Moses, who lived but forty years in the land of Midian, and forty years more after his departure from it; for this passage informs us, that Job lived a hundred and forty years after his sufferings were completed, and that he saw his children's children to the fourth generation. And hence, it has been necessary for those who have contended that Moses was the writer of the narrative, to suppose, that the last three or four verses of the book are a supplement, added by some inspired, but later writer; in the same manner as Joshua, or some other person, must have added the account of the death and burial of Moses, at the end of his own work, the Pentateuch.

Variously
settled.

This last supposition, however, has by no means proved satisfactory to many learned men; who laying hold of the objection to which it relates, as well as of various others, have conceived the poem to have been written at a period subsequent to the facts narrated; by Elihu, who, though one of his associates, is represented as being far younger than the rest, or than Job himself; by Solomon, or by Ezra, during, or shortly after the Babylonish captivity; while others have conceived the whole to be fabulous, and that there never was such a person as Job, or such a history as that on which the poem is founded. To all which opinions we shall find it necessary to advert presently.

What is the
object of
the book?

But the most important question is, what is the object of the poem? and how comes it that a work composed partly in a foreign tongue, distinguished by an exotic theology, and wholly relating to a stranger, should be allowed an introduction into the Hebrew canon? And here it is chiefly that the critics and commentators upon the sacred writings have found themselves at a loss. The following is the opinion of the excellent man and consummate scholar Dr. Lowth, and we give it as that which, till very lately, has been the common conjecture of men of learning upon the subject. "The principal object," says he, "held forth to our contemplation in this production is the example of a good man, eminent for his piety, and of approved integrity, suddenly precipitated from the very summit of prosperity into the lowest depths of misery and ruin; who having first been bereaved of his wealth, his possessions, and his children, is afterwards afflicted with the most excruciating anguish of a loathsome disease, which entirely covers his body. He sustains all, however, with the mildest submission, and the most complete resignation to the will of Providence. "In all this," says the historian, "Job sinned not, nor charged God foolishly." And, after the second trial, "In all this did not Job sin with his lips." The author of the history remarks upon this circumstance, a second time, in order to excite the observation of the reader, and to render him more attentive to what follows, which properly constitutes the true subject of the poem: namely, the conduct of Job with respect to his reverence for the Almighty, and the changes which accumulating misery might produce in his temper and

Lowth's
opinion.

behaviour. Accordingly we find that another still more exquisite trial of his patience yet awaits him, a trial which, indeed, as the writer seems to intimate, he scarcely appears to have sustained with equal firmness, namely, the unjust suspicions, the bitter reproaches, and the violent altercations of his friends, who had visited him on the pretence of affording consolation. Here commences the plot or action of the poem; for when, after a long silence of all parties, the grief of Job breaks forth into passionate exclamations, and a vehement execration on the day of his birth, the minds of his friends are suddenly exasperated, their intentions are changed, and their consolation, if indeed, they originally intended any, is converted into contumely and reproaches. The argument seems chiefly to relate to the piety and integrity of Job, and turns upon this point, whether he who, by the divine providence and visitation, is so severely punished and afflicted, ought to be accounted pious and innocent. The antagonists of Job in this dispute, observing him exposed to such severe visitations, conceiving that this affliction has not fallen upon him unmeritedly, accuse him of hypocrisy, and falsely ascribe to him the guilt of some atrocious but concealed offence. Job, on the contrary, conscious of no crime, and wounded by their unjust suspicions, defends his own innocence before God with rather more confidence and ardour than is commendable; and so strenuously contends for his own integrity, that he seems virtually to charge God himself with some degree of injustice.

"On a due consideration of all these circumstances, the principal object of the poem seems to be this third and last trial of Job, from the injustice and unkindness of his accusing friends. The consequence of which is, in the first place, the anger, indignation, and contumacy of Job, and afterwards his composure, submission, and penitence. The design of the poem is, therefore, to teach men that having a due respect to the corruption, infirmity, and ignorance of human nature, as well as to the infinite wisdom and majesty of God, they are to reject all confidence in their own strength, in their own righteousness, and to preserve, on all occasions, an unwavering and unshaken faith, and to submit, with becoming reverence, to his decrees."

To this view of the subject there can be no objection: it does not but the great question before us is not touched by it; for it gives no answer to the inquiry whence comes it that a poem so completely isolated and exotic should have found its way into the sacred volume of the Jewish nation? That this people, who, in every other point, have shown the utmost degree of jealousy concerning whatever is strictly their own; who in all ages, and under all trials, adhered inflexibly to their own customs, their own manners, their own ritual, their own creed; who were in every respect a peculiar people, separate from the world around them, which they looked down upon with a feeling of superiority, should have consented to wander from the boundary of their own history, and the pale of their own church, for the instructive lesson which the book of Job is designed to teach? and to draw an example of the instability of all human happiness, and of the importance of placing an implicit trust in the great Arbiter of the Universe, and of submitting with a becoming reverence to his decrees, from the life of a stranger, rather than from one of their own tribes, who might easily have been selected for the purpose?

Job
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answer
the chief
difficulty.

Biography.

A. M.
2484.
B. C.
1520.He sup-
poses Job
knew the
author.Professor
Michaelis.He sup-
poses it
allegorical.

To this view of Dr. Lowth, respecting the subject of the poem, we will here stop to add, that he inclines to favour the opinion of those who suppose Job himself, or some contemporary, to be its author; that this distinguished character was a real personage, who flourished before Moses, and, from the length of his days, was probably contemporary with the patriarchs; that the poem itself, though not a regular drama, as being without regular plot or dialogue, is nevertheless of a dramatic cast, and approaches very near the form of the more perfect dramas of the Greek school; and that the exordium and the conclusion are distinct from the poem itself, and of a prosaic and lower style.

Professor Michaelis, in the notes he has added to Dr. Lowth's work, published at Gottingen, deduces a somewhat different moral, and forms a totally different opinion of the hero of the piece. "I feel very little doubt," says he, "that the subject of the poem is altogether fabulous, and designed to teach us that the rewards of virtue being in another state, it is very possible for the good to suffer afflictions in this life; but that, when it so happens, it is permitted by Providence for the wisest reasons, though they may not be obvious to human eyes.—For my own part, I cannot conceive that the sanctity, the dignity, or the utility of this book will be in the least affected, though we should suppose no such person as Job had ever existed. If moral precepts, conveyed in the garb of fabulous narrations, allure the hearers by the pleasure they afford; if they strike the mind more forcibly, are more easily understood, and better retained, than abstract sentiments, I see no reason why this mode of writing should be deemed unworthy of inspiration. On the contrary, indeed, we find it made use of by Christ himself; nor does it at all derogate from his force as a moral teacher, that the good Samaritan, the rich man and Lazarus, &c. were not real persons. It is surely more becoming to consider the exordium, in which Satan appears as the accuser of Job, rather in the light of a fable than of a true narrative. It is surely incredible that such a conversation ever took place between the Almighty and Satan, who is supposed to return with *awe* from the terrestrial regions. Indeed, the commentators who have undertaken to vindicate this part of the book, have done it with so much asperity, that they seem conscious of the difficulty under which it labours. Nor will it suffice to answer as some temperate and rational commentators, like Dr. Lowth, probably will, and, indeed, as he himself hints, that the great outline of the fact only is true; and that the exordium is set off with some poetical ornaments, among which is to be accounted the conversation between God and Satan. For on this very conversation, the whole plot is founded, and the whole story and catastrophe depend."

M. Michaelis, however, is not the only critic who has regarded the entire subject of this poem as more or less fabulous. Spinoza thought so formerly; and bishop Warburton, a biblical interpreter of very different pretensions, is more recent times: the last of whom contemplated the *entire* work, and hence the exordium and termination, as well as the body of the piece, as an allegorical drama, founded, however, on genuine history, and written by Ezra, or Esdra, for the consolation of the Jews, after their return from the Babylonian captivity into their own country; who were about

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to experience various reverses of fortune from the hands of Providence.

Generally speaking, however, the learned have regarded the illustrious hero of this extraordinary poem in the light of a real character; though, as we have already hinted at, they have differed greatly concerning the writer to whom we are indebted for it. Schultze asserts it to be not incredible, that all the characters introduced into the poem are real, and that the controversy consists of the very words they made use of at the time; and, in support of this remark, refers to the wonderful facility the Arabians possess of composing extempore verses. Spanheim contends, that the whole book is genuine history, and that the words of which it consists were originally Arabic, and written down in Arabic characters, before the time of Moses, on private tablets, by Job himself, and his friends, after the joyful termination of his afflictions; each assisting the other in recalling to mind the words they had made use of, and thus furnishing an instructive lesson to future ages. This Arabic archetype he conceives to have been afterwards copied most faithfully into Hebrew by some later writer, who flourished a little before or about the time of Solomon, and who wrote his translation, under the influence of the Holy Spirit, giving it the form of the tragic drama in which it has descended to our own days. In consequence of which, Grotius has ventured to ascribe the production to Solonius himself.

In the year 1805, Dr. Stock, bishop of Killala, the learned translator of Isaiah, published an English version of this poem, with a preface, in which he inclines to a much later era than that of Solomon, and is more disposed to coincide with Bishop Warburton, in ascribing it to Ezra. To arrive at this opinion, however, he has found it necessary to abandon, as spurious, the two concluding verses of the common text, which seem to carry it to a much higher origin. His argument is as follows:—"The sacred critics in general," says he, "have been apt to ascribe to the book of Job an origin that loses itself in the shades of the remotest antiquity. The opinion, I believe, rested at first on the very sandy foundation of what is stated in the two concluding verses of the work, which ascribe to its hero a longevity that belonged only to the generations not far distant from the flood. Of the authenticity of those verses, I think I have shown in my note on them, that we have every reason to be suspicious. But if it were ever so difficult to ascertain the portion of time when the patriarch lived, it may not be impossible, from internal marks in the poem itself, to conjecture with tolerable certainty the era of its author. This is what I have attempted to execute.—Allusions to events recorded in the five books of Moses are to be found in this poem, ch. xx. 20, compared with Num. xi. 33, 34; ch. xxvi. 5, compared with Gen. vi. 4, 7, 11; ch. xxxiv. 20, compared with Exod. xii. 19; ch. xxxi. 33, compared with Gen. iii. 8, 12; and I shall hardly be expected to prove that the author of the poem derived his knowledge of those events from a history of so much notoriety as that of Moses, rather than from oral, or any other tradition. Facts are not usually referred to before the history recording them has had time to obtain currency. The inference is clear; the writer of Job was junior to the Hebrew legislator, and junior, it is likely, by some

Job.

A. M.
2484.
B. C.
1520.Job generally
regarded as a
real person.Dr. Stock's
Job.Ascribes
this book to
Ezra.

Proofs.

Spinoza.
Warburton.

Biography.

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1520.

Considers
the exor-
dium a part
of the poem.

Scott's
opinion.

time. A similar mode of reasoning, upon a comparison of ch. xxxiii. 23, with 2 Sam. xxiv. 16; 1 Chron. xxi. 15; will, if I mistake not greatly, bring down the date of our poem below the time of King David. Lastly, ch. xii. 17, to the end, seems to point to the circumstances preceding and attending the Babylonish captivity; and ch. xxxiv. 8, 12, has an appearance of alluding to the various fortunes of Jehoiakim, king of Judah, 2 Kings xxiv. 12; xxv. 27. Notes of time these, which, though not so manifest as the fore-mentioned, may deserve attention; since they add strength to the sentiment of those learned men, who have been inclined to give the honour of this celebrated composition to Ezra.

Contrary to the opinion of Schultens, Lowth, and the greater number of critics and translators, Dr. Stock considers the exordium and conclusion to be as much parts of the poem, and as clearly possessed of a metrical arrangement in the Hebrew, as any of the rest; and he concurs with Scott, who has favoured the world with an elegant rhyme version, but who rejects the exordium and conclusion from the poetical part of the original, although he has very singularly put them into rhyme in his own translation, in thinking that the moral may be best collected from the speech of the Almighty towards the close of the composition. "The design," says the learned prelate who adopts Mr. Scott's words, "of this appearance of the Almighty, is not to vindicate the injured character of his servant Job. Neither is the design of this speech to decide the controversy, in the dialogue, about the ways of providence; for the decision of that dispute was not intended by the poem, but was reserved for the subsequent history. The scope of the speech is to humble Job; and to teach others, by his example, to acquiesce implicitly in the disposal of God, from an unbounded confidence in his wisdom, equity, and goodness. This surely is an end worthy of the interposition of the Deity—*dignus vindice nodus*."

There can be no doubt that it is so; but we have still to ask, as in the preceding moral proposed by Dr. Lowth, how comes it that such a lesson, introduced into the Jewish canon, should be taken from foreign, rather than from Jewish history? and be exemplified by exotic scenery, characters, customs, and even religion? On what ground has the book of Job a claim to be admitted into the sacred books of the Old Testament?

Mr. Good's dissertation and important work on Job.

For the only answer with which we have been hitherto furnished to this important question we must turn to Mr. Mason Good's Introductory Dissertation, prefixed to his distinguished and popular version of this sublime effusion; which has thrown so new and clear a light, not only upon this point, but upon almost every other point connected with it, as to have dispersed, as we conceive, all the most formidable difficulties that have been supposed to attend the poem; the "*multa loca valde obscura*," of Dr. Lowth, "*multa que vereor ut quisquam mortuam anima intelligat*;"—and to concentrate the opinion of most men of learning in the present day, as well on the content as at home, in the truth and accuracy of his interpretation. On which account we feel ourselves enabled upon to give as full an analysis of Mr. Good's critical examination of the work as our limits will allow.

This celebrated poem, he observes, is, "in various respects, the most extraordinary composition of any age or country; and has an equal claim to the attention of the theologian, the scholar, the antiquary, and the zoologist; to the man of taste, of genius, and of religion. Amidst the books of the bible it stands alone; and though its sacred character is sufficiently attested, both by the Jewish and the Christian scriptures, it is isolated in its language, in its manner, and in its matter. Nothing can be purer than its morality, nothing sublimer than its philosophy, nothing simpler than its ritual, nothing more majestic than its creed. Its style is the most figurative imaginable: there is no classical poem of the east that can equal it; yet its plan is as regular, its argument as consecutive, as the most finished compositions of Greece or Rome; and its opening and its close are altogether unvaried in magnificence. It is full of elevation and grandeur; daring in its conceptions; splendid and forcible in its images; abrupt in its transitions; and, at the same time, occasionally interwoven with touches of the most exquisite and overwhelming tenderness. And, to sum up the whole, if the train of reasoning pursued throughout this dissertation be correct, it is the most ancient of all human records; the only book in existence from which we can derive any thing like a SYSTEMATIC KNOWLEDGE OF PURE PATRIARCHAL RELIGION; and hence that very book which gives completion to the Bible, by adding the dispensation of the earliest ages to those of the law and the gospel by which it was successively superseded."

The dissertation then proceeds to enquire, in five distinct sections, into the scene of the poem: its scope, object, and arrangement; its language, and the difficulties attending a translation of it; its author and era; and the doctrines which it incidentally develops.

THE SCENE is placed in Arabia; of the original peopling of which we are favoured with the following account.

Upon the expulsion of Hagar and Ishmael from the family of Abraham, who had long resided on the plains of Mamre, or Hebron, Hagar took the road towards her native country, which was Egypt; but her stock of water failing soon after she had entered the wilderness of Beersheba, it seemed impossible to avoid perishing. She resigned herself to despair, and placing her son under a bush, as she could not endure to be a witness of his death, took an affecting leave of him, and retired to a distance. At this moment "the angel of God called to Hagar out of heaven," and she beheld a well of water close at hand. Being thus miraculously preserved, she continued her journey to the wilderness of Paraisa, on the borders of the Red sea, and there took up her residence. Her son, in due time, acquired manhood, and greatly distinguished himself as an archer; and his mother chose for him a wife from among her own country-women, the Egyptians. Here the account of Ishmael, or Ismael, as the Arabians call him, breaks off abruptly in the sacred writings, which are chiefly intended as a history of the descendants of Abraham through the line of Isaac; and we are compelled, in order to fill up the chasm, to have recourse to the Arabian historians, in whose country Ismael was now residing, and of whose tribes he may be regarded as the head, and common father. The Arabian writers make no mention of his marriage

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Analysis
of his ac-
count.

Scene.
Arabia.

Biography. with an Egyptian, but distinctly relate the miracle of the well, which they affirm, for obvious reasons, but with a palpable deviation from the truth, was performed on the very spot where Meccan, the birth-place of Mahomet, now stands. They assert that, at this time, the inhabitants of Arabia consisted of two classes: an elder, comprising those who had first taken possession of the country, immediately upon the confusion of tongues, and of whose origin they have no certain information, but who are supposed to have been descendants of Ham, comparatively few in number, and of but little consequence; and a class of later date, and much more powerful and numerous, descended from Kolthan, or Joktan, as he is called in the Hebrew scriptures, the son of Heber, and, consequently, fourth in a direct line from Shem or Sem. Kolthan, who had obtained the general sovereignty of Arabia, had two sons, Ysrah and Joram: to the former he allotted the province of Yaman, or Happy Arabia; and to the latter that of Haja, or Stony Arabia. The Joramites were by far the more powerful people of the two; and on the arrival of Ismael, on the coast of the Red sea, were governed by Modad, supposed to be the eighth in direct succession from Joram, and, of course, the thirteenth in direct succession from Sem. Ismael continued in this spot, where, as it has already been observed, the Arabian writers place Hagar's well, till the death of his mother; after which he proceeded, with a numerous retinue, to the northern parts of Arabia, probably to assist his brother Isaac in the interment of his father, as stated Gen. xxv. 9; and on his return to the south, found that the tribe of the Joramites had over-run the country he had so lately quitted, and had actually possessed themselves of the well to which his mother's name had been given. Ismael immediately put in his claim to it; and the dispute was settled by an alliance between the tribes: Ismael marrying Valah, the daughter of Modad, chief of the Joramites, and receiving with her, as a part of her dowry, the well and the territories adjoining; and by their marriage, according to the Arabian writers, and not by the Egyptian alliance, Ismael had the twelve sons which are ascribed to him in a succeeding part of the book of Genesis; and who are there called princes, and are placed each at the head of a distinct town and people, and possessed of a distinct castle. From the abruptness and brevity with which the Hebrew narrative returns to the history of Ismael, we have no information as to the immediate marriage from which the twelve sons proceeded. As polygamy was so common in his era, it is probable that he had more wives than one; and the very extensive authority which the Bible statement admits him to have possessed in Arabia, the concurrent testimony of the Arabian historians, and the minuteness with which the pedigrees of all Arabian families are preserved from generation to generation, and appealed to in their courts of law, leave little or no room to doubt as to the accuracy of the Arabian narrative upon this point. In reality, the success which had accompanied Hagar's journey with Ismael into the Arabian peninsula, seems to have induced all the sons of Abraham, excepting Isaac, to press forward in the same, or a somewhat similar direction; and hence, of his six sons by Keturah, we find, in the names given to different places in the south-eastern parts of this country, constituting Sandy Arabia, or the province of Nadj, as it

is now called (that which, in the period before us, was least inhabited), the radicals of their own names; as Midian, Sbaah, Sheba, Seba, or Saba, and Dedan. Hitler also advanced the two sons of Lot, the nephew of Abraham, Moab, and Ammon, and established themselves still further to the eastward of the same province: while Esau, his grandson, who was also called Edom, pursued a similar track; and, marrying a daughter of Ismael, at this time the head of the entire country, fixed himself on the south of the Dead sea, or lake Asphaltitis; driving away, or extirpating, the Horim, who had previously possessed this track; and giving to it his own name, or the land of Edom, which under the plastic hands of the Greek writers, was afterwards changed to Idumaea.

Such, observes Mr. Good, is the country which forms the scene of the present poem, and such is a very brief sketch of its history; a country whose religion, at the time we are now speaking of, must have been that of Abraham, to a very considerable extent; and whose language, from the first, not widely differing from that of Abraham, must have made a considerable approximation towards it, from the successive tides of the Abrahamic race, which, either directly or collaterally, were perpetually pouring into its different parts.

Well worthy of attention as to its origin and first establishment, the country of Arabia is equally worthy of attention in its present state. It offers a most extraordinary intermixture of barren sands and fruitful and flowery landscape, whose sweet exhilarating odours not unfrequently spread their fragrance along the whole line of the Arabian gulf, from Babelmandel to Suez. It was perhaps earliest in possession of the most important arts and sciences, and especially those which relate to manufactures and commerce. It first cultivated poetry and eloquence with critical attention, and taught these refinements to Persia, as Persia afterwards taught them to other parts of Asia. The general habits, language, and even political forms of government which it possessed in the time of Ismael, it possesses, with little variation, in the present day. Many of its tribes are capable of tracing their pedigree as high as to the beginning of the Christian era; and those of the Koreish, the most honourable and sacred of the whole, with unimpeachable accuracy, to Adnan, generally supposed to be the ninth in a direct line from Ismael, and, with some diversity of reckoning, to Ismael himself; from whom there seems little doubt, in consequence of the scrupulousity with which these pedigrees have been compared and handed down, both by tradition and written records, that Mahomet himself was descended, in the same direct line, from male to male, and from eldest son to eldest son. The natives, even to the present hour, are peculiarly sagacious, intelligent, and courageous. Without ever having been subdued by foreign invasion, they have themselves given religion and laws to half Asia and Africa, and to a great part of Europe; and when all the rest of the world was buried in a long night of barbarism, the Arabian caliphs protected and fostered the arts and sciences with almost unrivalled magnificence in the different courts of Bagdat, Spain, Africa, and Egypt.

The immediate district of Arabia, to which the poem, entitled Job, directs our attention, is the land of Uz, which Bochart, Sponheim, and the writers of the Universal History, have placed in Sandy Arabia, a position

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How post-
pied.

Face of the
country:
learning and
customs.

Biography, which our author shows very distinctly, can by no means be reconciled with the geography of the Old Testament, which is uniform in placing the land of Uz, or the Ausitis (Αυσίτις) of the Septuagint, in Stony Arabia, on the south-western coast of the Lake Asphaltitis, or the Dead sea, in a line between Egypt and Philistia, surrounded by Kedar, Teman, and Midian, all of them districts of Stony Arabia; and, as though to set every remaining doubt completely at rest, situated in Idumæa, or the land of Edom or Esau (of whose position there can be no question), and comprising so large a part of it, that Idumæa, and Ausitis, or the land of Uz, and the land of Edom, were convertible terms, and equally employed to import the same region. In effect, nothing is clearer than that all the persons introduced into the poem in question, were Idumæans, dwelling in Idumæa; or, in other words, Edomite Arabs. These characters are Job himself, of the land of Uz; Eliphaz, of Teman, a district of as much repute as Uz; and, upon the joint testimony of Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Amos, and Obadiah, a part, and principal part of Idumæa. Bildad, of Shuh, always mentioned in conjunction with Sheba and Dedan, the first of which was probably named after one of the brothers of Joktan or Kohtan, and the two last from two of his sons, all of them being uniformly placed in the vicinity of Idumæa; Zophar, of Nanma, a city importing pleasantness, which is also stated by Joshuah to have been situated in Idumæa, and to have lain in a southern direction towards its coast, on the shores of the Red sea; and Elihu, of Buz, which, as the name of a place, occurs only once in sacred writ, but is there mentioned in conjunction with Teman and Dedan, and hence, necessarily, like themselves, a border city upon Ausitis, Uz, or Idumæa.

Scope and arrangement of the poem.

We cannot enter into the detail of the argument made use of by Mr. Good, in fixing the precise *SCENE* of the poem before us; but having successfully established his point, he next proceeds to give a very interesting account of its *SCOPE* AND *ARRANGEMENT*.

The subject proposed by the writer of the poem, he observes, is the trial and triumph of the integrity of Job; a character of whose origin no certain documents have descended to us, but who, at the period in question, was chief magistrate, or emir, as we should style him in the present day, of the city of Us, powerful and prosperous beyond all the sons of the east, and whose virtue and piety were as eminently distinguished as his rank. There are some critics, however, he continues, and of great distinction for learning and religion, who, in opposition to all the biographical works which impersonate and individualize the venerable patriarch and his companions, contend that the poem, as well in its characters as its structure, is fabulous. Such especially is the opinion of Professor Michaelis, whose chief arguments are derived from the nature of the exordium, in which Satan appears as the accuser of Job; from the temptations and sufferings permitted by the Great Governor of the World to befall an upright character; from the roundness of the numbers by which the patriarch's possessions are described, as seven thousand, three thousand, one thousand, and five hundred; and from the years he is said to have lived after his recovery from disease.

It may, perhaps be thought, says our author, to demand a more subjugating force than is lodged in these arguments, to transmute into fable what has uni-

formly been regarded as fact, both in Europe and Asia, for perhaps upwards of four thousand years; which appears to have descended as fact, in a regular stream of belief, in the very country which forms the scene of the history, from the supposed time of its occurrence to the present day; the chief character in which, is represented as having had an actual existence, and is often associated with real characters, as Noah, Abraham, Ismael, Isaac, Jacob, and Solomon, in various parts of the book which is there held most sacred, and which, so far as it is derived from national history, or tradition, is entitled to minute attention; and (which should seem long since to have settled the question definitively) a character which, precisely in the same manner, is associated with real characters in the authoritative pages of the Old and New Testaments.

In reply to M. Michaelis's remark, that "it is altogether incredible that such a conversation ever took place between the Almighty and Satan, who is supposed to return with *news* from the terrestrial regions," our author forcibly inquires, "but why should such a conversation be supposed incredible?" The attempt at wit in this passage is somewhat out of place; for the interrogation of the Almighty, "Hast thou fixed thy view upon my servant Job, a perfect and upright man?" instead of aiming at the acquisition of news, is intended as a severe and most appropriate sarcasm upon the fallen spirit. "Hast thou, who, with superior faculties, and a more comprehensive knowledge of my will, hast not continued perfect and upright, fixed thy view upon a subordinate being, far weaker, and less informed, than thyself, who has continued so?" The attendance of the apostate at the tribunal of the Almighty, is plainly designed to show us that good and evil angels are equally amenable to him, and equally subject to his authority; a doctrine common to every part of the Jewish and Christian scriptures, and, except in the mythology of the Parsees, recognised by, perhaps, every ancient system of religion whatever. The part assigned to Satan in the present poem, is that expressly assigned to him in the case of Adam and Eve, in the garden of Eden, and of our Saviour in the wilderness; and which is assigned to him generally, in regard to mankind at large, by all the evangelists and apostles whose writings have reached us, both in their strictest historical narratives, and closest argumentative inductions. And hence the argument which should induce us to regard the present passage as fabulous, should induce us to regard all others in the same light which are imbued with the same doctrine; a view of the subject which would sweep into nothingness a much larger portion of the Bible, than M. Michaelis would choose to part with.

The other arguments, continues our author, are comparatively of small moment. We want not fable to tell us that good and upright men may occasionally become the victims of unrighteous calamities; for it is a living fact which, in the mystery of Providence, is perpetually occurring in every country; while as to the roundness of the numbers by which the patriarch's possessions are described, nothing could have been more ungraceful or superfluous than for the poet to have descended to units, had even the literal enumeration demanded it: and although he is stated to have lived a hundred and forty years after his restoration to prosperity, and in an era in which the duration of man

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Proofs that it is founded on real history, in opposition to the opinions of Michaelis.

biography. did not perhaps, much exceed that of the present day, it should be recollected, that in his person, as well as in his property, he was specially gifted by the Almighty; that, from various passages, he seems to have been younger than all the interlocutors, except Elihu, and much younger than one or two of them; that his longevity is particularly remarked, as though of more than usual extent; and that, even in the present age of the world, we have well-authenticated instances of persons having lived, in different parts of the globe, to the age of a hundred and fifty, a hundred and sixty, and even a hundred and seventy years. It is not necessary for the historical truth of the book of Job, that its language should be a direct transcript of that actually employed by the different characters introduced into it: for in such case we should scarcely have a single book of real history in the world. The *Iliad*, the *Shah Namah*, and the *Lusind*, must at once drop all pretensions to such a description; and even the pages of *Sallust* and *Cæsar*, of *Rollin* and *Hume*, must stand upon very questionable authority. It is enough that the real sentiment be given, and the general style copied; and this, in truth, is all that is aimed at, not only in our reports of parliamentary speeches, but, in many instances (which indeed is much more to the purpose), by the writers of the New Testament, in their quotations from the Old.

The general scope and moral of this sublime production, namely, that the troubles and afflictions of the good man are, for the most part, designed as tests of his virtue and integrity, out of which he will at length emerge with additional splendor and happiness, are common to eastern poets, and not uncommon to those of Greece. The *Odyssey* is expressly constructed upon such a basis, and, like the poem before us, has every appearance of being founded upon real history, and calls to its aid the machinery of a sublime and supernatural agency. But, in various respects, the poem of Job stands alone and unrivalled. In addition to every corporeal suffering and privation which it is possible for man to endure, it carries forward the trial in a manner and to an extent which has never been attempted elsewhere, into the keenest faculties and sensations of the mind, and mixes the bitterest taunts and accusations of friendship with the agonies of family bereavement and despair. The body of other poems consists chiefly of incidents; that of the present poem, of colloquy, or argument, in which the general train of reasoning is so well sustained, its matter so important, its language so ornamented, the doctrines it develops so sublime, its transitions from passion to passion so varied and abrupt, that the want of incidents is not felt, and the attention is still rivetted as by enchantment. In other poems the supernatural agency is fictitious, and often incongruous; here the whole is solid reality, supported, in its grand outline, by the concurrent testimony of every other part of the scriptures: an agency not obtrusively introduced, but demanded by the magnitude of the occasion; and as much more exalted and magnificent than every other kind of similar interference, as it is more veritable and solemn. The suffering hero is sublimely called forth to the performance of his part, in the presence of men and angels; each becomes interested, and equally interested, in his conduct; the Almighty assents to the trial, and for a period withdraws his divine aid; the

malice of Satan is in its full career of activity; hell hopes, earth trembles, and every good spirit is suspended with awful anxiety. The wreck of his substance is in vain; the wreck of his family is in vain; the scalding sores of a corroding leprosy is in vain; the artillery of insults, reproaches, and railing, poured forth from the mouth of bosom friends, is in vain. Though at times put, in some degree, off his guard, the holy sufferer is never completely overpowered. He sustains the shock without yielding; he still holds fast his integrity. Thus terminates the trial of faith; Satan is confounded; fidelity triumphs; and the Almighty, with a magnificence well worthy of the occasion, unveils his resplendent tribunal, and crowns the afflicted champion with his applause.

The poem, as we have already observed, has generally been supposed to possess a dramatic character; but, in order to give it such a pretension, it has been uniformly found necessary to strip it of its magnificent exordium and close, which are unquestionably narrative; and even then, the dramatic cast is so singularly interrupted by the appearance of the historian himself, at the commencement of every speech, to inform us of the name of the person who is about to take up the argument, that many critics, and, among the rest, Bishop Lowth, are doubtful of the propriety of referring it to this department of poetry, though they do not know where else to give it a place. In Mr. Good's view of the subject, it is a regular *HEBREW EPIC*; and were it necessary, says he, to enter so minutely into the question, it might easily be proved to possess all the more prominent features of an epic, as collected and laid down by Aristotle himself; such as unity, completion, and grandeur in its action; loftiness in its sentiments and language; multitude and variety in the passions which it develops. Even the characters, though not numerous, are discriminated, and well supported; the milder and more modest temper of Eliphaz, is well contrasted with the forward and unrestrained violence of Bildad; the terseness and brevity of Zophar, with the pent-up and overflowing fulness of Elihu; while in Job himself, we perceive a dignity of mind that nothing can humiliate, a firmness that nothing can subdue, still habitually disclosing themselves amidst the mingled tumult of hope, fear, rage, tenderness, triumph, and despair, with which he is alternately distracted. "I throw out this hint, however," remarks Mr. Good, "not with a view of ascribing any additional merit to the poem itself, but merely to observe, so far as a single fact is possessed of authority, that mental taste, or the internal discernment of real beauty, is the same in all ages and nations; and that the rules of the Greek critic, are deduced from a principle of universal impulse and operation."

Nothing can have been more unfortunate for this most excellent composition, than its division into chapters, and especially such a division as that in common use; in which not only the unity of the general subject, but, in many instances, that of a single paragraph, or even of a single clause, is completely broken in upon and destroyed. The natural division, and that which was unquestionably intended by its author, observes Mr. Good, is into SIX PARTS or BOOKS; for in this order it still continues to run, notwithstanding all the confusion it has encountered by subarrangements. These six parts are, an opening or exordium, containing the

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Not a drama but a Hebrew epic.

Injured by the ordinary division into chapters.

Biography. introductory history and decrees concerning Job; three distinct series of arguments, in each of which the speakers are regularly allotted their respective turns; the summing up of the controversy; and the close or catastrophe, consisting of the suffering hero's grand and glorious acquittal, and restoration to prosperity and happiness; the whole of which may be explained under the following analysis.

Natural division into six parts or books.

First part.

PART I. Constituting the opening or exordium, comprises the first two chapters in the ordinary division, and is full of incident and transition. It commences with a brief narration of the principal personage of the piece, his place of residence, rank in life, and inflexible integrity. It then suddenly changes to a scene so transcendently lofty and magnificent, that the grandest descriptions of the most daring poets sink before it; and nothing can be put in comparison with it but a few passages in *Paradise Lost*, derived from the same source. The tribunal of the Almighty is unveiled; the host of good and evil spirits, in obedience to his summons, present themselves before him to give an account of their conduct. The views of Satan are particularly inquired into; and the unswerving fidelity of Job, though a mortal, is pointedly held out to him, and extolled. The evil spirit insinuates that Job is only faithful because it is his interest to be faithful; that he serves his Creator because he has been peculiarly protected and prospered by him; and that he would abandon his integrity the moment such protection should be withdrawn. To confound him in so malicious an imputation, the Almighty delivers Job into his hands, only forbidding him to touch his person.

Satan departs from the celestial tribunal; and, collecting the fury of his vindictive power into one tremendous assault, strips the righteous patriarch, by the conjoint aid of hostile incursions, thunderstorms, and whirlwinds, in one and the same day, and that a day of domestic rejoicing, of the whole of his property and of his family; despatching messenger after messenger with a separate tale of woe, till the whole tragedy is completed. But the patriarch continues inflexible. He feels bitterly, but he sias not, even in his heart:—instead of murmuring against his Creator,

—*Job arose, and rent his mantle, and shaved his head, And fell on the ground, and worshipped; and said, "Naked came I forth from my mother's womb, And naked shall I return thither! Jehovah giveth, and Jehovah taketh away; Blessed be the name of Jehovah."*

The celestial session returns. The supreme Creator again assumes the judgment-seat; and the hosts of good and evil spirits are once more arranged before him for his commands. The unswerving fidelity of Job is again pointed out to Satan, and the futility of his malice exposed. The evil spirit, though foiled, still continues unabashed, and insinuates that he had no liberty to touch his person. The Almighty surrenders his person into his hands, and only commands him to spare his life. Satan departs from the presence of Jehovah; and in the same moment Job is smote with a burning leprosy; and while agonized with this fresh affliction, is tauntingly upbraided by his wife with the ineutility of all his religious services. The good passes into his soul, but it does not poison it. He resists this additional attack with a dignity as well as a firmness of faith that does honour to human nature:

As the talk of one of the foolish is thy talk, Shall we then accept good from God, And shall we not accept evil?

The part closes with what is designed to introduce the main subject of the poem, a preconcerted visit to the suffering patriarch of three of his most intimate friends. And in the simple narrative of their first seeing him, there is a pathos that beggars all description, and which cannot fail to strike home to every bosom that is capable of feeling:

For they had appointed together to come, To mourn with him, and to comfort him; And they lift up their voices from afar, and knew him not: And they raised their eyes and wept; And rent every one his mantle, And cast dust upon their heads towards heaven. And they sat down with him on the ground, seven days and seven nights: And no one spake unto him a word, For they saw that the affliction rag'd sorely.

This part is peculiarly distinguished by simplicity, Character sublimity, and fine feeling. In its diction it exhibits a perfect contrast to that of the great body of the poem; and, in conjunction with the diction that follows, affords proof of a complete mastery of style and language; a mastery unequalled perhaps in any other part of the Hebrew scriptures, and altogether unknown to every other kind of oriental composition. It is characteristic, however, of the writer of this transcendent poem—a fact well worthy of being remembered in determining who he was—that he uniformly suits his ornaments to the occasion; that, as though influenced by the rules of the best Greek critics, he seldom employs a figurative style where the incident or the passion is capable of supporting itself, and reserves his boldest images and illustrations for cases that seem most to require them. And for want of attending to this distinction, Schultens, Lowth, Grey, and a few other translators of the book of Job, have regarded this first part of the poem as a mere prosaic preface to the rest, meant to be detached from it, and utterly destitute of metrical arrangement; an error from which Dr. Stock is altogether free, but which has been unfortunately caught by Miss Smith in her posthumous version.

PART II. Extends from the beginning of the third to the end of the fourteenth chapter, and comprises the first colloquy, or series of argument. Job, completely overwhelmed, and believing himself abandoned by his Maker, gives a loose to all the wildness of despondency; and, in an address of exquisite force and feeling, laments that he ever beheld the light, and calls earnestly for death, as the only refuge of the miserable. This burst of agony is filled with the holdest images and imprecations; and almost, perhaps, he thought, in some parts of it, too daring, but that it appears to have been regarded as a master-piece by the best poets of Judea, and is imitated, in its boldest flights, by King David, Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Ezekiel.

To this cry of despondency Elihu ventures upon the first reply; and the little that was wanting to make the cup of agony brim-full, is now added to it. The patriarch's friends, stimulated, unquestionably, by the secret impulse of Satan, have agreed upon the false principle, that, in the uniform dealings of Providence, happiness and prosperity are the necessary marks and consequences of integrity, and pain and misery of wickedness; and hence the grand argument on their part consists, first, in charging the sufferer with the

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Character of the first part.

Second part.
Exclusion of Job.

Reply of Elihu.

Biography.

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commission of sins, which he ought to confess and repent of; and, next, in accusing him of pride and hypocrisy, because he will not consent to such confession. Eliphaz, however, is, from natural habit, the mildest of the accusers; and his speech begins with delicacy, and is conducted with the most arduous address. After duly apologizing for breaking in upon the sufferings of his friend, he proceeds to point out the inconsistency of a good man's repining under a state of discipline, and the absurdity of his not bearing up who had so often exhorted others to fortitude. He remarks, that the truly good are never utterly overthrown; but that the ways of Providence are wrapped in inextricable mystery; and that nothing can be more arrogant than for so weak, so ephemeral, so insect-like a being as man is, to impetish them: a position which is illustrated by the most powerful picture of an apparition that ever was drawn by the pen of any writer, in any age or country; disclosed to the speaker for the express purpose of inculcating this solemn maxim. He concludes with observing, that as neither man nor angel, without the consent of the Almighty, can render Job any assistance, wrath and violence are folly; and that nothing remains for him but to seek unto God, and to commit the cause into his hands; whose correction will then be assuredly succeeded by a new series of happiness and prosperity.

Job's answer to Eliphaz.

Job replies to Eliphaz, but is overborne by the bitterness of his remonstrance; and under his accumulated trials, once more wishes to die. He reproaches his friends for their severity; and, in a most beautiful and appropriate simile, compares the consolation he expected from their soothing intercourse, and the cruel disappointment he had met with, to the promise of a plentiful supply of water held out to a parched up caravan, by the fall of floods of rain, snarved at a distance, but which, on arriving at the place of their descent, are found to have entirely evaporated, or to have branched out over the sands, and become lost.

What time they was warm they evaporated;
And, when it grows hot, they are dried up in their place:
The waters of these channel wind about,
They stretch into nothing and are lost.
The companies of Tema search earnestly,
The caravans of Sheba pass for them:
They are consumed—such is their longing;
They arrive at the place and sink away.
Behold! ye also are a nothing;
Ye see my downcasting, and shrink back.

Suddenly he feels he has been too acrimonious, apologizes, and intreats their further attention; but is instantly hurried away by a torrent of opposite passions; now once more longing for death, as the termination of his sufferings, and now urged on by the natural desire of life. He expostulates warmly, and, at length, unbecomingly, with the Almighty; and at once growing sensible of the irreverence, humbly confesses his offence, supplicates forgiveness, and implores that his affliction may cease.

Eliphaz's speech.

It is now Eliphaz's turn to speak; who commences with bitter and most provoking cruelty. He openly charges the whole family of Job with gross wickedness, on no other ground than their destruction by the whirlwind; and throws suspicions against the patriarch himself, in consequence of his being a sufferer in the calamity. Like Eliphaz, he also exhorts him to repent, and to look to God for a restoration to prosperity,

and never more to depend on himself; observing, in the language of an apt and exquisite proverbial saying of the long-lived, perhaps the mediæval ages, that the most succulent plants are soonest withered; and that the reliance of the hypocrite is a cobweb.

In the beginning of his reply to this speech, the suffering patriarch shows that he has once more recovered himself, and is superior to the serenity of its assault. He acknowledges that all power is with God, who alone has created whatever exists; but maintains that, as to his moral government, we are grossly ignorant, and can account for nothing that takes place; and that the good and the wicked suffer indiscriminately. At one moment, under the influence of acute agony, he longs earnestly to plead his cause with God, and to defend his habitual integrity; but awed suddenly by new ideas of the divine power and purity, and aware that from both causes he must be overwhelmed, he shrinks from so daring a task; and concludes with an affecting address to the Almighty, in which he ventures to expostulate with him, as his Creator and Preserver. He grows warmer as he proceeds; is roused to desperation at the thought that God is become his enemy and persecutor; and once more vehemently calls for a termination of his miseries by death.

Next in the progress of the argument, appears Zophar, who, like Bildad, commences with violent and rough invective. He condemns Job severely for continuing to assert his innocence before God. He contends that the ways of Providence are obvious, and that it is only his own iniquity that makes them appear dark and mysterious. Like the preceding speakers, he exhorts him, in fine and figurative language, to put away his iniquity, and lift up his hands to the Almighty; and promises that he shall then soon lose all trace of his present calamity.

As waters passed by shalt thou remember it,
and that his into prosperity and happiness shall be redoubled upon him. But if not, he denounces his utter and irremediable ruin.

Stimulated by this repetition of so unjust and opprobrious an accusation, Job, for the first time, vents a sarcasm on his part. In return for the proverbial sayings of his companions, he retorts upon them sayings of a similar kind, many of them possessed of far more force and appropriation. He then commences a direct attack upon their own conduct; and charges them with declaiming, on the part of God, from the ease and unworthy hope of propitiating him. He grows still warmer as he advances; and, under a consciousness of general innocence, demands to be put to the bar, and to stand his trial with the Almighty; he boldly summons his accusers, intreats the Supreme Judge not to overwhelm him with his power or awfulness; and, realizing the tribunal before him, at once commences his pleading, in an address, which, according to the feeling of the moment, is vehement, plaintive, argumentative, full of fear, of triumph, of expostulation, and, at last, of despondency; now representing the Creator in all his might and supremacy, as demolishing a driven leaf, and hunting down parched stubble; next exhibiting doubts of a future state; then exulting in the belief of it; and finally sinking into utter gloom and hopelessness.

PART III. Comprises the second series of controversy, and extends from the fifteenth to the close

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Job to Eliphaz.Reply of
Job to
Zophar.

Biography.	of the twenty-first chapter. Eliphaz opens the discussion in his regular turn. He accuses Job of vehemence and vanity; asserts that no man is innocent; and pointedly observes to him that, in regard to himself, his own conduct is sufficient to condemn him; concluding with a train of highly forcible and figurative apophthegms, of great beauty and antiquity, calculated to prove the certain and irrecoverable misery of the wicked and unrepentant.	that dares attack their conduct to their face? who is there that does not fall prostrate before their power and overwhelming influence? even in death itself, they are publicly bemoaned, and every individual attends upon their obsequies. Thus concludes the third part of this poem, and it could not possibly conclude better.	Joh
A. M. 2484. — B. C. 1520.			A. M. 2484. — B. C. 1520.
Speech of Eliphaz.	Job replies to him, and once more complains bitterly of the reproaches and contumelies so unjustly heaped upon him, but consoles himself by again appealing to the Almighty upon the subject of his innocence. He accuses his companions of holding him up to public derision, and intreats them to leave him, and return home: he again pathetically bemoans his lot, and looks forward to the grave with scarcely a glimmering of hope, and an almost utter despair of a resurrection from its ruins.	PART IV. Comprises the third and last series of controversy, and reaches from the twenty-second, to the part close of the thirty-first chapter. Eliphaz, as usual, commences; and moved by the cogent and argumentative eloquence of the preceding speech, is himself incited to a stricter and closer discussion of the subject than he had hitherto aimed at; and pours forth his whole spirit into one grand effort of confutation. His argument is full of art, but it is, in a great degree, the art of the sophist. He charges Job, in spite of his own guarded declarations to the contrary, with being an advocate for the wicked, by connecting wickedness and prosperity in the manner of cause and effect; and, of course, as being, in his heart and propensities, a party to all the iniquities of the antediluvians that brought the deluge upon the world. With the most accomplished subtlety, he dwells upon this signal judgment for the purpose of adverting to the single delivery of the family of righteous Noah, their great progenitor, as a proof that God neither does, nor will, suffer the wicked to escape punishment, nor the righteous to pass without reward. In addition to which, he proceeds to instance the striking rescue of Lot and his family from the conflagration that devoured the cities on the plain; thus sophistically opposing two special and miraculous interpositions to the general course of divine providence. He concludes, as on various former occasions, with exhorting Job to confess and abandon his iniquities; and beautifully depicts, in new and forcible imagery, the happiness that he will then find in reserve for him.	Speech of Eliphaz.
Speech of Balaad.	Balaad next enters into the debate with his characteristic virulence and violence, at the same time exhorting Job to be temperate. The whole speech is a string of generalities, and parabolic traditions of the first ages, concerning the fearful punishments in reserve for the wicked; all exquisitely sublime and beautiful in themselves, but possessing no other relevancy to the present case than that which results from the false argument that Job must be a great sinner, because he is a great sufferer.		
Reply of Job to Balaad.	The reply of the patriarch to this contumelious tirade, contained in the nineteenth chapter of the common division, is one of the most brilliant parts of the whole poem, and exhibits a wonderful intermixture of tenderness and triumph. It commences with a fresh complaint of the cruelty of his assailants: the meek sufferer still calls them his friends; and, in a most touching apostrophy, implores their pity in his deep affliction. He takes an affecting survey of his hopeless situation, as assaulted and broken down by the Almighty, for purposes altogether mysterious and unknown to him; and then suddenly, as though a ray of divine light and comfort had darted across his soul, rises into the full hope of a future resurrection, and vindication of his innocence; and, in the triumph of so glorious an expectation, appears to forget his present wretchedness and misery.		Reply of Job to Eliphaz.
Speech of Zophar.	The lend is next assumed by Zophar, but merely to recapitulate the old argument under a new form. Job has not yet confessed the heinous sins for which he is suffering; and hence, in bold and terrific pictures, chiefly, as on many preceding occasions, derived from the lofty sayings of ancient times, he alarms him with the various punishments reserved for the impenitent.		
Reply of Job to Zophar.	In reply to Zophar, Job appears to collect his whole strength of argument, as though resolved at one and the same time, to answer all that has been advanced upon the subject, by each of his opponents. He boldly controverts their principle, that present prosperity is the lot of the good, and present misery that of the wicked. He asserts, even while trembling at the thought of so mysterious a providence, that here the reprobate, instead of the righteous, are chiefly triumphant,—that this is their world,—that they riot in it unrestrained, and take their full of enjoyment. They may, perhaps, continue to be reserved against a day of future judgment and retribution; but where is the man		

Biography.

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2484.
B. C.
1520.Brief and
final speech
of Bildad.Reply of
Job to
Bildad.

are overthrown in a moment, and reduced from the utmost height of splendour, to the lowest abyss of beggary and ruin.

Bildad, to whom it belongs next to reply, is completely confounded. He is compelled to admit that the present state of things proves the Deity to work with absolute sway, and in an incomprehensible manner. But, though driven from his former position, he still maintains that Job must be wicked, since every man is wicked, and altogether worthless in the sight of God; all which, in order to give the greater weight to his observations, he confirms by delivering them in the words of ancient and proverbial maxims.

Job, in reply to Bildad, is indignant at his not openly retracting an opinion which, it was obvious, he could no longer maintain. He is particularly irritated at his pretending, once more, to quote the proverbial maxims of past times, as though to enlist the wisdom of the ancients against him; and sarcastically follows him up by a string of other traditions of a similar kind, possessing still more magnificence, and, at least, as much general connexion. And having thus severely reproofed him, he returns to the argument in ch. xxvii. and asserts that, distressed as he is, and forsaken of God, habitual innocence has ever belonged to him, and ever shall; and, on this very account, he secretly encourages a hope that he shall not be ultimately forsaken; and forcibly points out the very different situation of the wicked, when they also are overtaken by calamity; their ruin being, on the contrary, utter and irreversible, and even entailed on their posterity. Under the disappointment their visit had produced, and the proofs of feebleness and folly it had exhibited, where wisdom and consolation were to have been expected, he proceeds to a highly figurative and exquisite description of the value of genuine wisdom, and the difficulty of searching out its habitation, concluding, as the result of his enquiry, that it alone resides in, and issues from the Creator, and is only bestowed upon those who sincerely fear him, and depart from evil. He closes with a detailed and deeply interesting examination into every department of his life—an examination that ought to be studied and copied by every one. He investigates his conduct in the full sunshine of prosperity, as a magistrate, as a husband, as a father, as a master; and in all these characters he feels capable of conscientiously justifying himself. In the course of this historical scrutiny, he draws a very affecting contrast between his past and his present situation; the period in which all was happiness and splendour, and that in which all is trouble and humiliation. He challenges his companions, and the world at large, to accuse him publicly and expressly of a single act of injustice or oppression; declares that, so far from shrinking from such an accusation, he would wear it as a frontlet upon his shoulder and his turban; that, like a witness on the side of his accuser, he would furnish him with all the evidence in his power; and pants earnestly to be put to the bar, and abide the decision of his country.

Zophar should now have replied in rotation; but he has already exhausted himself, and the argument closes.

PART V. Contains the summing up of the controversy, which is allotted to Elihu, a new character in the poem; but who, though unnoticed, appears to have VOL. IX.

entered before the commencement of the debate, and to have impartially studied its progress. The speech of Elihu commences with the thirty-second chapter of the common arrangement, which constitutes its peroration, and offers a fine specimen of the art of bespeaking and fixing attention. He first adverts to the general irrelevancy of the matter that has been advanced against Job, from every quarter by which he has been attacked, and then proceeds to comment upon the patriarch himself. Tactfully admitting the general force of the reasoning by which he had confounded his opponents, Elihu now where charges him with former wickedness, because of his present affliction, but confines himself to his actual conduct, and the tendency of his replies on the existing occasion; both of which he reprehends with considerable warmth. In various instances he repeats his words literally, and animadverts upon them as highly irreverent; and observes, that the dispensations of Providence, dark and mysterious as they commonly appear to us, are always full of wisdom and mercy; and that, in many cases, we are made sensible of this even at the moment, being frequently, by such means, warned and reclaimed, sometimes publicly, but still oftener in secret, through the medium of dreams, diseases, or other providential interferences.

He attacks the position of Job, that the present world is the portion of the wicked, and that here prosperity is more frequently their lot than that of the righteous; and, with some degree of sobriety and disingenuity, turns, like Eliphaz, this position of the patriarch into a declaration, that he approves of the ways of wickedness as a mean of prosperity, and has no desire to be righteous, unless when righteousness has a like chance of advancing his worldly views. Upon this point he attacks him with great severity, and in general terms; and in general, but beautiful and highly figurative descriptions; adverts to the frequent and visible interferences of the Almighty to relieve the poor and the oppressed, and to hurl down the tyrant and the reprobate. He next exhorts Job to relinquish his present sentiments, and to confess his transgressions, in full confidence of a return of the divine favour. Submission he asserts (ch. xxxv.) to be the only duty of man, and the wisest course he can pursue; that God can derive neither advantage from his obedience, nor disadvantage from his rebellion; that man alone can profit from the one, and suffer from the other; and that had Job suffered more, he would have disputed less. The remainder of this expositive oration points out consecutively, in strong and glowing language, full of sublimity and the finest painting, that God is supreme; that he is all in all; and that every thing is subject to him, and regulated by him, and regulated in wisdom, goodness, and justice; that hence, instead of resisting, it becomes us to submit; that the worst of iniquities is to wish for death, in order to escape from a chastisement we are enduring and have deserved; and that, living or dying, it is in vain to fly from the Creator, since all nature was formed by him, and is the theatre of his power. The speaker closes with a lofty and transcendent description of the might and wisdom of the great Maker, in the works and wonders of the creation; the formation of rain, thunder, lightning, snow, clouds, clear sky, the return of spring, and the general revolution of the seasons; concerning

Job.

A. M.
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B. C.
1520.Summing
up of the
argument
by Elihu.Zophar
replies,
speaking
and the
close closes.

Fifth Part.

Biography.

A. M.
2484.
—
B. C.
1520.

Siach Put.
Address of
Jehovah
from the
whirlwind.

Acquired
and restoration
of Job.

all which we know nothing; yet the whole of which is but a faint and reflected light from him who ordained and commands them; concluding as follows: (ch. xxxvii. 22—24.)

Styendro itself is with God!
Ineffable majesty!
Almighty!—we cannot comprehend him—
Surpassing in power and judgment!
Yet doth not the might of his justice oppress.
Let mankind, therefore, stand in awe of him:
He looketh all the wise of heart to nothing.

PART VI. The trial of faith, resignation, and integrity, is now drawing to an end. The opponents of Job, and, through them, the arch-demon by whom they were existed, have been baffled in their utmost exertions; yet, though silenced, they still sullenly refuse to retract. The Almighty now visibly appears to pronounce judgment, and "speaks to Job out of the whirlwind;" and the address ascribed to him is a most astonishing combination of dignity, sublimity, grandeur, and condescension; and is as worthy of the magnificent occasion as any thing can be, delivered in human language.

The line of argument pursued in the course of this inimitable address is, that the mighty speaker is Lord of all, the creator of the heavens and the earth, and that every thing must bow down before him; that he is the God of providence; and that every thing is formed by him in wisdom, and bespeaks a mean to an end, and that end the happiness and enjoyment of his creatures. In the development of this reasoning, the formation of the world is first brought before us, and described in language that has never been equalled; the revolution of the heavenly bodies; and the regular return of the seasons. The argument then descends from so overwhelming a magnificence, and confines itself to phenomena that are more immediately within the scope and feeling of the sons of earth. It is God who supplies the wants of every living creature: it is he who finds them food in rocks and wildernesses: it is his wisdom that has adapted every kind to its own habits and mode of being; that has given cunning where cunning is necessary; and, where unnecessary, has withheld it; that has endowed with rapidity of foot or of wing, where such qualities are found needful; and, where nothing is demanded, has afforded proofs of a might the most terrible and irresistible. The whole of which is exquisitely illustrated by a variety of distinct instances, drawn from natural history, and painted to the very life; the following impressive corollary forming the general close. God is supreme, and must be bowed to, and adored: his wisdom is incomprehensible, how vain then to arraign it: his power omnipotent, how absurd then to resist it: his goodness universal, how blind then to deny it.

This awful address is listened to with fearful conviction. The humiliated sufferer confesses the folly of his arrogance and presumption, and abhors himself for his conduct.

The peripatza, or revolution, immediately succeeds. The self-abasement of Job is accepted: his three friends are severely reprimanded for having formed a dishonourable judgment concerning him, and for having taken a false and narrow view of the providence of the Almighty, in contending that he never does or can permit trouble but in cases of wickedness: a sacrifice is demanded of them, and Job is appointed to be their intercessor;

upon the accomplishment of which the severely tried patriarch is restored to his former state of enjoyment, and his prosperity is in every instance doubled.

In his THIRTIETH SECTION, Mr. Good enquires into and explains the difficulties attending a translation of the book of Job; into which we need not follow him: and in his FORTYTH, examines the disputed point concerning the author and era of the poem: upon which we have the following remarks.

If the preceding observations be correctly founded, they may make some progress towards determining the real author of this sublime composition. In his style he appears to have been equally master of the simple and the sublime; to have been minutely and elaborately acquainted with the astronomy, natural history, and general science of his age; to have been a Hebrew by birth and native language, and an Arabian by long residence and local study. To these peculiar features, thus incidentally gleaned from a critical survey of the poem, may be added, there is intrinsic evidence that, as a Hebrew, he must have flourished and have written antecedently to the Egyptian exodus. The annals of the world do not present to us a single nation so completely wrapped up in their own history as the Hebrews. Throughout every book, both in the Old and the New Testament, in which it could possibly be adverted to, the eye of the writer turns to different parts of it, and dwells upon it with inextinguishable fondness. The call of Abraham, the bondage and miracles in Egypt, the journeyings through the wilderness, the delivery of the law, the establishment of the priesthood, the passage of the Red sea, and of the Jordan, the destruction of the Canaanites, Ammonites, and Moabites; Aaron, Joshua, Manasses, and Gideon; Sinai, Carmel, and Sion; Gilead and Gass; Ashdod, Ekron, and Askelon, are perpetually brought before us, as ornaments, or illustrations of the subject discussed. To none of these, however, does the book of Job make the smallest reference: but the existence of Adam, and his concealment from the Almighty in the garden of Eden;* the voice of the blood of Abel crying from the ground;† the destruction of the world by the deluge;‡ the token of the rain-bow in the clouds;§ and the conflagration of Sodom and Gomorrah|| are, in the same love of national history, incidentally glanced at, or directly brought forward. With this last fact, however, the poet stops: he descends no lower than to the overthrow of the cities on the plain, and consequently to the era of Abraham and Lot; not a single incident appertaining either to the family of Isaac or of Ishmael, of Edom or of Jacob, being adverted to below this period. And hence we have the strongest circumstantial evidence for concluding that the poem, as written in Hebrew, must have been composed between the periods of Abraham's residence at Manure, and the miracles wrought by Moses in Egypt.

The opinions of those writers who have contended that the poem contains a few allusions to historical facts posterior to the commencement of the Egyptian bondage, or even below the Mosaic age, are next minutely examined by our author, who seems to show very satisfactorily, that the passages in different parts of the sacred text, adverted to in support of such

Job.
A. M.
2484.
—
B. C.
1520.

Difficulties attending a translation.

Author and era of the poem.

Intrinsic features of the writer.

Pretensions of various characters examined.

* Ch. xxi. 35. † Ch. xvi. 18. ‡ Ch. xii. 16. § Ch. xxi. 10. || Ch. xiii. 20.

Biography. opinions, are too loose to draw the conclusion contended for, or have no application to the subject whatever. He then proceeds as follows :

A. M. 2484
B. C. 1520.
The remaining characters that have been pitched upon as authors of this poem, are Elihu; Job himself, or in conjunction with the other dialogists; and Moses.

Elihu has been advanced, chiefly by Lightfoot, from an erroneous rendering of v. 16 and 17, in chap. xxxii, and the correction of which puts to flight all Elihu's pretensions in a moment. Concerning Job, as himself the author of the poem, or as the author of it in conjunction with his friends, we have already spoken. "All such opinion, however modified, equally suppose," observes Mr. Good, "the introduction of a foreign story, drawn up by a foreigner himself, into the sacred canon of the Jewish scripture; a supposition which is not countenanced by any other part of the scriptures, and to which the national jealousy of the Jews appears to have formed an insuperable barrier."

Strong claim of Moses.

It only remains then, continues this critic, to examine into the claim of Moses, as the author of the book of Job. To Moses, in truth, more than to any one, it has been generally ascribed in all nations, and perhaps in all ages; and if we apply to him the tests advanced above, and which are fatal to all the preceding characters, we shall find that there is not a single one to which his history will not adapt itself. It has been already asserted, that the writer of this poem must, in his style, have been equally master of the simple and of the sublime; that he must have been minutely and elaborately acquainted with the astronomy, natural history, and general science of his age; that he must have been a Hebrew by birth, and native language, and an Arabian by long residence and local study; and finally, that he must have flourished, and composed the work before the Egyptian exodus. Now it is obvious, that every one of these features is consummated in Moses, and in Moses alone; and that the whole of them gives us his complete lineaments and portraiture—whence there can be no longer any difficulty in determining as to the real author of the poem. Instructed in all the learning of Egypt, it appears little doubtful that he composed it during some part of his forty years' residence with the hospitable Jethro, in that district of Idumea which was named Midian.

In addition to these external proofs of identity, continues our author, a little attention will, perhaps, disclose to us an internal proof of peculiar force, in the close and striking similarity of diction and idiom which exists between the book of Job, and those pieces of poetry which Moses is usually admitted to have composed. The examples and parallelisms offered by Mr. Good, are numerous and striking, but we have not space to copy them, and must refer to the work itself.

Design of the book, creed, doctrines, and ritual.

The most important part of the inquiry, concerning this extraordinary production, however, remains yet to be noticed, and is given by our author in his FIFTH SECTION, ON THE CREED, DOCTRINES, AND RITUAL of the poem; in which he fully, and as we think, satisfactorily explains the express object of the work, and the expediency of its introduction into the Hebrew canon. The preceding inquiry concerning the origin and era of the book of Job, will be found, observes Mr. Good, of no small moment or importance. For if it has succeeded in fixing the date of the book of Job, at a period antecedent to the Egyptian exodus, and of

course to the Mosaic institution, and in bringing home the composition to Moses himself—then does this book immediately become a REPOSITORY OF PATRIARCHAL RELIGION, the best and fullest depository in the world, and drawn up by that very pen which was most competent to do justice to it. Then also do we obtain a clear and decisive answer to the question which has so often been proposed. What is the ultimate intention of the book of Job? and for what purpose is it introduced into the Hebrew and Christian canons? It will then appear that it is for the purpose of making those canons complete, by uniting as full an account as is necessary, of the dispensation of the patriarchs, with the two dispensations by which it was progressively succeeded. It will then appear that the chief doctrines of the patriarchal religion, as collected from different parts of the poem, were as follow:

I. The creation of the world by one supreme and eternal intelligence.*

Doctrines of patriarchal religion.

II. Its regulation by his perpetual and superintending providence.†

III. The intentions of his providence carried into effect by the ministration of a heavenly hierarchy.‡

IV. The heavenly hierarchy, composed of various ranks and orders, possessing different names, dignities, and offices.§

V. An apostasy or defection in some rank or order of these powers;|| of which Satan seems to have been one, and perhaps chief.¶

VI. The good and evil powers or principles, equally formed by the Creator, and hence equally denominated "sons of God;" both of them employed by him in the administration of his providence; and both amenable to him at stated courts, held for the purpose of receiving an account of their respective missions.**

VII. A day of future resurrection, judgment, and retribution, to all mankind.††

VIII. The propitiation of the Creator, in the case of human transgressions, by sacrifices;‡‡ and the mediation and intercession of a righteous person.§§

Several of these doctrines are more clearly developed in what than others: yet I think, says our author, there are sufficient grounds for deducing the whole of them. Some critics may, perhaps, conceive that the different names by which the heavenly host are characterised may be mere synonyms, and not designed to impart any variety of rank or order. Yet the names themselves, in most instances, imply distinctions, though we are not informed of their nature. *—* *SEVEN (semitim)*, destinies, or destroyers, ministers of death, cannot possibly apply to all of them, and appear to be nearly synonymous with the *Misai, Aisai, or Parai*, of the Greek and Roman writers. The term itself, indeed, is obvi-

Job.

A. M. 2484.
B. C. 1520.

Depository of patriarchal faith.

* See especially the speech of Jehovah himself, from ch. xxxviii. to ch. xli. inclusively.

† Ch. i. 9, 11; ii. 10; v. 8—17; ix. 4—13; and in almost every ensuing chapter throughout the book.

‡ Ch. i. 6, 7; iii. 16, 19; v. 1; xxxii. 22, 23.

§ As *cherubim*, *seraphim*; *melachim*, angels; *mal'achim*, intercessors; *morotim*, destinies or destroyers; *aleph*, the child or innocent; *bedekin*, *zakov*, the heavenly saints or hosts generally. See ch. ix. 18; xxxii. 22, 23; v. 8; x. 13.

|| Ch. iv. 18; v. 15.

¶ Ch. i. 6—18; ii. 8—7.

** Ch. i. 6, 7; ii. 1.

†† Ch. xiv. 13, 14, 15; xii. 23—29; xii. 30, xli. 11.

‡‡ Ch. i. 5; xlii. 8.

§§ Ch. xlii. 8, 9.

Biography. ously used in a limited and appropriate sense, in ch. xxxiii. 23, and is distinctly opposed to מַלְאֲכִים (*malucim*), angels; מְשִׁימִים (*mesimim*), intercessors; and מְלֵאךְ (*alep*), chailal, or thousand;

A. M. 2484.
B. C. 1520.
As his soul dwells near to the grave,
And his life to the DEATH;—
Surely will there be over him an ANGEL,
An INTERCESSOR,—ONE OF THE THOUSAND.

Heavenly hierarchy.

The general term for the whole of these different ranks appears to be מְשִׁמִּים (*mesimim*), SANCTI, or HOLY ONES; מְשִׁמִּים (*mesimim*), "ministers or servants," seems to convey in every instance in which it occurs, a subordinate idea, in office as well as in name, to מַלְאֲכִים (*malucim*), "angels, thrones, or principdoms." מְלֵאךְ (*alep*), "the chailal, or thousand," distinctly imports a particular corps or class; and is probably denominated by a rule common to most countries and languages, from the number of which it consisted,—as militia, centurion, decemvir, heptarch, tithegman.

Mr. Good proceeds to inform us that the same general belief has descended in Arabia, to the present day; and forms a distinct and prominent doctrine of the Alcoran; which he exemplifies at considerable length; and then shows that a similar belief was common to all the nations of the east, from whom it descended to the Greeks, and is especially adverted to by Hesiod, who calculates the whole number of heavenly guards, or deputies, appointed to watch over the earth, at thirty thousand: Op. et Dies, i. 246. With this passage he compares the strikingly similar and well-known description of Milton, Par. Lost, iv. 477, but derived from a superior authority.

Millions of spiritual creatures walk the earth
Unseen, both when we wake and when we sleep, &c.

The source, says our author, from which these lines of Milton are derived is the Bible; and it is of far more consequence to us that the doctrine they develop pervades the Bible, than that it prevails in any other work; and especially that it runs through the whole of the Scriptures, both Jewish and Christian, from Genesis to the Revelations—there being scarcely a book which has not a reference to it—and without a single caution or hint that the language employed is merely figurative, or designed to convey any other than the obvious and popular idea which must necessarily have been attached to it, by those to whom it was delivered. Thus especially, Coloss. i. 16, in which we have, in few words, a description of *invisible*, as well as of *visible* beings, inhabiting the earth, and the different orders of which the hierarchy consists: "For by him were all things created that are in heaven, and that are in EARTH, VISIBLE and INVISIBLE, whether THRONES, or DOMINIONS, or PRINCIPALITIES, or POWERS." Whence Milton again, Par. Lost, v. 600:

Hear all ye angels, progeny of light,
Thrones, dominations, principdoms, virtues, powers.

Agency in heaven.

The doctrine of an apostasy among the celestial orders, as ascribed to the patriarchal religion from the poem before us, is derived from two or three passages, to which a different explanation has been given, but one that seems to afford no obvious sense. In ch. i. and ii. Satan is abruptly, and without ceremony, introduced as an evil spirit, as though the writer of the poem felt it unnecessary to offer a syllable upon the subject, from the general notoriety of the fact. In ch. iv. 18, the passage runs as follows:

Behold! he cannot confide in his servants,
And charges his angels with default.
What, then, are the doers in houses of clay?

In ch. xv. 15, the same fact is again alluded to, and in terms equally strong, and equally general, as though of universal publicity:

Behold! he cannot confide in his ministers,
And the heavens are not clear in his sight,
How much less men, a mortal man, &c.

Where, observes Tyndal, "under the name of the heavens, understandeth he the angels;" on which account the Alexandrine version gives Αἱτῆρ ἄνε ἀπύρτα—"the stars are not clean,"—i. e. "the MORNING STARS." It is, in truth, under this precise image that the same fact is a third time referred to in the speech of Baldad, ch. xxv. 5; though, for want of due attention, it has seldom been understood to have this reference:

Behold! even the moon—and it sheddeth not,
And the stars are not pure in his sight:
How much less man, a worm! &c.

The common close, or burden, drawn from the greater impurity of man, shows obviously that this is the sense in which it ought to be understood. And the different passages taken collectively lead to a clear proof that the defection among the heavenly hosts was generally known at the time the poem was composed, and is, in all of them, generally referred to.

Concerning the doctrine of an universal resurrection and retribution, the poem, upon a cursory view, may in many places appear to be at variance with itself; for there are several passages which at first sight seem to point to an opposite conclusion; and hence a cloud of learned and excellent men in all ages, from St. Chrysostom and St. Ambrose, among the fathers, to Le Clerc, Reiske, Vorge, Michælis, Warburton, Geddes, and Stock among modern commentators, have denied that any such doctrine is fairly to be collected from the poem as a whole. The question is, therefore, entitled to be examined with minute attention.

It must be admitted that the only person amidst all the interlocutors who distinctly alludes to the subject, either on the one side or the other, is Job himself; and it certainly appears not a little extraordinary that none of his companions when reminding him, in succession, of the advantages of real contrition, and a restoration to the favour of the Almighty, should, even in the remotest manner, direct his attention to a future as well as to a present reward; and it is hence, perhaps, but fair to conceive that the doctrine of an after-state was no more in universal reception in the *last* of what may be denominated the patriarchal ages than it was among the Jews at the advent of our Saviour, and that the friends of Job did not themselves accede to it. Yet, in opposition to such a conclusion, there are two or three passages in the different speeches of Job which distinctly refer to it as a doctrine in general acceptance, and admitted by his companions themselves. But let us trace the principal passages which have any relation to the subject, in the succession in which they occur; and, in order to our reconciling the wide difference they exhibit, it should be constantly borne in mind that they are only brought forward by a man who, in the midst of extreme bodily pain, and the most complicated mental affliction that ever fell to the lot of any one, is perpetually agitated by every change of contending emotions; hope, fear, confidence, despondency,

Job.

A. M. 2484.
B. C. 1520.

Resurrection of the body.

Biography, indignation, tenderness, submission, and triumph; each abruptly breaking upon the other, and frequently hurrying him away from his habitual principles to an utterance of transitory thoughts, urged by transitory feelings.

The following are the chief passages against the existence of a future life:

CHAP. xiv. 13-22.

And for ever at the crumbling mountain dissolved,
And the rock moulder away from his place,
As the waters wear to pieces the stones,
As their overflows sweep the soil from the land—
No consumption thou the bones of man;
Thou hastenest him continually till he perish:
Thou wastest out his frame and despatchest him.
His sons may come to honour, but he shall know it not;
Or they may be impoverished, but he shall perceive nothing
of them;

For his flesh shall drop away from him,
And his soul shall become a waste from him.

CHAP. xvi. 22.—CHAP. xvii. 1.

But the years numbered to me are come,
And I must go the way whence I shall not return:
My spirit is wasted hell; my days are extinct;
Mine are the sepulchres.

CHAP. xvii. 11.

My days, my projects are all over;
The resolves of my heart are cut asunder.
Night is assigned me for day,
A night bordering on the regions of darkness,
While I bary, the grave is my home;
I am making my bed in the darkness;
I exclaim to CONSCIENCE "Thou art my father!"
To the woman, "my mother!" and "my sister!"
And where, in such a state, are my hopes?
Yea—my hopes!—who shall point them out?
To the group of the grave must they fall a prey,
Altogether are they below in the dust.

CHAP. xix. 24, 25.

But not into the sepulchre will he thrust his hand;
Surely there, in its ruin, is freedom.
Should I not then weep for the ruthless day?
My soul lament for the rock!

Upon all these passages it may be observed, that they rather refer to an insensibility or dissipation of the soul upon death, than to the question of a re-existence or resurrection at some future period: and hence they cannot strictly be said to annihilate this latter doctrine. In the midst of his deepest despondency, as expressed in these extracts, the speaker still alludes to his *hopes*, though to hopes which, at the immediate moment, he felt incapable of cherishing; still proving, however, that, even on such occasions, the *DOCTRINE* itself was known to him, and existed before him, and had been agitated by him, although his fears or his sufferings impelled him at the time to relinquish it. It should also be observed, that, except the last of these passages, they are all uttered in the earliest part of his affliction, when the disease itself appears to have raged most violently, and the reproaches of his companions to have been most bitter. From chap. xix. he seems, in a considerable degree, to have recovered possession of himself: he is conscious of his superiority over the speeches urged against him; and, for the most part, exchanges his exclamations and complaints for sound logical reasoning; and from this period, the only relapse into a state of despondency and disbelief, in any way discoverable, is contained in the last quotation.

The following are the chief passages in favour of a future existence:

CHAP. xiv. 10-15.

Between death and mouldereth:
But the mortal exhalé—and where is he?
As the billows pass away with the tides,
No man lieth down, and riseth not:
Thus two heavens are dissolved they shall not awake;
No—they shall not rouse up from their sleep.
O! that thou wouldst hide me in the grave,
That thou wouldst conceal me—TILL THY WRATH BE PAST;
THAT THOU WOULDST APPOINT ME A FIRST TIME, AND BE—

REVEREND ME.

But if a man die—shall he, indeed, live again?
All the days of my appointment will I wait
Till my REDEMPTION COME.
Thou shalt call—and I will answer thee;
Thou shalt yearn towards the work of thy hands.

This is a very important passage in relation to the general question, and is, at the same time, full of poetic beauty of every kind. It proves the tumult of the speaker's mind, and the abruptness and transition of his feelings. It is demonstrative of the existence of the *DOCTRINE* of a future state, because it is here fully brought forward, and reasoned upon: but it shows also, that though the doctrine was at that time in existence, it admitted of debate; and that the speaker himself, under the immediate pressure of suffering, at one moment doubted, and at another was thoroughly convinced.

CHAP. xiv. 23-29.

O! that thy words were even now written down;
O! that they were engraven on a table;
With a pen of iron upon lead!
That they were sculptured in a rock for ever!
For "I KNOW that my REDEEMER LIVETH,
And will ascend at last upon the earth;
And after the DISASTER hath destroyed my skin,
That, in my flesh, I shall see God;
Whom I shall see for myself,
And my own eyes shall behold, and not another's,
Though my reins be consumed within me."
Then shall ye say, "How did we persecute him!"
When the root of the matter is disclosed concerning me.
O trouble for yourselves before the sword;
For fierce is the vengeance of the sword;
Therefore beware of his judgment.

For the different senses which have been given to this sublime passage, and our author's happy and simple extrication of it from the difficulties by which it has hitherto been involved, we must refer to his translation itself. Taken in connection with the preceding and succeeding passages it appears decisive, not only as to the existence of the doctrine at the time in which the work was composed, but as to the speaker's complete and triumphant persuasion of it at the moment of its being uttered. The word "STAND upon the earth," as given in our common version, is a very feeble and inadequate rendering: the Hebrew *עָמַד* signifies, indeed, "to stand," but more correctly, "to stand up," "mount," "rise up," "ascend." It is here, and in various other places, a forensic term, and, in such instances, should be always rendered "ascend," i. e. to the judgment-seat. It is used in the very same sense in chap. xxxi. 14, where our common version, instead of *stand*, translates it *rise up*: "when God riseth up;" which is a better signification than the former, but still remote and inadequate. The bold and severe apostrophe of the speaker to his companions, in the lines that immediately follow, proves obviously that the whole refers to the solemn judgment of the Almighty.

Job.

A. M.
2484.
A. M.
1520.

Biography.

A. M.
2484.
B. C.
1520.

CHAP. XXXI. 26, 30.

For, "where, say ye, is the house of this mighty one?
Yea, where the first mansion of the wicked?"
Lo! against the day of destruction are the wicked reared;
In the day of vengeance shall they be brought forth."

CHAP. XXXI. 13, 14.

If I have squired the cause of my man-servant, or my maid-
in their controversies with me, [servant,
What shall I do when God avengeth; [servant,
And when he visiteth, what shall I answer him?

In the last passage, עַבְדִּי, as already observed, is doubtless used forensically, *accusatively*, i. e. "to the tribunal or judgment-seat;" and not "in the way of," as in our established lection. The speaker is immediately advertising to the manner in which he had conducted himself as emir or chief magistrate of Uz, and the strict justice he had uniformly endeavoured to administer at the tribunal of the gate. The passage cannot be misunderstood, and seems decisive not only of the existence of the doctrine of a future judgment at the era before us, but of the speaker's habitual belief of it, considering that he was now debating coolly and argumentatively, and free from the influence of passion. The quotation immediately preceding it may, perhaps, admit of a different interpretation, if considered by itself; yet, as it ought not to be considered by itself, but in conjunction with collateral passages, the proper and intended sense is fixed at once. This quotation is of consequence, not only as leading to a proof of the existence of the doctrine, and the speaker's assent to it, when dispassionately arguing upon the subject, but as ascribing the same assent, as a known and admitted fact, to his companions; for he puts the words into their mouths in their own presence.

Heresy and idolatry adverted to in the poem.

The only existing heresy that occurs to us in the course of the poem is that of magic or incantation; and the only idolatry that of Sabæism, or the worship of the heavenly bodies. The first is glanced at in chap. iii. 8, and the second in chap. xxxi. 26; and both, were additional proofs wanting, would concur in corroborating its high antiquity; for they are among the oldest subjects to be met with in history or tradition; the first being known to have been professed and practised by collegiate bodies in Egypt before the Mosiac era; and the second being commonly referred for its origin to a date antecedent to that of Abraham; and by Maimonides to a period nearly as early as that of Seth; his son, Sabius, according to the Sabæans themselves, having invented and propagated it. Be this as it may, there can be no doubt that it is of much earlier birth than either image-worship, or the dedication of heroes, which have usually, and perhaps correctly, been regarded as its abominable progeny.

Argument drawn from the antiquity of the worship.

The form of the poem before us, contemplated as a depository of patriarchal faith, is also entitled to attention, and is almost as much in favour of a very early origin, as any circumstance that has yet been noticed. All the institutes of the highest antiquity, of which we have any account, were delivered in poetry, and under the shape of history, real or fictitious. Such is probably the Zend-avesta (though its actual rhythm, like that of Hebrew poetry, seems no longer to be known), if we may judge from the *Saïder*, a book used by the Magi, containing an account of the laws and precepts of the Parsees, avowedly drawn up from the Zend-avesta, and written in Persian verse. Such unquestionably

are the Veda, being composed in *ashûks*, or rather *shûks*, or stanzas of four lines each, the two first books of which affect an antiquity superior to that of the Mosiac era; though their high pretensions have been greatly disturbed and controverted by various writers of the present age. Such is also the *Shu King*, compiled by Confucius, and perhaps the three other Kings, constituting collectively the theology of the Chinese; and such are the Orphic fragments of Greece, and the Edda of Iceland. It is, however, peculiarly worthy of remark, that Arabia has more pretensions, and especially more pretensions of very high antiquity, to such a mode of communication than any other country whatever. Its customs and manners, the agreeableness of its climate, the beauty and variety of its prospects, and, above all, the force, and richness, and elegance of its language, concurred, at a very early period, to render poetry an object of universal attraction; so that the rise of a poet in an Arabian tribe was one of the principal sources of public rejoicing; and hence, as far as almost any nation can look back through the medium of profane history, we find a sort of poetical academy instituted in this country, which, with a view of maintaining a due spirit of emulation, used annually to assemble at Osdh, where every poet produced his best composition; and where the different tribes to which the poets belonged, waited for the award of the judges, who were appointed to decide on their respective merits, with as much anxiety as the writers of the poems themselves. This assembly was suppressed by Mahomet, partly as interfering with his very opposite views of warfare, but chiefly because many of the poems recited on such occasions were filled with severe and appropriate sarcasms upon himself; among the principal of which were those recited by Canb Ben Zohrah, whose destruction was consequently panted for by Mahomet with long and unmitigated eagerness.

There is no book in the Bible which has tempted so many critics to try their strength, and exercise their skill, as the poem before us; and hence there is none that can boast so numerous a catalogue of monographers.

One of the earliest translators into a modern tongue, was the justly celebrated Padre Maestro Fr. Luis de Leon, of the order of St. Augustine; who rendered it into very excellent Spanish; he flourished in the sixteenth century, and composed his version between the years 1578 and 1591; the last chapter was finished in March, and in the August of the same year the learned father died, in the sixty-fourth year of his age. It was published in the year ensuing, by the unanimous consent of the university of Salamanca, with a due sense of its very great merit, and a declaration that it was written in heaven, "*cûl en el cielo escribiò*." It is, however, a very excellent and valuable performance: the prose and literal version is followed by an elegant rhyme translation, and accompanied with a very full and extensive exposition. It is not often that Roman Catholic universities have made so valuable a present of any part of the scriptures in their mother tongue. The learned father does not, however, appear to have been versed in the Arabic, and other cognate dialects of the east, and hence, though he has been successful in many points, he has still left the most perplexing difficulties untouched. For the first application of the

Joh.
A. M.
2484.
B. C.
1520.

Biography.

A. M.
2484.
—
B. C.
1520.

Arabic key to an illustration of the book of Job, we are indebted to the critics of Germany and Holland, and especially to the two Schultenses, Reiske, and Michaelis. In the two first, there is too large an indulgence of the imagination; in the third, too bold and dangerous an inclination to alter the sacred text. Our own country has been peculiarly rich in translators and expositors. In the foremost train of these stands the elegant and venerable Bishop Lowth, whose Prolegomena are an inexhaustible treasure of classical beauties. The translation of Dr. Stock, bishop of Killaloe, is of far inferior value; but it was composed in a season of great mental distress, and with too hurried a pen. A posthumous translation of Miss Smith, has lately been given to the public: it is a wonderful production, considering her age, and the want of proper assistance under which it was produced; but as it never received the benefit of her finishing hand, it is marred by errors which otherwise would not probably have existed. Of the version and annotations of Mr. Good, we need not speak any further, as we have already quoted from them so largely. The English language boasts also two very excellent rhyme translations of this poem, one by Sandys, son of the archbishop of the same name, whom Dryden styles the best versifier of his age, and from whom Dr. Johnson has largely copied in his dictionary; and the other by Scott, who has also accompanied it with a very valuable running commentary.

Brief specimens of excellence.

Having thus copiously dwelt on the origin, subject-matter, and poetical beauties of this extraordinary composition, we feel that we ought not to close our account without offering to the reader a few examples of its high pretensions to excellence of every kind, when rendered with some portion of that taste and feeling which belong to itself; and for this purpose we must again recur to Mr. Good's execution.

There has always been supposed a great difficulty in understanding the real meaning of the last verse in chap. xiii. and in connecting it with the verse which immediately precedes. In our common version, which is a pretty fair transcript of the Greek and Latin interpretations, the passage runs thus:

"Thou hast put my feet also in the stocks, and lookest narrowly into all my paths; thou settest a print upon the heels of my feet, And be as a rotten thing cometh, as a garment that is moth-eaten."

Reiske, Schultens, Grey, and Stock, have tried in various ways to make sense of this passage, but none of them have succeeded to the satisfaction of the critical world, and few of them to the satisfaction of themselves. Mr. Good seems to show very clearly that the last verse in chap. xiii. should be the first verse in chap. xiv. and that the former chapter should close with v. 27, instead of v. 28; and we have then, according to his interpretation, the following fearful description of the vanity and nothingness of man.

CHAP. xiii.

88 Well may he dissolve as corruption,
The moth-worm feeding upon him as a garment—

CHAP. xiv.

1 MAN—the produce of woman,
Few of days, and full of trouble—
2 He springeth up as a flower, and is cut down,
Yea, he leaveth as a shadow, and endureth not.
3 And dost thou cast thine eyes upon such a one?
And wouldst thou bring me into judgment with thyself?
Who can become pure—free from pollution?
No one.—Seeing that his days are determined,
And the number of his months with thee:
That thou hast fast his bounds, and he cannot go beyond—

6 Or turn from him, and leave him alone,
That he may fill up his day like the hireling.
7 There is, indeed, hope for the plant,
When it is cut down, that it will sprout again,
And that its tender branches will not fall:
8 Though its root have grown old in the earth,
And its trunk become dead over the soil,
9 Through the fragrant of water it may revive,
And put forth young shoots, as when planted;
But man dieth, and mouldereth:—
10 But the mortal expiereth—and where is he?
11 As the flowers pass away with the tides:
And the floods are raised and dried up,
12 So man leaveth, and dieth not;
Till the heavens be dissolved they will not awake.

The following picture of the wicked man, as to the fate that awaits him, is strongly and awfully painted, in chap. xvii. and in its personifications, as they occur in Mr. Good's spirited version, may vie with the host of attempts of Grecian poetry.

5 ——— The light of the wicked shall be put out,
And the stream of his fire shall not shine:
6 Day-light shall be darkness in his tent,
And his lamp shall be extinguished over him.
7 The steps of his strength shall be straitened,
And his own counsel shall cast him away.
8 Lo! he shall plunge by his feet into a pit-fall,
Or wither silent amidst toils.
9 The springer shall be hold of him by the heel,
And rigidly fasten upon him.
10 Its cordage lieth hid in the ground,
And its snare in the path-way.
11 Devastation shall terrify him all around,
And shall snatch him from his feet.
12 Hunger-haten shall be his strangers,
And destruction be present at his side.
13 Gluttenously shall he feed on his skin—
The FIERY-ANUS or DRAGON shall feed on him gluttenously.
14 His Horse shall be uprooted from his tent,
And DISORDER shall invade him as a monarch;
15 On his tent shall be as for its extinction.
Brimstone shall be rained down upon his dwelling.
16 Below shall his roots be burnt up,
And above shall his branch be cut off.
17 His memory shall perish in the land,
And no trace of him be in the public streets.
18 From day-light shall he be driven into darkness,
And banished out of the world.
19 No son of his, no kinsman of his
Shall be among his people;
Yea no posterity among his sojournings.
20 At his day shall the young be astonished,
And the aged be panic-struck.
21 Surely such is the allotment of the wicked,
And this the state of the unacquainted with God.

Bold description of the wicked man.

The Deity has never, perhaps, been so magnificently described in the character of the God of the tempest and the thunder storm, as in the following terrific declaration, from chap. xxxvii. 24, to chap. xxxviii. 5, in which we have to remark a similar error in the common division of two chapters, to that we pointed out in the last quotation but one. The first verse of chap. xxxviii. is a direct continuation, not only of the same subject, but of the same paragraph as that with which chap. xxxvii. concludes; and Mr. Good has, with equal force and correctness, given the sense of *avath* to the Hebrew, *pa*, in both verses, and in our common edition, is sunk into a mere particle, and rendered *also*. From not having attended to this error in the division of the chapter, as well as from not having hit upon the real meaning of one or two of the Hebrew terms, this passage has been found by all the commentators peculiarly doubtful and obscure, instead of peculiarly perspicuous and sublime.

Job.

A. M.
2484.
—
B. C.
1520.

Vanity of men.

Biography.

A. M.

2484.

B. C.

1520.

God of the
tempest and
shower.
vorn.

CHAP. XXXI.

- 21 O! reflect, that thou may'st honour his dealings
When unkind jointly celebrate.
22 Every mortal looketh towards him;
Man queth afar off.
23 Behold! God is great—surpassing knowledge:
The number of his years!—surpassing research.
24 Lo! he exalteth the drops of the waters;
They throw off the raim for his tempest.
25 Then down flow the heavens;
They pour upon man impetuously.
26 But if he heap up the spreadings of the cloudy-woof,
The tenuity of his pavilion.
27 Behold! he throweth forth from it his flash,
And lanceth the roots of the very ocean.
28 Lo! thus judgeth he the nations;
He passeth sentence amon.
29 He brandisheth the blade against the conceits,
And lanceth his penetrating bolt:
30 Along with it smiteth his root,
The fierceness of wrath, because of wickedness.

CHAP. XXXII.

- 1 Wrath—at which my heart trembleth,
And staggereth in his post.
2 Hear! O hear ye, the clangour of his voice,
And the peal that issueth from his mouth.
3 Under the whole heavens in his flash,
And his lightning unto the ends of the earth.
4 After it peareth the voice;
He thundereth with the voice of his majesty;
And there is no limit to them when his voice soundeth.
5 God thundereth marvellously with his voice.

The original of this passage has other difficulties than what we have noticed above; and hence the translators have various differences in their rendering. But we have not space for verbal criticism, and must refer, in the present instance, to the author from whom we have quoted.

The name of Job occurs in the ancient martyrologies with the title of prophet, saint, and martyr. The worship of him, under the one or other of these characters, is of high antiquity, and was at one time very extensive, both in the Greek and Latin churches. The Greeks made choice of May 6, for his festival, and have been followed in this arrangement by the Christians of Arabia, Egypt, Ethiopia, and the Russian empire. The Latins hold his festival on May 10. Next to the Macrahees, who were brothers as well as martyrs, Job is the first saint to whom the western church decreed public and religious honours.

Among the patriarchs and prophets there is no character to whom more churches have been consecrated, or chapels dedicated, than to Job. A pretended tomb of him has been shown in many places. The most celebrated is that of the Truchonitis, towards the springs of the Jordan. It is situate between the cities still bearing the names of Teman, Shuah, and Naama. There is another tomb publicly shown for that of the patriarch in Armenia, where Cock, the Chaldee paraphrast, contended that he had lived. And as another Chaldee interpreter placed his residence in the vicinity of Constantinople, we have also a third tomb of Job exhibited near the walls of this city; but which, by soberer historians, has been referred to an Arabian warrior of the same name, who fell at the siege of Constantinople in the year 672. In this city, however, was a monastery in the sixth century, dedicated to the patriarch himself; yet the ecclesiastics did not venture to affirm that it was erected in consequence of their being in possession of his remains, as is usually done on the foundation of monasteries.

Job.

A. M.

2484.

B. C.

1520.

Honours
paid to the
memory of
Job.

SEMI RAM IS.

FLOURISHED, ACCORDING TO ARCHAISHOP USHER, ABOUT A. M. 2789. B. C. 1215.

Biography. Extensive and powerful as was once the empire of Assyria, we can obtain no certain information with regard to its early history, its first annalists being so deeply infected with the love of fable. Their records, if, as is supposed, they ever had any that possessed the character of authenticity, have long since perished amidst the wrecks of time; and the preposterous vanity of the Greeks, in neglecting the history of other nations, or relying upon their own fanciful historians in preference to better attested documents, has involved this subject in hopeless obscurity. We cannot, however, err essentially in attributing its origin to the migration of Asbur, from whom the name is evidently derived; an event which may be assigned to the period of the dispersion at Babel, upwards of two thousand two hundred and forty years before the Christian era. The dominion of the first founder was but transient; and after him, according to Scripture Chronology, Nimrod assumed the reins of power, a person of great ambition, daring enterprise, and unsleeping activity. He is said to have been "a mighty hunter before the Lord;" an expression which most probably has reference to his adoption of the mode of training his followers to military achievements, and the love of conquest and of rule, by carrying on the sports of the field upon an extensive scale. Habituated to danger, they thus became prepared to execute his purposes of domination; and accordingly, after having founded the Babylonish empire, he passed over into Assyria, and built Nineveh as the metropolis. Nimrod is the same with Belus, or Baal, afterwards worshipped as a god.

Ninus. Ninus, the son of Nimrod, appears to have inherited the ambitious spirit of his paternal predecessor; and not satisfied with the kingdom he had received, he soon began to raise troops for the purpose of subduing other nations and subjecting them to his authority. One of his first measures was to enter into a league with the sovereign of Arabia, by whose assistance his magnificent plans of conquest were in a great degree accomplished. Their united forces overran a vast extent of country from Egypt to India and Bactriana. Having carried into captivity the king of Babylon, he put him to the sword, together with his children; to the king

of Armenia, Barzanes, he secured the nominal sovereignty of his own dominions as a boon for unconditional and ignominious submission; and still resolved to signalize his triumphs by fresh enormities, he no sooner conquered Pharus, the king of Media, than he led forth his wife with her seven children to the cruel death of crucifixion, filling the vacant throne with one of his own dependents. After his return, he established Nineveh on the banks of the Tigris, or, at least, enlarged and adorned it with magnificent buildings, with a view of giving permanency to his fame. In this, indeed, he succeeded, for both profane and sacred history concur in representing this city as of wonderful magnitude and extent. Thus innocent and peaceful species of labour, however, did not suit the restlessness of his spirit, and, as soon as he could make the requisite arrangements, he set forth upon a new expedition against the Bactrians. They had resisted his invasion, and excited his utmost resentment; and, although he suffered a defeat on one occasion, in consequence of the heroism of Oxyartes the king, he eventually subdued the country and besieged the capital. In this latter enterprise, however, it is believed he would not have succeeded but for the effectual aid he received from Semiramis, to whose history, and to this achievement in particular, we shall now more distinctly point the reader's attention.

Previously, however, to the detail of the actions of Semiramis, we take leave to insert tables of the Assyrian Chronology, given by Eusebius and Syncellus, which, notwithstanding their variations, were derived from one source, namely, that formed by Ctesias; premising, however, that although this statement is inserted, chiefly for the purpose of affording the means of comparison and inquiry, it is by no means to be relied upon as authentic. The succession, as it stands in Scripture, and to which only we can look with confidence, is simply as follows:

Pul,
Tiglath-pileser,
Shalmaneser,
Sennacherib,
Assarhaddon.

Semiramis.
A. M.
2789.
B. C.
1215.

Establishment of Nineveh.

A Table of the Assyrian Kings, according to the Chronology of their Succession, by EUSEBIUS and SYNCELLUS.

According to EUSEBIUS:		According to SYNCELLUS:	
Ninus	reigned 52 years.	Belus	reigned 55 years.
Semiramis	42	Ninus	52
Zameis, or Ninyas	38	Semiramis	42
Arius	30	Ninyas	38
Aralus	40	Arius	30
Xerxes, or Balus	30	Aralus	40
Arnimitres	38	Xerxes	30

Biography.

A. M.
2789.
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1215.

According to EUSEBIUS:	
Belochus	35 years.
Babrus	52
Altadas	32
Mamitus	30
Manchleus	32
Spharus	20
Mamitus	30
Sparetus	40
Asiacadia	40
Anyates	45
Belochus	25
Bellepares	30
Lamprides	32
Sosares	20
Lampares	30
Panyas	45
Sosarmus	19
Mitrous	27
Tautantes	32
Tenteus	40
.....	
.....	
.....	
Thineus	30
Dercilus	40
Eupales	38
Laosthenes	45
Pyriatides	30
Ophratous	20
Ophratenes	50
Ocrapates	42
Tonos Concoleros, by the } Greeks called Sardannpalus }	20

Total 1,240 years.

Table continued.

According to SYNCELLUS:	
Armanithres	38 years.
Belochus	35
Babrus	52
Sethos	32
Mamyrithus	30
Archalius	28
Spharus	22
Mamylus	30
Sparthreus	42
Ascatades	48
Amyntes	45
Belochus	25
Belatores	30
Lamprides	30
Sosares	20
Lamprues	30
Panyas	45
Sosarmus	22
Mithraus	27
Teutamus, or Tautanes	32
Teutmus	44
Arabelus	42
Chalaus	45
Anebus	38
Babrus	37
.....	
Dercylus	40
Enpacmes	48
Laosthenes	45
Pertiadens	30
Ophratous	21
Ephceres	52
Acraganes	42
Tonos Concoleros	15

Total.... 1,460 years.

Semiramis.

All the early history of this remarkable woman is wrapped in such impalpable obscurity, that, as in most similar cases, tradition has furnished an entertaining fiction, instead of communicating substantial truth. It is our duty, however, to endeavour to find the earliest traces of truth in the history of all nations; and to present to the reader certain *alleged* facts in those obscure periods as we find them, though our own opinion of their authenticity may be slight indeed. The outline of the history of Semiramis may be perfectly mythological, and yet the story itself contain some unquestionable facts.

Fabled descent of Semiramis.

We are accordingly told that she was descended from the celebrated goddess Derceto, to whom a temple was erected in the vicinity of Ascalon, in Syria. Derceto, it is reported, having incurred the displeasure of Venus, was punished by the offended goddess causing her to indulge a violent passion for a youth who was presenting a sacrifice to her, in company with many others; the consequence of which was, that she ultimately had a daughter by him; but feeling the deepest shame on account of the crime she had committed, she had recourse to the still more criminal expedient of attempting concealment, by murdering her paramour and exposing the infant in a desert. Driven to distraction by

the consciousness of what she had done, she attempted to get rid for ever of the remorseful feeling by throwing herself into the lake, when she was instantly transformed into a fish. The child is said to have been miraculously preserved alive by a flock of doves or pigeons, by whom it was fed with milk, and whose downy wings afforded shelter from inclement skies. The birds were observed to procure cheese, as a more substantial food, when their little protégé seemed to require it, till the neighbouring shepherds having taken the child under their protection, the king's principal shepherd, Simma, having no family, at length adopted her under the name of Semiramis, a Syriac term signifying *doves* or *pigeons*, in allusion to the circumstances of her preservation. Mr. Bryant has remarked that the name is compounded of Sama and Ramas or Ramis, implying a divine token, the type of providence; and that, as a military ensign, it consisted of the figure of a dove, probably encircled with the iris, these emblems being frequently represented together. Those who marched under that standard, or paid deference to the emblem, were styled Semarim and Semorim. One of the gates of Babylon was called the gate of Semiramis, from having, as he believes, the sacred emblem of Sama-ramis, or the dove, engraven over it by way of distinction: and most likely

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Biography. the lofty obelisk of Semiramis, mentioned by Diodorus, derived its name from the same hieroglyphic. We may, at least, ascertain thus much, in point of fact, that Semiramis was born at or near Assolou.

Time when Semiramis lived. According to Mr. Bryant, the diversity of opinion that prevails among authors with regard to the time when Semiramis lived, is such as must necessarily discredit her entire history; but without admitting so large a conclusion, the following list will exhibit a very extraordinary variation; at the same time we have already intimated that the widest chronological donations do not by any means disprove the existence or the alleged actions of great characters. The course of our history assigns her to the age of Ninus, and the record of her achievements bring her into contact with certain remarkable events of indubitable occurrence.

	Years.
According to Syncellus, Semiramis lived before Christ . . .	2177
..... Ptolemy,	2069
..... Heliodorus,	2746
..... Eusebius,	1964
..... Jackson,	1964
..... Archbp. Usher,	1215
..... Philo Bibles, from Bactrianian,	1800
..... Herodotus,	713

Tradition has given to Semiramis surpassing beauty and captivating talents, which we must of course expect to find after reading the account of her romantic infancy. It would be a sad defect in the story to describe the heroine of such adventures as any thing less than a demi-goddess. It will be sufficient to admit that she did possess certain interesting and great qualities of mind. Be this as it may, Menon, a principal person in the king's council, and governor of Assyria, having been commissioned to inspect the cattle, saw Semiramis at the house of Simma, and falling deeply in love, persuaded her to accompany him to Nineveh, where his attachment was rewarded in marriage, and from which propitious union proceeded two sons. She possessed an uncontrolled influence over her admiring husband, whose own celebrity was enhanced by the suggestions of her wisdom, and who, consequently, on every occasion, paid an implicit deference to her judgment.

Her marriage.

Visit to the camp before Bactria.

In the progress of his conquests in Bactria, after subduing all the cities and strong holds, when Ninus besieged Bactria, the capital of the empire, Semiramis resorted to the camp, at the call, as it is said, of her impatient husband, who was a close attendant upon the king. Having acquired that ascendancy which superior understandings soon obtain over those of less penetration and sagacity, she ventured to express herself freely upon the methods which were adopted in conducting the siege, pointing out what she deemed to be errors, and suggesting especially the advantage likely to ensue from attacking the citadel, one of the chief places of strength, instead of confining their efforts to more vulnerable, indeed, but less important parts of the defence. She prevailed so far as to be appointed to lead a division of picked men, who were particularly skilled in climbing, and with these she completely succeeded in scaling on the citadel, and opening a passage for the Assyrians.

Ninus marries her.

The extraordinary danger displayed in this action, and the success of her spirited efforts, soon met with an appropriate reward, and, together with her beauty, occasioned Ninus ultimately to cherish so ardent and

irresistible a passion for her, that he used every means to induce her husband to relinquish her to him. In vain, however, did he solicit; in vain did he even promise Menon his own daughter Sosana in marriage; till at last, proceeding from euntes to thence, and particularly the cruel one of putting out his eyes, her husband committed suicide in despair, and the infamous conqueror possessed himself of Semiramis, and exalted her to an ill-acquired sovereignty.

After the return of Ninus from this war, in which he Ninus had accumulated immense treasures, Semiramis brought him a son, who was called Ninias. Soon after Ninus died, leaving the government in the hands of his bride. Some have attributed his death to assassination, and that by her who was indebted for her honors solely to his partiality. They represent Semiramis as requesting the king to entrust her with the sovereign power for five days, with which his ardent affection induced him to comply. No sooner was she in this situation, than having already secured the interest of the principal persons of the state by her unbounded liberality, she put Ninus to death, or, at least, immured him in prison for the remainder of his days. This act of perfidy can Ninus, scarcely, however, with any probability, be imputed to her, especially as she paid her husband extraordinary sepulchral honours, rearing over him a mound of earth, nine stadia in height and ten in breadth, which was visible from every quarter, to a considerable distance in the surrounding country, and continued for many ages.

Ambitious and aspiring to the last degree, Semiramis now determined to commence some mighty undertaking, that should transmit her name to succeeding generations; and, as it regarded her contemporaries in particular, effectually conceal the meanness of her birth. Collecting, therefore, out of all the numerous provinces of her empire, no fewer than two millions of men, she set about the building of Babylon, a city whose magnitude and magnificence have excited the astonishment of all subsequent times. The natural propensity of mankind, however, to exaggeration, ought, perhaps, to induce us to receive, with some abatements, the wonderful descriptions of the ancient writers. By some this work is ascribed to Belus, and Nebuchadnezzar is admitted to have completed the labour. A minute description of the city would by no means be proper in this place; nevertheless it is due to Semiramis, as the alleged original projector,* to give the reader some general idea of its most striking peculiarities and the magnificence of its design.

Babylon was erected on either side the river Euphrates, in the midst of an extensive plain, and surrounded with walls, which, according to the dimensions given by Herodotus, who had visited this famous city, were eighty-seven feet in thickness, three hundred and fifty feet in height, and four hundred and eighty furlongs, or sixty miles, in circuit. These walls encompassed the city in the form of a square, each side of which was fifteen miles in length, and built of

* Grotius (de Ver. Bel. Christ. § xvi. in not. 63.) opposes this representation. He says, "It is a false tradition of the Greeks that Babylon was built by Semiramis; and this error is refuted by Berosus in his Chaldeas; Josephus in his first book against Apion and others." False enim a Grecis traditio creditur a Beroso Chaldeis, etiam Berosus in Chaldeas prodidit, ut non Josephus docet contra Apionem primo; eundemque errorum tunc ex Philo Bilibi, tunc ex Dorotheo Sidonio retellit Julius Firmicus.

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of Babylon.

bricks cemented with bitumen. On the outside was a vast ditch, filled with water and lined with bricks. Twenty-five gates were in every side of this square, amounting in the whole to one hundred; all of solid brass. Between every two were four towers, and four additional ones at the four corners. From all the gates proceeded streets in straight lines, each street being fifteen miles in length, fifty in number, and crossing each other at right angles. Other minor divisions also occurred, and the whole city contained six hundred and seventy-six squares, each two miles and a quarter in circumference. The river ran through the city from north to south, and on each side was a quay, of the same thickness with the walls of the city, and a hundred stadia in length. In these walls were gates of brass, and from each of them steps descending into the river. A bridge was thrown across the river, of great beauty and admirable contrivance, a furlong in length and thirty feet in breadth. The arches were constructed with large stones fastened together with chains of iron and lead. As the Euphrates overflows during the summer months, through the melting of the snow on the mountains of Armenia, two canals were cut to turn the course of the waters into the Tigris, and vast artificial embankments were raised on each side of the river. On the western side of the city an immense lake, forty miles square, was excavated to the depth, according to Herodotus, of thirty-five feet, and into this lake the river was turned till the work was completed.

The ancient
palace.

At each end of the bridge was a palace, and these had a subterraneous communication. The ancient palace, on the eastern side of the river, was thirty furlongs, or three miles and three quarters, in the circuit of its walls; and the one at the opposite, or western side, was sixty furlongs, or seven miles and a half. It was encompassed by three walls, one within the other, all of which were adorned with curious sculpture, representing, in the most accurate and striking manner, different species of animals. Among these was a hunting-piece, exhibiting wild beasts, each four cubits in height, and in the centre a portrait of Semiramis on horseback, in the act of throwing her javelin at a leopard; while her husband, Ninus, appeared in close contest with a lion which he had pierced. This palace contained, among other specimens of magnificence, three rooms of brass, one under each gate, where certain festivals were celebrated, and which were opened by a mechanical contrivance. To this palace, the hanging gardens, so often mentioned by the Greeks, and with such admiration, were afterwards attached.

Temple of
Belus.

Semiramis erected a temple to Belus, in the midst of the city, which stood in the immediate vicinity of the ancient palace. It was remarkable for the height of one of its towers, of which there were eight in the whole, built one above the other. According to Herodotus, it was a square at the foundation, of a furlong on each side, or half a mile in the whole circuit, and a furlong in height. The writers of the Universal History have observed, that "the words of Herodotus are *Ex πύργῳ δὲ τῶν ἑπτὰ πύργων ἀνέβαινον, ἀπὸ τοῦ πύργου αὐτοῦ εἰς τὸν πύργον, καὶ ἐκ τούτου τὸ πύργον αὐτὸς πύργος ἐπὶ τοῦ πύργου, καὶ ἐκ τούτου πάλιν εἰς τὸν πύργον, καὶ ἐκ τούτου πάλιν εἰς τὸν πύργον*." In the midst of the temple a solid tower is built, of a furlong in length, and

as much in breadth; and upon this tower another tower is erected, and another again upon that, and so on to the number of eight towers. It is true, the word *πύργος* which we here translate *tower*, may also signify *height*; but some authors having thence supposed, as the construction seems to require, that the first tower was a furlong high, and concluding the other seven to be of equal height, have made the whole a mile high; to avoid which extravagant consequence, it seems more reasonable to understand Herodotus as we have rendered the passage, unless the furlong be taken for the height of all the eight towers." (*Ant. Univ. Hist. vol. i. b. i. c. 2.*) It appears to us, that the construction of the passage will not allow this last conclusion; for whether the word *πύργος* be rendered *height* or *length*, it evidently refers to the first tower; and it is expressly said, that "another was built upon this," and so on. We conclude, therefore, that these words of Herodotus refer to its length and its breadth, without adverting at all to its height, which Strabo says was also a furlong, or 660 feet. According to this last-mentioned author, it was exactly a furlong every way. As this erection must have exceeded the elevation of the largest of the Egyptian pyramids, Bochart considers it as the identical tower which was built there at the confusion of tongues. The ascent to the top was by stairs on the outside round it. In the different stories were rooms of great extent, having arched roofs supported by pillars; and over the whole was an observatory, which suited the astronomical turn of the Babylonians. The chief purpose, however, to which this temple was devoted was that of the worship of the god Belus, or Bael, as well as several other gods, to whom chapels were appropriated in different parts of the tower, which contained immense riches in statues, censers, cups, and sacred vessels of massy gold. On the top Semiramis placed three golden statues, of Jupiter, Juno, and Rhea. That of Jupiter was forty feet high, and weighed a thousand Babylonian talents, each talent being equal to seven thousand Attic drachmas. The statue of Rhea was of the same weight, and sitting on a golden throne, with lions at each knee, and two serpents of silver, weighing thirty talents each. The statue of Juno was erect, like that of Jupiter, and weighed eight hundred talents, grasping a serpent by the head with her right hand, and in her left holding a sceptre enriched with gems. A table of beaten gold was common to these three divinities, forty feet in length and fifteen in breadth, of the weight of five hundred talents. On the table were two globes, of thirty talents, and two censers of five hundred talents each, and three vases, or bowls, of prodigious magnitude and value: the one appropriated to Jupiter is said to have been twelve hundred Babylonian talents in weight. The calculation of Diodorus makes the riches contained in this temple to amount to six thousand three hundred Babylonian talents of gold. Kollin observes the sixth part of six thousand three hundred is one thousand and fifty; consequently, six thousand three hundred Babylonian talents of gold are equivalent to seven thousand three hundred and fifty Attic talents of gold. Now seven thousand three hundred and fifty Attic talents of silver are worth upwards of two millions and one hundred thousand pounds sterling. The proportion between gold and silver, among the ancients, we reckon as ten to

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one; therefore, seven thousand three hundred and fifty Attic talents of gold amount to above one and twenty millions sterling.

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Oiticik.

Semiramis further adorned her capital with a remarkable obelisk, which was hewn out of the mountains of Armenia, and which, having been conveyed to the river by an immense number of oxen and asses employed for the purpose, was transported to the city, and made to occupy a conspicuous place in the vicinity. Its dimensions were a hundred and twenty-five feet in height, five in breadth, and five in thickness.

Although the construction of so stupendous a place as Babylon might seem, to all ordinary calculators, amply sufficient to occupy the time and attention of one reign, however distinguished, and however prolonged, yet this extraordinary woman built several other cities along the banks of the Tigris, for the purposes both of magnificence and utility, as they afforded facilities of intercourse with the different parts of her empire.

Passage

through

Media.

Peaceful and laborious occupations did not long furnish scope enough for the coterprising ambition of that mind which now ruled the Babylonish empire. Assembling a numerous army, Semiramis marched at the head of it into Media, and at her first considerable encampment, near a mountain called Bagistan, she arranged a beautiful garden twelve stadia in circumference. At the base of the mountain she had a statue erected representing herself attended with a hundred of her guards. It is reported of her, that she ascended from the plain to the summit on the packs and loads carried by the beasts of burden in her train; a circumstance by no means unlikely, being quite in unison with her adventurous and heroic character, and eminently calculated to advance her reputation in such an age and country. Always intent upon whatever might conduce to throw a magnificence around her name and dominion, at the next encampment, which was at Chaon, a Median city, she formed another garden on the summit of a lofty hill or rock, and added several splendid edifices, from which she might command a view of her army and the widely-extended prospect that stretched before the eye in every direction. She is accused of having devoted much time at this place to voluptuousness; a voluptuousness, too, which was associated with wanton brutality; for whoever acquiesced in her criminal solicitations was immediately afterwards put to death, no doubt with the political design of preventing all possible chance of accession to influence and empire. Ecbatan, or Ecbatana, was the next halting place, in the way to which the queen cut a passage through a precipitous mountain, called Zarcusum, or, as some represent it, levelled it to the plain, though of considerable extent; and upon her arrival at the city, proceeded upon her usual magnificent plan of erecting something to perpetuate her name and glory. In the present instance, this was a palace of great extent and splendour; to which work she added others of more importance, as the formation of aqueducts to supply the city with water, of which it had hitherto been in extreme need.

Persia.

Semiramis proceeded hence into Persia, and traversed the rest of her Asiatic provinces, every where erecting palaces, towns, and cities, levelling hills that obstructed her course, or were calculated to impede the progress of the future traveller, and, in the more cham-

paign countries, raising up hills to diversify the scene, and to serve as memorials of her principal commanders. These were generally called the "Works of Semiramis," and long survived her.

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Egypt.

From Asia she passed into Egypt and the sandy tracts of Libya. Her curiosity induced her, while in these parts, to pay a visit to the celebrated temple of Jupiter Ammon, for the particular purpose of making inquiry of the oracle how long she had to live. The answer was little calculated to afford her satisfaction, unless her personal comforts were of inferior consideration to her posthumous reputation. She was told, as Diodorus Siculus reports, that she should die when her son Ninyas conspired against her life; and that, after her decease, some of the nations of Asia should render her divine honours.

At length she marched back again to Bactria, after settling the affairs of Ethiopia; but her restless spirit was unable to remain inactive and tranquil. New projects presented themselves to her imagination, which she hastened to carry into execution. India, of whose immense riches and boundless fertility she had been informed, attracted her first, and, as it proved, her last attention. She appointed Bactria as the place of rendezvous for an army of prodigious magnitude, which she assiduously collected out of every province of her empire. The choicest men were every where selected, and shipwrights from Phœnicia, Syria, Cyprus, and other places, were employed to frame vessels, which she proposed to transport over land in detached pieces, in order to cross the Indus. The reason of this measure seems to have been the information that the banks of that river, and the vicinity in general, were infertile in wood, which circumstance might have occasioned a considerable hindrance, if not a total frustration of her enterprise.

Having found that the Indians relied upon their elephants, in which their strength was considered as chiefly consisting, Semiramis devised a very singular expedient. To meet her adversary on equal terms, at least to impress him with that sentiment respecting her preparations, she determined to attempt an imitation of these elephants, since she had no means of procuring them, and accordingly caused three hundred thousand oxen to be slaughtered, distributing their flesh among her necessitous subjects. This being done, she ordered their hides to be stuffed, and so placed upon camels that these animals might resemble elephants in their size; and, to complete the delusion, each one was to be led by a man, according to the Indian method of advancing to battle. Perseus, long after, is said to have employed a similar stratagem against the Romans.

Imitation of the elephants.

Such preparations for war could not long remain concealed from the party against whom they were destined; and accordingly, the Indian king, by name Stabrobates, as soon as he obtained information of the projected invasion of his territory, diligently applied himself to every precautionary measure. He assembled an army which he thought might be competent to meet the sharp encounter with that of Semiramis, and, in fact, which greatly exceeded it in point of numbers; and having dispatched his hunters in every direction, procured a fresh and large supply of elephants. That nothing might be defective, he constructed four thousand boats of the banyans which the rivers of India furnish in abundance.

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tions of
StabrobatesVictory
over Sta-
brobates.Combat of
Semiramis
with the
Indian king.

Thus prepared for the attack, Stabrobates, however, did not neglect any proceeding which might tend to avert the threatened calamity and spare the fatal consequences that must necessarily attend upon the commencement of hostilities. He accordingly dispatched ambassadors to the invading army to demand the reason of the meditated attack, to inquire who she was, and to upbraid her for this unprovoked act of aggression. A private letter was communicated at the same time to the queen, in which her character was by no means spared, and in which, in case of victory, she was threatened with the most cruel death. This only excited a smile, and she desired the king's ambassador to return for answer, that she would, in a little time, let him know who she was, that her actions would soon make him better acquainted with her. Advancing to the river Indus, she immediately attempted the passage by means of boats prepared for the purpose, notwithstanding the show of resistance which the enemy made on the opposite shore. The two fleets encountered each other, and animated with an equal courage, the contest was long and sanguinary; the one party was fighting for glory, and stimulated by the recollection of a splendid succession of past achievements, the other, for hereditary empire, which an insatiable ambition was endeavouring to wrest from a just possession. Victory for a considerable time seemed to hover between each hostile armament, till at length she descended amongst the invaders, who sunk a thousand of the Indian boats, and captured an immense multitude of prisoners. Before quitting the vicinity of the river, the conqueror had taken from the various villages and towns no less, it is said, than a hundred thousand. Success stimulating her activity, Semiramis pressed forward into the country in pursuit of her fugitive enemies,—fugitive, as some report, by stratagem, and for the purpose of decoying the queen into circumstances from which she would not be able to extricate herself. It seems probable, however, had this been the real plan of the Indians, the passage of the river and the possession of the opposite banks would not have been so fiercely contested, and consequently, that necessity, rather than cunning, dictated a hasty withdrawal of the Indian forces. Be this as it may, the queen, having left a division of sixty thousand men to guard the bridge of boats which she had constructed to cross the river, marched into the heart of the country. Her array of counterfeit elephants at first struck terror into the Indian army; but their fears were soon dissipated by the treacherous information of certain deserters, who gave them an account of this stratagem, and re-inspired them with courage. Facing about, therefore, to meet their pursuers, a second battle ensued. Some advantage was at first obtained on the side of Semiramis; the horses of the enemy being thrown into confusion by the unusual scent of the hides, which the queen perceiving, commenced a furious attack, and drove them back upon the main body. The Indian infantry, however, under the immediate command of Stabrobates, and supported by their elephants, advanced to battle with great regularity and firmness. The counterfeit elephants of Semiramis soon proved not only useless, but obstructive, and contributed materially to a speedy and most disastrous defeat. The two chiefs of the respective armies now met in single combat, the Indian prince having advanced at the head of his right wing,

on a stately elephant, while Semiramis charged in front of her left. The king wounded her in two places, first in the arm with an arrow, then, as she was turning to retreat, finding the day irretrievably lost, in the shoulder. The swiftness of her horse, however, enabled her to escape the mortal wound, and she hurried back with her whole army to the river which she had so lately passed amidst shouts of triumph. She was indebted to two circumstances for her ultimate escape; the one, was the superstition of her pursuers (Stabrobates having been warned, as he gave out, against crossing the river, by an oracular interdiction); the other, by a judicious manoeuvre of her own; for so soon as the main body of the army had effected the passage, and many of the Indians were rushing over in pursuit, the queen ordered the bridge to be destroyed, which instantly placed her in circumstances of security, while many of the enemy perished. She suffered a prodigious loss, not only in the battle, but on the brink of the Indus, in consequence of the excessive crowd of her fugitive army, who trampled each other to death, or forced multitudes of their companions into the river. An exchange of prisoners now took place, and the disappointed invader retreated, with only one-third of her original army, to console her ambition at Bactria.

Her death.

This ended the glory of Semiramis, and, soon after, her life. One of the eunuchs of her palace had inspired her own son with the desire of poisoning his mother. When she discovered the conspiracy, she did not proceed to punish the offenders, from her recollecting, as it is said, the oracular prediction of Jupiter Ammon, and deeming it the express appointment of heaven that at this time she should die. She accordingly relinquished the government in favour of her son, and issued proclamations to her subjects intimating her desire that he should be received as king. Her retirement seems to have been partly compulsory and partly ambitious, for she wished to have divine honours paid to her, in consequence, as the oracle had expressed it, of "vanishing from the sight of men." It was given out that she left this world in the form of a dove, attended by a flock of those birds which settled on her palace at the very crisis of her departure; in consequence of which the Assyrians worshipped the dove ever afterwards. She died at the age of sixty-two, after having reigned forty-two years over the greatest portion of Asia.

Justin gives a different account. He represents Justin's account of her death. Semiramis, after the decease of her husband, as being fearful of entrusting the government to her son because of his youth, and equally apprehensive of incurring danger should she venture openly to assume the reins for herself, ruled in the name of Ninyas, and at length falling violently in love with him, he slew her in consequence of her attempts to engage him in a compliance with her criminal intentions. There is something, however, both unnatural and improbable in this statement, although she must be allowed, by the corresponding testimony of all historians, to have been sufficiently addicted to all the guilty forms of pleasure.

The life of Semiramis seems attended with no inconsiderable difficulty, from the extraordinary actions attributed to her, and which appear to be incompatible with the general state of military science at the time; indeed, they rather assume the air of romance than comport with the sober realities of genuine history. It

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She is wounded,
and escapes.

Biography. is not unlikely that the Greek writers may have blended into one the actions of many, and invested a single reign with the splendour and glory which, in point of fact, might to have been distributed over a much more extensive surface of history, partly from ignorance and misconception, and partly from the inveterate love of the marvellous. It is well known that they did this in reference to most of their distinguished characters; the achievements of many eminent men, even of different ages and centuries, being concentrated in one favourite hero. "That there was such a woman as Semiramis," observe the authors of the Universal History, in a note, "we doubt not in the least; but that there ever was a woman, of any name, that performed actions like what is here reported, is impossible to believe. Her birth, her elevation, her reign, and her death, are all extraordinary, unnatural, and impossible, as related by the bulk of historians; but above all, her antiquity, which is exaggerated so monstrously by Joseph Scaliger and Ruvembert, is a matter so easily disproved by the circumstances of her birth and country, that it were sufficient to destroy whatever other extravagance is advanced of her. Canon makes her to have been the same with the Atossa, or Semiramis, who reigned twelve years with her father Belochus, the eighteenth king of Assyria, according to Eusebius; and, in the same place, calls her the daughter, and not the wife of Ninus; though copies, it must be confessed, differ in the reading, and have sometimes *mother* instead of *daughter*. But this latter is to be preferred, because of its congruity with the author's meaning, who makes her the Atossa of Belochus, who were confessedly daughter and father. Belochus then must have been the Ninus of Ctesias; and he, instead of being the first or the second king of Assyria, is, according to Eusebius, the eighteenth king; this takes much from the antiquity of both; and we are ready to subscribe to the same; and the rather, as it may be observed hereafter, to quadruple with Herodotus, and is much more conformable to what we know of the true and more certain history of this monarchy."

Her character.

Whether the actions recorded of this remarkable woman be truly attributable to an individual, or form rather

a concentrated view of the achievements of several distinct sovereigns, enough may be gathered to prove the general spirit and character of Semiramis. Whatever be her precise chronology and history, it is evident she possessed a masculine mind, and that native force of character which gives to certain persons an unquestionable superiority over others by whom they are surrounded, and enables them, when elevated to commanding situations, in some degree, to direct the destinies of empires. It is said of Semiramis, by Valerius Maximus, that her very presence was sufficiently overawing at once to quell sedition among her people. One day, in particular, when she was engaged in dressing, she received information of a tumult in the city. Upon this she sallied forth with her head half-dressed, and in that condition addressed the populace, and completely tranquillized the crowd, and dispersed them. A statue was erected in commemoration of this singular achievement, representing her in the attitude and habit in which she is stated to have gone to the scene of riot and confusion.

Ambition was obviously the predominant feature of her character, and to the insatiable glory with which it adorns the career of conquest, she devoted the principal years of her life. Regardless of the welfare of others, her chief delight seemed to consist in conquering nations, and in sending her name to the remotest corners of the globe. Every thing was undominated to the gratification of her passions, but especially her love of fame. No risk was thought too considerable, no expense too extravagant, no trouble too prodigious, to secure empty distinctions, to impress her contemporaries with a sense of her greatness, and to leave the traces of her magnificence for the study and the wonder of an admiring posterity. Alas, how vain, how foolish, are the schemes of mortals! Her name is indeed recorded on the historic page, and mighty actions are attributed to her; but still they are involved in such obscurity and uncertainty, that they can scarcely be called her's; and the progress of light and knowledge has rather shown them to be worthy of contempt, than meriting our admiration and applause.

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Anecdote of Semiramis.

N I N Y A S.

Biography. NINYAS was the successor of his mother Semiramis in the government of the Assyrian empire, and according to the concurrent testimonies of Diodorus Siculus, Athenæus, Justin, and other historians, abandoned himself to the most slothful inactivity, and most vicious self-indulgence; averse to martial exploits, and intent only upon the pursuit of every means that might be supposed capable of conducing to his own gratification; he withdrew from his subjects, with whom he only held occasional intercourse by messages, and shut himself up in his palace with his eunuchs and concubines, and cherished a perfect indifference with regard to the happiness of his subjects or the prosperity of his empire.

As a necessary measure of policy, however, he is represented as raising an army out of the different provinces of his empire by a conscription, which he placed under the direction of proper officers. This army was kept at Nineveh, and the vicinity, and was annually dissolved and renewed by the substitution of new troops, who were engaged only for a year's service. The design of this arrangement is sufficiently obvious; an army was requisite to his security in case of foreign invasion or civil commotion, and the periodical change provided for in its constitution was calculated to prevent the mischiefs that might otherwise have arisen from a regularly organized conspiracy against his person or

Ninyas.

Biography.

A. M.
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Sardanapalus.

Babylonian
of Arbaces.

power. To an inglorious life succeeded an unlamented death. His successors, however, during the long period of twelve hundred years, and thirty reigns, so closely imitated his example, that their history is buried in total obscurity, not even traceable by a single instance of honourable character or great achievement. All is a total blank and waste, till we reach the not less contemptible, though more known conduct of the last, perhaps the basest of them all.

SARDANAPALUS succeeded to the empire only to present a more perfect specimen of effeminacy, sloth, luxury, cowardice, crime, and elaborate folly, than was perhaps ever before exhibited to the detestation of mankind. Like his inglorious predecessor, the first of this effeminate dynasty, he secluded himself in his palace, assumed the dress of a woman, and imitated her voice, painted his face, spun, and in short utterly disgraced his nature by the most unbounded licentiousness and the most outrageous depravity.

Arbaces, the governor of Media, having been personally witness of his excesses in consequence of obtaining access to the palace, was inflamed with the resolution to put an end to his dominion, and instantly entered into a confederacy for the purpose with Belesis, viceroy of Babylon, who strengthened him by this assurance, which, as a priest and an astrologer he considered himself entitled to give, that he should be the instrument of dethroning the infamous Sardanapalus, and ascending his throne. Thus supported, as they both believed, by heaven itself, they began the revolt; the one by stirring up the Medes and Persians, the other by exciting dissatisfaction among the Babylonians. Having also gained over the king of Arabia, and secured his active co-operation, the conspirators secured the army, which was now newly raised at the expiration of the year, and which amounted to about four hundred thousand men. The king being apprised of these proceedings, was somewhat roused from his voluptuous dreams by a sense of personal and immediate danger, and contriving all the forces he could combine in this emergency, led them out to encounter his rebellious subjects. He was victorious in three successive battles, in the last of which, after using every effort in vain to prevent defeat, with all its consequent calamities, Arbaces was severely wounded. After the first victory, a reward was offered of two hundred talents of gold to any man who should kill him or Belesis, and twice that amount to any one who should bring either of them alive to the emperor. But from all the impending dangers with which they were threatened they effected their escape.

The discouragement which oppressed the mind of Arbaces would now have totally prevented any further attempt, and had, in fact, occasioned great hesitation, during the intervals of these successive victories on the part of Sardanapalus, had not the astrological predictions of his confidant saved him from despair. Belesis persisted every night in consulting the stars, and, after the last engagement, most solemnly assured the confederated troops, the next morning, that in five days they would be aided by a support which at present they were unable to imagine or anticipate, the gods having given to him a decided intimation of so desirable an interference. Whatever were the sources of

his information, the truth was, that in a short time the Bactrians, breaking the fetters of servitude, sprung into the field, and joined Arbaces and Belesis. It is stated that this assistance was procured, as indeed it is most likely, by the urgent and reiterated applications of the confederated princes. Of this transaction Sardanapalus remained ignorant, and occupied himself in the mean time in arranging a sacrifice, and a festival for the army with whom he had conquered his enemies. This account of his proceedings revived the hopes of Arbaces, who having taken his measures with a characteristic sagacity and prudence, surprised the camp of the emperor, and rushed forward almost to the very gates of the city.

Sardanapalus now escaping from immediate danger, entrusted the conduct of the army to his brother-in-law, shutting himself up within the fortifications. After being twice defeated, the army was nearly annihilated, and the emperor was, in consequence, closely besieged, while the conspirators received large accessions of strength from the revolt of other provinces; but he buoyed up his spirits by confiding in a prediction that "Nineveh could never be taken, till the river became her enemy."

The city being abundantly supplied with provisions, the confederate forces remained two whole years before it without producing any visible impression, till the Tigris, at length, being swollen by unusual quantities of rain, overflowed twenty stadia, or two miles and a half of the wall, and thus made a practicable breach, which their whole art before had been unable to accomplish. Sardanapalus at once comprehended his danger, and, his last hope being thus unexpectedly extinguished, he fled into his palace, and ordering a vast pile to be reared in the court, on which he accumulated all his treasures, amounting to a prodigious value,* and close to which he placed his eunuchs, his concubines, and, lastly, himself, he set fire to it, and perished amidst the splendid ruins. The conquerors destroyed the city, but treated the inhabitants with great moderation. Such was the termination of the Assyrian empire.

Sardanapalus is said to have ordered two lines to be put upon his tomb, which imply his having taken with him all he had eaten and all the pleasures he had enjoyed, leaving the rest behind; an epitaph, as Aristotle very justly observes, fit for a hog. These lines were as follow:

Hæc habeo quo edî, quoque exornata libido
Hæc ut illis jaceat moesta et præcæta relicta.

Plutarch, in his comparison of Semiramis and Sardanapalus, in his second treatise, written in praise of Alexander the Great, mentions a statue erected to the latter, after his death, representing him in the posture of a dancer, with an inscription, in which he addressed himself to the spectator in the following sentence:—*Εἴθε τὸν ἀποπνεύσαντα τὰν δὲ μέν, ἰ. e.* "Eat, drink, and be merry: every thing else is nothing."

* Athenæus represents these treasures as worth a thousand myriads of talents of gold, and ten times as many talents of silver; that is, fourteen hundred millions sterling. This is, however, utterly incredible; and we have before intimated our hesitation with regard to the whole story, particularly this last tragic adventure. See *Journ. Chap. on History*, page 67.

Ninias.
A. M.
2789.
B. C.
1215.

HOMER AND HESIOD;

WITH A GENERAL VIEW OF THE EARLY GREEK POETRY.

LINUS, WHO FLOURISHED ABOUT	A. M. 2724.	B. C. 1280.
ORPHŒUS,	A. M. 2744.	B. C. 1260.
MŒRUS,	A. M. 2824.	B. C. 1180.
HOMER AND HESIOD,	A. M. 3097.	B. C. 907.

Biography. If our judgment of the poetry of Greece were solely to be formed from the works which have reached us, we should believe that it arrived at once at a high degree of perfection. The poems of Homer are the most ancient of all the undisputed pieces of that poetry which time has spared; at least, if we suppose them older than those of Hesiod. It cannot, however, be doubted that verse existed in Greece long before the time when the Iliad and Odyssey were sung by the wandering rhapsodists: for poetry has always its birth in the infancy of the social state, and will be uniformly found, as the means of celebrating or transmitting events, to have a higher antiquity than prose. The reason is obvious. Before the art of writing became widely diffused, or generally practised, the recurring cadences and harmonious flow of numbers enabled those who heard, to retain them in memory. Thus whatever the historian desired to transmit, or the moralist to teach, was thrown into that form, by which alone it had any chance of surviving. The tales relating to the existence of the gods, were preserved by the art of the religious teacher; the old traditions relating to heroes and ages, by that of the patriot. But it does not follow that the verses thus dictated rather by necessity than a desire of excellence in the poetic art, displayed any of those qualities which we now admire in poetry. Many of them were harsh and rude from the very nature of their materials, of which abundant instances may be seen in the remaining works of Hesiod.

But the channel was thus prepared in which the stream of genius might flow. The opportunity was given to a mighty mind to pour forth the images and thoughts which crowded upon it in regular song. He who felt the principle of immortality within him, observing that verse made indifferent things perpetual, might seek to acquire for his own noble conceptions an immortality by the same medium. Thus the intuitive power of genius found a form for its reception, in which it could be rendered permanent, and secured from the injuries of time, for the admiration of more enlightened ages.

The early attempts of the poets in Greece have not reached us, probably on account of the great commotions which took place in that country soon after the Trojan war. In less than a century after that event, while Theseus, the son of Orestes, reigned in Mycenae, the Dorians, a half-barbarous race, invaded the Peloponnesus. They destroyed the civilisation just beginning to increase, drove many of the old inhabitants into exile, and brought back those who remained under their dominion, to the rude and barbarous state

from which they were emerging. Of the manner in which this important revolution was effected, we know little; but it is established beyond question, that it took place between the destruction of Troy and the empire of the Medes, in Asia. The inhabitants who were driven from their homes, passed over into Asia, and there occupied considerable regions along the shores. Some of the traditions, and even poems, which, in their time, were admired, might probably have been taken with them in their banishment; but the barbarism which afterwards overspread Greece, proved fatal to most of her former productions. By degrees, however, the Peloponnesus began to recover from the effects of this invasion, and the Grecians who had left their country, returned to it again, in order to seek refuge from the Persian arms. When Grecian civilization had advanced, much curiosity was excited respecting the poets who had flourished before the interruption of tranquillity, or who had promulgated their works in Ionia, and the islands, during the interval. It was perfectly accordant with the genius and character of the Greeks, that the want of authentic history relating to these persons, whose names were still held in reverence, should be supplied by the aid of fiction. The obscure traditions remaining of early bards, philosophers, and musicians, were modelled so as to gratify the national pride, and to advance the popular religion. Very little credit is to be given to the details of Grecian history, especially where the poets are concerned—before the era of the Olympiads. If so little was certainly known respecting Homer, who flourished in a comparatively recent period, how can we give very implicit belief to the tales respecting Linus, Orphæus, Mœrus, Eumolpus, and others, who are said to have adorned a much earlier æra? Incredulity was never the fault of the Greeks, nor historical research a very favourite pursuit with them. "*Quicquid Græcia mendax enudet in historia*," implies an accusation which the attentive enquirer will soon perceive is not unfounded. And though we may not entirely reject the accounts of early bards, on the ground of the manifest fictions with which they are mingled, it must be confessed that there is very great difficulty in selecting any single fact respecting one of them before the Trojan war, on which we can implicitly rely.

Fabrizius has, with indefatigable zeal, collected a number of fragments, and accounts of those authors, who have been supposed more ancient than Homer. Most of them have been generally regarded by the learned as forgeries, originating in the love of gain, and encouraged by the credulity of the Greeks. The compositions have, generally speaking, little intrinsic excellence to

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A. M.
2724.
B. C.
1280.
to
A. M.
3097.
B. C.
907.

Collection
of Fabrizius.

Biography.

From
A. M.
2724.
B. C.
1280.
to
A. M.
3097.
B. C.
907.

recommend them. Perhaps, therefore, on the ground of mere poetical delight we have not much to regret in the effusions which are lost. In the works of Homer, which are now in our hands in a state of some apparent unity and completeness, we find a splendor of imagination to which there is not the least approach in the Orphic verses, or any other pieces of professed antiquity, excepting in the poems of Hesiod. The probability, then is, that all preceding or contemporary writers were far inferior to him. It is not, therefore, wonderful that they should have perished, and that he should endure. Real excellence, however first made known, is almost sure to be lasting. It appeals to natural beauty and truth, the taste for which is the same in every age, and depends not on the caprices of fashion. It sinks deeply into the hearts of those who are able to feel it, who are not very likely to allow it altogether to be forgotten. We may find some consolation in believing that the works of the oldest bards of Greece would have been preserved had they been worth preserving. Probably they were, for the most part, less the effusions of genius than the records of wise precepts, maxims of prudence, and inculcations of religious duties. In this case, they would naturally sink whenever the matter they contained could, from the advances of the arts of writing, be more effectually diffused in prose. At all events, no theory can reasonably be founded on data so uncertain as the vestiges of the ante-homeric writers afford us. We shall, therefore, do little more than allude to them; and hasten on to consider the great body of poetry—the “mighty orb of song”—from which a lustre has been reflected on all succeeding ages.

Linus.

LINUS is the first of that chain of bards to whom the blind reverence of Greece was directed. Some, indeed, represent him as the scholar and not the master of Orpheus; and this opinion seems countenanced by the declaration of Plutarch that the latter was not indebted to the instruction of any, but composed entirely from the feelings of his own mind. The traditions respecting Linus are so contradictory, that some have supposed there must have been three distinct persons of that name; one of them the son of Urania and Amphimarus, the son of Neptune; another the son of Apollo, and Psamathe daughter of Crotopus king of Argos; and a third the son of Ismenius a Theban. According to Diogenes, Linus the poet was the son of Mercury and Urania. All these accounts are evidently fabulous. The age of Linus is fixed by Archbishop Usher 1280 years before the Christian era. Eusebius speaks of him as having flourished before Moses. Herodotus represents him as being celebrated among the Egyptians from still more remote periods. He is mentioned by Homer in the eighteenth book of the Iliad, or, at least, is understood to be commemorated by a hard introduced among the pictures on the shield of Achilles; and is said to have added the string Lichanos to his Mercurian lyre. Diodorus Siculus represents him as being the inventor of music and of poetry, or, at least, as having first introduced these arts into Greece. He is said also to have written treatises on religious rites, and to have composed a work in honour of Bacchus. The most common report of his death is that he taught Hercules to play upon the lyre, and was so enraged at the dullness or inattention of his pupil that he struck him, which so incensed the youthful hero that he seized the lyre and beat out the brains of his master.

According to Diogenes Laertius, however, he was killed by Apollo for presuming to boast of equal merit with that deity. It is not for us to decide these nice and unimportant controversies.

Festivals called Linia were observed in many parts of Greece, in honour of this early musician and bard. Plutarch speaks of dirges as having been performed to his memory, but no authentic account of them remains. It is, indeed, as we have seen, a matter of considerable doubt whether the name Linus designates one individual or several;—and in the latter case, which seems most probable, it is impossible to distinguish between the incidents to be ascribed to each person to whom the appellation belongs.

ORPHEUS, the next in chronological order, is the most celebrated of all the names in Greek poetry, before the age of Hesiod and Homer. To him have been ascribed not only the highest honours of a poet, but the fame of a musician, of a moral teacher, and of a founder of religious rites: he is said to have moved the rocks and trees, and to have charmed away the ferocities of wild beasts, by the sweet magic of his song. He brought Wisdom into Greece, and “married her to immortal verse.” He is said to have incited the Argonauts to row by the sound of his lyre, and even to have allured the sirens by the melody of his numbers: in short, he is represented as the parent of all that was afterwards held most sacred in Greece; to have taught civilization and the arts; to have gently beguiled men from the savage to the social state; and to have harmonized at once the language and the morals of the people among whom he sung.

All the accounts, however, respecting him are evidently mixed with fable; and Cicero, in one of his dialogues, quotes the third book of Aristotle's Poetics, which has not descended to us, expressing the opinion of that philosopher, that no such person ever existed. Herodotus, too, seems to imply that no poets existed before Homer and Hesiod, and that those who were commonly regarded as earlier, came in reality after them. The general consent of antiquity seems, however, to be decidedly favourable both to the existence of Orpheus and the antiquity of the period in which he flourished. Plato and Isocrates speak of him as a real and historical person, and not as a mere hero of fable. Diodorus Siculus was evidently of the same opinion. The Christian fathers, when Celsus represented him as superior, to Christ, did not treat his being as fabulous. On the whole, therefore, it seems reasonable to believe that such a poet did exist in the earlier times of Greece, though very little reliance can be placed on any of the tales respecting him.

It is scarcely possible to fix the age in which Orpheus lived, with any degree of certainty. According to Apollonius Rhodius he engaged in the expedition of Jason to bring the golden fleece from Colchis. It has been usual to place him at the Trojan war, about the year before Christ 1260, a period of which we have no certain records, and scarcely any probable intimations, excepting such as the incidents connected with his name may afford us.

It is universally believed, that the poet was by birth Thracian. Sir Isaac Newton thus traces his family: “Rescued passing over the Hellespont, conquers Thrace; kills Lycurgus, king of that country, and gives his kingdom, and one of his singing women to Egeus, the son of Tharops, and father of Orpheus; hence Orpheus

From
A. M.
2724.
B. C.
1280.
to
A. M.
3097.
B. C.
907.

Doubts of
his exist-
ence.

opinion.

Biography. is said to have had the muse Calliope for his mother.* It is generally believed, that he was the son of Cægus, or Egeus, a Thracian. It seems, according to Diodorus Siculus, that he learned from his father the first principles of the religion which he afterwards taught, and that he was instructed by him in the Bacchic mysteries. Linus is said to have been his master in poetry and music. His opinions on religious subjects, were modified among the Idoi Daetyli, in Crete, of whom he became a disciple. All writers agree, however, that it was in Egypt, the land of superstition and of science, that he learned the chief of those doctrines which he afterwards taught, and of those ceremonies which he instituted in Greece. At length, having completed his researches into religion and morals, he returned to his own country, and began to inculcate the opinions he had finally adopted.

What these were, by no means clearly appears. As far as we can trace them, they seem to have been mystical; and probably, his purer notions respecting the Deity and the soul were embodied and hidden in ceremonies and personifications, which soon became the sole relics of his exertions. It is far from improbable, that in Egypt, some traces of the Mosiac History had reached him, as well as the doctrine of the unity of God, of which the Jewish people were the guardians. These he probably regarded as too subtle and refined to be conceived by the people, or too æthereal and unearthly to obtain their assent; and, therefore, he shadowed them both in mysterious and mythological tales, which were believed in their literal sense, after their spiritual meaning was forgotten. Certain it is, that the Platonists and Pythagoreans, who had far more rational and sublime ideas of the Deity than the common people of Greece, spoke with reverence of him, and even attributed their own views of truth to the principles which he had last taught. In some respects there is a remarkable coincidence between the superstitions attributed to Orpheus, and those which Pythagoras so long afterwards adopted. He rejected altogether the flesh of animals as food. He particularly refused eggs with abhorrence, as containing the principle of life. Various hypotheses, sufficiently fanciful, have been started, to explain the grounds on which he refused these aliments. Some have supposed, that as the Eleusinian mysteries were instituted in honour of Ceres, the goddess of agriculture, he abstained from eating the flesh of oxen, on account of their high utility in the culture of the soil. This supposition explains, at most, only an abstinence from one particular species of flesh. Some have said, that as these mysteries were derived from those instituted in Egypt, in honour of Isis and Osiris, this refusal of animal food was in reverence of Aps. While others, again, have imagined that the Thracians at that time were cannibals, and that their great civilization could only prevent them from devouring human victims, by a general prohibition of every kind of animal subsistence. The ceremonies afterwards adopted for raising the shades of the departed, called *ecstasies*, of which there is so singular an instance in the *Odyssey*, have been ascribed to him; but if he were really their author, the circumstance would rather tend to weaken the suppositions of those who believe him to have taught purer doctrines, than those afterwards popular in Greece, and must cast a strong suspicion either on his honesty or his wisdom.

There is scarcely an art or accomplishment which

had any existence in rude times which the Greeks do not attribute to Orpheus. He was not only a great poet, musician, and divine, but an excellent physician. According to Pausanias, he could cleanse the guilty from their crimes, heal the sick of their diseases, and assuage the anger of heaven. His philosophy was "musical as is Apollo's lute." While he taught the most severe morals, he adapted them to the most enchanting strains. He, at once, rendered his country more virtuous, and embellished it with the liberal arts. Aristophanes says of him, "Ὀρφεὺς ἦν γὰρ ῥητορὰς ὁ ἡμῶν κατὰ τὴν ὁδοῦ."—Orpheus prescribed to us our prayers and holy rites, and abstinence from slaughter. Plutarch informs us that he was author of all music, except a few notes for the flute, which existed before him. He is also said to have added a string or strings to the lyre, before unknown; to have had the greatest skill in playing on that instrument; and to have first conceived the idea of the plurality of worlds. The invention of hexameter verse, and the introduction of letters to Greece have been ascribed to him. And he had time not only for these arts, sciences, morals, and rites of religion, but also for personal adventure; for, as we have already seen, he is alleged to have been one of the greatest of the Argonauts, and to have assisted in the progress of the ship by his melody.

The closing scenes of the life of this celebrated man are related in a manner which has given occasion to some of the most beautiful encomiums on the musical and poetical arts. The tale given in the fourth *Georgic* of Virgil, forms one of the most exquisite passages in all the works of that poet. There we are informed that Eurydice flying from the attempts of Aristæus on her chastity, was bitten by a serpent, and died in consequence of the poison. Her lover, disconsolate for her loss, resolved to seek her in the regions of the dead. He entered the kingdom of Pluto with his lyre, and melted by his strains those whom human entreaties had never moved before. The shades came flocking round him, enchanted by his music. All hell was ravished by his melodies; the furies were relenting and delighted, Cerberus was charmed into admiration, and the wheel of Ixion stood still. Pluto and Proserpine consented to allow his wife to return with him to earth, on condition that he would not look back on her till he had arrived again in the regions of the living. He willingly promised to perform the condition; but, unable to restrain the eagerness of his love, looked back—and saw Eurydice melt away from him never more to be granted to his prayers. Peretrated with a deeper sorrow, he returned to the earth, and found consolation only in wandering with his lyre amidst the caves and desolate places, and calling on her whom he had lost for ever. In vain the Thracian women tried to engage his affections; his heart was with her whom the grave hid from him. Enraged at his coldness, they tore him in pieces, while they celebrated the rites of Bacchus, and threw his head into the Hebrus, which, as it floated down the stream, still called on Eurydice. There are, however, other accounts of the manner of his death. According to some he was killed by a thunderbolt. The place of his interment is said to have been at Pieria in Macedonia, but the citizens of Dion and the inhabitants of Mount Libethrus in Thracæ both contended for the honour of burying his remains deposited among them. The last

Homer, he
From
A. M.
2724.
—
B. C.
1280.
to
A. M.
3097.
—
B. C.
937.

Supposed
accomplish-
ments of
Orpheus.

Adventure
with Eury-
dice.

His death.

Biography.

From
A. M.
2724.

B. C.
1280.
to
A. M.
3097.
—
B. C.
907.

Opinions of
this story.

of these claimants further declared that nightingales, more melodious than all others, built their nests about his tomb. Divine honours are said to have been paid to Orpheus, and one of the constellations to have been named after his lyre.

The great mixture of the supernatural in these accounts is, perhaps, no reason why we should suppose them totally without foundation. It is exceedingly easy to trace the way in which some of the pleasant exaggerations respecting Orpheus arose from natural events. The account of his having charmed away the ferocity of wild beasts; stopped rivers in their course; and drawn rocks and hills to listen to his songs, is little more than a figurative mode of representing the ameliorating and softening effects of his poetry on the savage tribes among whom he wandered, leading them from barbarism to civilization; from the woods to settled habitations; and from a state of dispersion to regular life. Various conjectures have been formed respecting his descent into hell, or rather into the regions appointed for the spirits of the departed. Dr. Warburton contends, with great ingenuity, that nothing more is meant by this allegory than the initiation of the poet into the Eleusinian mysteries. He supposes that while these ceremonies were confined to Egypt, the Grecian law-givers went thither to be initiated, as a kind of designation to their office, and that the ceremony would be naturally described in terms highly allegorical. He observes that this mode of speaking was used by Orpheus, Bacchus, and others, and continued even after the mysteries were introduced into Greece; as appears from the fables of Hercules, Castor, Pollux, and Theseus' descent into hell; but the allegory was so contrived as to reveal the truth concealed under it. Thus Orpheus is said to have obtained entrance into hell by the power of his harp, that is in the quality of a law-giver, the harp being the known symbol of his laws, by which he humanized a rude and barbarous people. But this theory leaves the introduction of Eurydice, who is represented as the cause of the enterprise, entirely unaccounted for, and completely alters, even as an allegory, all the circumstances of the tale. Tzetzes, on the other hand, throws out of the narrative the descent to hell, and preserves the part of Eurydice. He supposes the whole to mean no more than that Orpheus, by his great skill in physic, snatched his wife from the grave, when her life was in extreme danger. There is no occasion, however, to resort to either of these fanciful interpretations, which, while they suppose an original allegory, imply a subsequent fiction grounded upon it, since nothing can be conceived more natural than the entire invention of the incident. It was not only, in itself, of a highly poetical kind, as showing love triumphant over death, but it was in the highest degree complimentary to the poetical art. Supposing, then, Orpheus to have grieved exceedingly for the loss of his wife, to have secluded himself from society, and have sought the retirement of grots and caverns, the story of his having, in these times of seclusion, descended to meet the spirit of her he loved so well, might easily be framed, and obtain credence from the people, who regarded him, doubtless, as a being superior to the race of ordinary mortals. Hence, the poets would readily weave a fiction so beautiful in itself, and so honourable to their art. The account which represents him as drawing the inanimate objects and wild beasts after him, by his music,

is only brought to a climax by showing his power as Homer, &c. capable of moving hell itself, and creating "a soul under the ribs of death."

There are works still subsisting, which are ascribed to Orpheus. These consist of the *Argonautics*, an epic poem, giving an account of the expedition to Colchis; eighty-six religious or magical hymns; a treatise on precious stones; and fragments, collected by H. Stephens. It is, however, quite incredible that he left these poems in the condition in which we now read them. He cannot be supposed to have committed any thing to writing, in an age before the Trojan war; and the internal evidence of the poems shows, that, at least, the greater part of them, are works of a much later period. The *Argonautics* is a bold and rough sketch of the transactions it professes to describe, without artificial arrangement, embellishment, or order; but containing some pieces of vivid description. Orpheus, who tells the story in his own person, is there made to speak of his descent into hell for the sake of Eurydice. Now, independently of this circumstance of his having lived long after the adventure, which would contradict the story, but which, nevertheless, the poem requires, it cannot be conceived that he would relate his own death, as wishing or expecting any one to believe it. Besides, the story is manifestly the result of traditions, enlarged and heightened by time; so that the *Argonautics* could not have been written till long after the death of the supposed author. Many of the verses which bear the name of Orpheus have been ascribed to Onomacritus, a priest and soothsayer at Athens, in the year 518 before the Christian era. He was a favourite of Hipparchus, and professed to be in possession of oracular verses of Musæus, which he sold to the people. These being regarded as forgeries, he was compelled to fly from Attica, and afterwards joined in the deputation from the princes of Thessaly to Xerxes, exhorting him to the invasion of Greece. The hymns have the air of the highest antiquity of all the Orphic poems. Dr. Cudworth thinks that they are genuine, or at least contain the doctrines of the poet, transmitted through the medium of some of his disciples. It is not improbable that Onomacritus actually possessed some Orphic fragments, or verses by the scholars of the poet, which he expanded into such large portions as suited his design. Some of the alleged compositions of Orpheus seem to point to a great First Cause, in the midst of the superstitions introduced among them; and, indeed, many of them are thought to be pious frauds composed by Jewish or Christian believers. The poems on stones attribute to gems virtues and healing qualities, which, in the elder times of Grecian superstition, they were supposed to possess. The Orphic verses were collected and published by Eschenbach, at Nuremberg, a. d. 1702, and were reprinted at Leipzig, under the title of *Opuscula Orphica*, in 1764. The antiquity of the Orphic poems was called in question by Valckenær and Schneider, and maintained by Ruhnken, Heyne, and Wolf. Hermann thinks the Hymns more ancient than the *Argonautics* and *Ithica*, which last he refers to the age of Domitian. Beck's opinion is, that the *Argonautics* belong to an age posterior to Alexander the Great. They have seldom been the objects of much attention except to philosophical enquirers into the religion and history of the earliest periods of Greece.

Musæus is generally represented as the son of Mantus.

Orpheus. It is, however, very probable that he was

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A. M.
2724.

B. C.
1280.
to
A. M.
3097.
—
B. C.
907.

his works.

Biography. only his disciple. According to the Arundelian marbles, he flourished about 1426 years before the Christian era; but by more probable accounts not earlier than from 1180 to 1200 years a. c. He seems to have been much less celebrated among the Greeks than his father or preceptor; but Virgil gives him a very high rank among the poets. He places him in a conspicuous situation in his Elysium, at the head of a sacred band, and in the character of the priest of Ceres. Very little is recorded respecting his personal adventures. He seems to have led a retired and religious life, officiating most probably as a priest of some of those mysteries which Orpheus had introduced before him. Plutarch does not mention him among the ancient musicians, and he does not seem to have been much celebrated for his performances on the lyre. As his hymns were set to music, it is probable, however, that he sung them himself at the ceremonies in which he presided. Pausanias asserts that the eminence in the neighbourhood of Athens, called the Museum, was so denominated from the circumstance of his having been accustomed to retire thither for contemplation and poetical musing. He is said to have composed his hymns there, and to have been interred beneath it. He wrote hymns and prophecies, and left precepts in verse addressed to his son. He is said also to have sung the wars of the Titans. But his principal work was a poetical account of the creation, in which he seems to have embodied some ideas of religion and philosophy more refined than were commonly entertained by the Grecian theologians of after days. Diogenes Laertius has preserved a principle of the philosophy of Musæus in the words, "Ἐξ ἰσος τα πάντα γινέσθαι, καὶ τίς τ' αὐτὸν ἀναλίσκεται." It seems that he was also an astronomer, and composed or enlarged a sphere; though, as Chiron is generally supposed to have invented the sphere, it is probable that Musæus only improved it. The work itself is evidently subsequent to the voyage of Jason, as that expedition is described upon it, and as the Argo was the first vessel constructed on any other than the circular form. The life of Musæus seems to have been calm and tranquil; and was probably spent in philosophic ease. Of his works nothing remains. Even in the time of Pausanias, as we are informed by that writer, a hymn to Ceres was his only genuine composition then in existence.

Works. Musæus is said to have left a son named Eumolpus, and a daughter Helena, who inherited the poetical genius of their father. Both of them are stated to have written epic poems, and the subject chosen by Helena is stated to have been the Trojan war. She is by some regarded as having had the honour of first celebrating that mighty contest. Her brother probably became a priest of Ceres; since he wrote on the mysteries of that goddess. We have no authentic relic of his genius left us.

His children. From these dark and obscure memorials of ancient Greek poets, we turn with pleasure to him whose name has been celebrated in every age in which poetry has been held in reverence.

Homer. But here a preliminary question arises, on an hypothesis which, however, startling it might have appeared in former times, is not now to be treated with neglect or disdain. It is, that neither the Iliad nor the Odyssey is the work of a single mind; that they are two collections of the songs of wandering rhapsodists, arranged

for the first time at Athens, under the direction of Homer, or of his son. This theory reduces HOMER from a person to a name; or, at most, leaves him the fame only of a more celebrated bard among many others, or perhaps only of a more successful reciter. This opinion may be traced as high as Ælian, who speaks of Pisistratus as the compiler of the Odyssey and the Iliad. It was maintained, about the close of the seventeenth century, by Hedlin and Perrault, two French writers, but received only with derision. More recently, however, it has been advocated with great learning, by Heyne, in his edition of the Iliad; and with wonderful acuteness, research, and zeal, by professor Wolf of Halle, in Saxony (and now royal librarian at Berlin), in his *Prolegomena ad Homerum*. Since the adoption of the theory, hitherto so little noticed, by these celebrated scholars, it cannot be dismissed as an instance of perverted ingenuity or of rash conjecture. Indeed, the arguments themselves adduced in its favour, have at least, so much apparent weight in them as to entitle them to serious examination, independently of the fame of their authors. We shall proceed, therefore, to give the fullest review of the controversy of which our limits will allow.

The first object, in a case of this kind, should be to ascertain those facts in which all parties coincide. The light which external history affords us, is rather feeble and dubious. It must be admitted, that there is no fact well authenticated respecting the existence of the poems in a connected form, until we are told that they were brought into Greece by Lycurgus. Plutarch, in his life of that legislator, informs us, that in his journey in Asia, "he first had sight of Homer's poems, which were probably preserved by Creophylus, and having observed that the delightful fictions thrown over them, did not prevent the author from abounding in maxims of state policy and rules of moral action, transcribed them, and carried with him into Greece that entire collection which we have now among us. For at that time, there was only an obscure rumour in Greece of the fame of these poems, and only a few scattered fragments in circulation, until Lycurgus published them entire." Hence Cleomenes called Homer the poet of the Spartans. Besides Plutarch, Dio Chrysostom, Heracleides Pontus, and Ælian, bear testimony to the fact of the poems having, in some state or other, been introduced into Greece by Lycurgus. Heyne, indeed, contends that nothing more is to be gathered from these authorities than that the poems were preserved among the Chians by means of the recitations of the rhapsodists; and that the knowledge of their merit was brought to Sparta by her lawgiver on his return from his travels.

It seems that whatever was done by Lycurgus fell very short of exhibiting the poems in that state in which even the Greeks afterwards possessed them. For a number of writers agree in declaring that the honour of this noble work belongs to Pisistratus, or to some of his family. Very shortly before Pisistratus was invested with the supreme power, Solon made a law for the recital of the poems; and is even said to have directed that this office should be performed, not by repeating them in fragments, without regard to the progress of the story, but in some order of regular succession. How far this order corresponded with that in which the works of the Iliad and Odyssey are now arranged, does not appear. Cicero decidedly gives the honour of

From A. M. 2724. — a. c. 1280. to A. M. 3097. — a. c. 907.

From A. M. 2724. — a. c. 1280. to A. M. 3097. — a. c. 907.

Collection of Homer's works.

Biography. the arrangement to Pisiastatus, when he asks "Quis doctor namque temporibus aut ejus eloquentia literis instructor quam Pisiastatus? Qui primus Homeri libros, confusus antea, sic disposuisse dicitur ut nunc habemus."—(Cic. de Orat. l. iii.) In one of the Socratic dialogues attributed to Plato, Hipparchus, the son of Pisiastatus, is said to have performed this work, instead of his father, and is also alleged to have directed the recital of the poems at the feast called Panathæna. Leo Allatius suggests, in order to reconcile the testimony of Plato to that borne by so many witnesses, that the son completed his father's design, by publishing a more correct copy in another edition. The dialogue, however, which is thus attempted to be reconciled to other authors, has been by many regarded as spurious. This point is of little importance. Whether Solon, Pisiastatus, or Hipparchus, arranged the Iliad and the Odyssey; or whether each of them improved on the labours of his immediate predecessor, makes little difference in the state of the question. It is agreed by all, that before the time of Solon, the works were in a very different condition from that in which they now appear; and that between the commencement of his public life and the death of Hipparchus, being a comparatively small interval, some great change took place in the order of the poems, and in the mode by which they were circulated and preserved from the injuries of time.

The questions then in dispute are,—what were the materials which the editor found, and on which he worked—what were the change he effected—and whether that change were the restoration of an order and a purity which had been disarranged and corrupted, or a completely new creation from existing materials—whether, in short, the jewels were only reset in a frame from which time and barbarism had separated them, or were now first collected from a number of places in which they had been scattered by different hands?

It must be allowed that the expression of Cicero, that Pisiastatus "primus Homeri libros confusus antea, disposuisse," will not prove much, even respecting the opinion of the orator, as to their original condition. For it does not follow because the books of Homer were confused or disarranged in the time of their first editor, that they had never been composed in a regular series. Indeed the expression, *works of Homer then in confusum*, seems to imply that Pisiastatus did not divide the poems into books for the first time, or first apply to them that denomination. The other external evidence on either side is but trivial. The works must be, for the most part, their own witnesses.

The chief arguments by which the hypothesis adopted by Wolf and Heyne is supported, seem to be as follow:

1. It is exceedingly improbable that in any age to which Homer's personal existence can be referred, one man should have been capable of composing works of the extent, consistency, and poetical elevation, of the Iliad and the Odyssey. Poetry could not, like Minerva, have sprung into life in its fullest maturity, and its fairest proportions. It seems strange that in a dark age, a man of whose history nothing is certainly known, should have produced works which, in some qualities at least, no subsequent time has equalled. And it is altogether incredible that he should have enjoyed the leisure, the opportunity, and the compass

of information necessary to the completion of works of such consummate skill, as well as surpassing genius.

2. It seems impossible that poems of so great a length as the Iliad and the Odyssey should have been composed and preserved entire, without being committed to writing. Now it is certain that there is not the least trace, even in tradition, of any complete written or engraved copy of the works of Homer till the exertions of his Athenian editor, or at least till those of Lycurgus. This, supposing them ever to have been written, will appear surprising, when we consider the high veneration in which his name was held. In fact, the time when the art of writing was first introduced into Greece seems very uncertain. It has, indeed, been attributed to Palamedes and Cadmus; but every account of these persons is mixed with fable. In the Odyssey, Cadmus is spoken of as the son of Leucothea, a marine goddess, but nothing is said respecting his country or origin. Of the Cadmei, the founders of Thebes, we know as little. And the date assigned to the introduction of alphabetical characters into Greece seems altogether to defeat the tale of their origin. For, if a colony of Phœnicians under Cadmus, long before the Trojan war, had brought the use of letters to that country, it is scarcely to be believed that no trace of any literary productions, no relic of alphabetical characters, not even of any genuine inscriptions, should remain which can be referred to any but a much later period. And if the art of writing had been in common use in the time of Homer, it is strange that he should not have mentioned it. He has been thought to refer to it in the story of Bellerophon, in the sixth book of the Iliad, who is made by Prætus to bear *εγγραφα Λυγρον* with him to Iolobas, which conveyed to the latter the desire that he would bring about the death of the messenger. But these terms do not necessarily refer to *writings*. On the contrary, it is not probable that Prætus would have risked so much as to trust a letter in known characters to the party whose death he was contriving. They were, probably, symbols of a deadly and funereal import, conventionally understood by the family: a kind of hieroglyphic, the meaning of which no stranger could decipher. When the Grecian heroes are challenged by Hector, and lots are cast to decide which of those who offered themselves for the combat should be chosen, each puts a mark on his lot which is known only to him to whom it belongs. The same expression is used here as on the former occasion. It is singular that there should be no epitaphical correspondence in the Odyssey, where so many opportunities for it occur, if the means of committing intelligence to writing were generally known in the time of the author. The verb *γραφω*, properly signifies rather digging out or engraving than *writing*, as employed in modern usage. Supposing the letters to have been produced in Greece before the time of Homer, it is far from following that the art of writing was brought to a degree of perfection sufficient for the committing to some palpable tablet, works of so great a length. A long interval must have elapsed before a progress of this kind could have been effected. At first only eleven, or at most, sixteen letters, were introduced into Greece, according to the testimony of those who give the importation to early a date as that of Cadmus, and the rest were added in subsequent times. The Greek alphabet, as it was finally settled, was not received at Athens till the

Arguments against the personal existence of Homer.

From A. M. 2724. B. C. 1280. to A. M. 3097. B. C. 907. No written or engraved copy before Lycurgus.

Introduc-
tion of
Greek let-
ters.

Biography. ninety-fourth Olympiad, only 403 years before Christ. The adaptation, too, of foreign letters to new sounds must have been gradual, especially among a rude and barbarous people, who could be expected to bestow little or no direct attention on literature, but must have slowly learned the meaning of the characters. When the laws of Draco were committed to writing, all the letters since received were not employed in the work, though it took place as late as the thirty-ninth Olympiad.

It is probable that the common use of writing, to publish and secure the compositions of authors, obtained about the time when they began to write in prose. For before this art became comparatively easy, the recurrence of metre was necessary to impress on the memory that which the author designed to convey. Thus the laws of the early legislators, and the moral maxims and religious precepts of people, were always embodied in verse; a mode which must have been recommended only by the facilities afforded to the recollection, in cases where the subject could so little require or admit the embellishments of song. Now, we have no record of any prose writing until three centuries after the age usually ascribed to Homer. The materials of writing too must have been exceedingly scanty, and quite inadequate to the preservation of a poem of fifteen thousand lines. Stone, metals, and other heavy and durable substances, were the only materials on which, in these early times, characters were imprinted. The papyrus and the skins of animals could not have been in common use till a much later era. It may indeed be alleged that supposing the art of writing grew easy before the time of the poet, it is not to be expected that we should discover any trace of it in his works, because, as he referred to a more distant period, he only avoided anacronism by omitting to mention an art then unknown, or in its infancy, and by his silence preserved the fidelity of his pictures. But the same scrupulous attention to the manners and costume of the age in which the actions he commemorated arose, does not appear to have been exerted in other respects. It is impossible to believe that, in the rude times of the Trojan war, all the arts to which he alludes had arrived to the state of perfection in which he describes them: that the contests of the freebooters were embellished with the "pride, pomp, and circumstance" which his martial arrangements display; or that even the barbarous magnificence he imputes to the infant cities of Greece was really to be found among them. In some instances, he seems, not merely to have shed a gorgeousness over the ages of his story which true history would deny them, but even to have forestalled the arts in his own day, and to have shadowed forth, by the singular felicities of his imagination, the improvements which subsequent generations alone could embody. It is, therefore, incredible that, in the course of so many thousand verses, relating to an immense variety of human affairs, there should be no notice whatever of books, of writings, of reading, or of letters; that no treaty or league should have been noticed as other than verbal, or as ratified by any other means than religious rites and superstitious observances; that the poet should refer to no inscriptions, even on the sepulchres which he describes; that he should make no mention of money stamped or engraved; and that, with all his desire to give an ap-

pearance of truth to his narratives, he should never refer to any old memorial, or ancient writing, but should speak of events as handed down by the poets, or gathered from tradition; if the art of writing was not only common in his time, but actually employed by himself in framing the Iliad and the Odyssey. The observations of Josephus, respecting the introduction of letters into Greece, in particular relation to the works of our poet, are singularly corroborative of these arguments. He contends that it was not until a late period that the use of letters was known to the Greeks. Those, he asserts, who trace their introduction to Cadmus and the Phœnicians, are unable to produce any specimen of writing from those early times. He represents it as having been the subject of much enquiry and dispute, whether they were known even at the time of the Trojan war, and that it was generally thought they were then unknown in Greece. He concludes by observing, that "no writing, the authenticity of which is acknowledged, is found among the Greeks earlier than the poetry of Homer; and it is said that even he did not commit his works to writing, but that having been preserved in the memory of men, the songs were afterwards connected."—(*Josephus Cont. Ap. l. 2 p. 439.*)

If it be thought that no such compositions as those which now pass under the name of Homer would have been given to the world without that hope of duration which writing alone could render secure, it may be replied,—not only that from the peculiar manners of the age, fame might be expected through the means of the rhapsodists, of whom a perpetual succession might have been anticipated,—but that there is every reason to believe it entered little into the desires of the early bards of Greece. There is no trace of this darling passion of genius, this "last infirmity of noble minds," in the Odyssey or the Iliad. Events are said to have been transmitted from age to age by song, but the individual reputation of the bard himself seems never to have entered into his calculations. He was satisfied with the reverence of his own age, with the immediate applause that attended his recitations, and with the crowns of laurel which he obtained as prizes in poetical contests with his fellows. Besides, supposing that he painfully felt the instability of those relics which he might leave behind him, is it to be supposed that this feeling alone would be sufficient to repress altogether the poetical faculty within him? He would almost involuntarily burst forth into a display of the powers which must be struggling in his mind. Would not the exercise of the poetical art be sufficiently its own recompense? Would not the joy of moving in a beautiful creation of his own, and tasting all the delights with which it was adorned, be enough in payment for the mere toil of composing? And would it be nothing to travel, currying the love and reverence of all hearts with him, and leaving the fondest memory of his genius behind him?

3. The profession of the rhapsodists, as is evident The rhapsodists from many Greek writers, flourished from the earliest dis- periods. Their name, compounded from *ῥαπτεῖν* *ῥάπτω*, to join together or compose verses, signified their occupation and character. They answered, in many respects, to the Celtic bards. They chanted, sung, or recited poems, chiefly, at least in the earliest times, of their own composition, at the tables of princes, and

Homer, *Ac*
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A. M.
2724.
—
B. C.
1280.
to
A. M.
3097.
—
B. C.
907.

Opinion of
Josephus.

The papyrus
was not then
known.

Biography. is public assemblies, as well as in the houses of the great. They were held in high esteem and even veneration; more especially in the earliest periods. Then they were the sole depositories of the religion, the moral precepts, and the old and favourite legends of the people among whom they lived. Though there were few arts at that time distinctly marked out as cultivated by peculiar classes, the bard had a profession of his own, which was regarded as more venerable than any other. Whether he resided constantly in some principal city, or travelled through various states, he was looked up to as a superior being, welcomed and honoured at the feasts of kings, and revered as the favourite of heaven. His art was probably the parent, not only of the poetry of Greece, but of its grand and tragic spectacles: for it was his province to appear at once as an author and an actor; to embody his own conceptions, and to represent the passion he had conceived in the most vivid and striking manner. Plato has left us an admirable picture of the holy and delightful life of one of the most gifted of this profession. It naturally, however, declined as civilization advanced, and the art of writing became general. The necessity for the promulgation of the works of genius in this way ceased, and those who at first had been poets, sank into the mere reciters of the works of others who had preceded them. But this declension was not entirely accomplished even in the time of Cynæthus, who is much celebrated as a rhapsodist so late as the sixteenth Olympiad, and who recited both the poems of others and his own. In the earlier times, it is certain that the rhapsodist was a highly honourable character; he moved about as a recorder of the old and loved traditions of the people, which he rendered still more interesting, and must have been heard with delight by those in whom he called up again all the associations of childhood, and who renewed their happiest days in listening to his songs.

Arguments against the existence of Homer continued.

Recitations from memory.

It seems certain that those who followed this profession, did not recite from any writings or engravings, but from memory. In this all the traces to be found in ancient authors coincide. The ancients made their poets the votaries of the muses, *Μουσῶν Ἀοιδῶν*, *Μελῶν*; and memory was one circumstance by which they were distinguished, and from which they derived honour. It was from the songs recited by these men—those songs which had, from their merit, and deep interest, long been popular among them—that the works of Homer were compiled at Athens, in that age when the rhapsodists had long, in a great degree, sung the works of others. Probably the master taught his pupil to recite those of his own compositions which he thought most worthy of being thus transmitted, and thus they were handed down to a distant age. At all events, there is no reason to believe that the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* were set in order from manuscripts; though some have pretended that writings containing parts of Homer's works were collected from those cities which claimed him as their citizen.

If then the works which bear the name of Homer were not, at the time of their composition, or till long afterwards, committed to writing, could any one individual have been the author of either of them? It seems almost impossible that he could form the plan of works so extended, so connected, so continuous, with no

model before him, and no opportunity of sketching out the plan or skeleton of the work, except in his own mind. How could he also recollect distinctly all the previous parts of his poem, so that in composing the latter part he should keep the former in view, and render the whole consistent in the action, and in the characters? Even supposing this possible, how could he ever have formed the idea of submitting his complete epic to the public admiration, in all its episodes, unities, and machinery, with even a possibility of success? No power of voice could suffice to recite, no stretch of attention to hear, no capacity of memory to retain it. He could never procure a single audience to whom the work should be submitted. To what end, then, and with what hope should he compose it? His native genius would prompt him, without doubt, to sing of the heroic deeds of former days; but surely his love of poetry, and the enthusiasm of his spirit, would rather be indulged in short and rapid effusions, than in an extended poem. As, therefore, no motive can be assigned for his undertaking so great a labour, were it within the limit of human possibilities, it is fair to conclude that the work could never have come from the lips of a single author in that form in which we now possess it.

If we suppose the poems of Homer to have been transmitted to the times of Solon, through the medium of the rhapsodists, it is impossible not to believe that great alterations were made in them, by their numerous and successive reciters. This appears to have been the opinion even of the Alexandrian critics. Not only must every composition handed down through several generations be exposed to perpetual variation, but the very description of the men through whom the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* were transmitted, rendered alterations and corruptions peculiarly probable. They were themselves poets. They were accustomed, therefore, to exercise the faculty of invention as well as of memory; and what, in this case, was peculiarly unfortunate for the integrity of their original, to exert them both at the same time. Having some poetical talent, or, at least, imagining themselves so gifted, they would exercise the office of critics, and alter or omit that which appeared to them unworthy of the author. They would, perhaps, in a greater degree interpolate by the insertion of their own verses, or amplifications of the ideas expressed by the original bard. In the warmth of recitation, they would often make changes almost unconsciously, or would introduce them for greater immediate effect on their hearers. It has been asserted that many interpolations of an important kind were actually made by the family of Cynæthus. (Schol. Pind. and Eustath. ad Il. p. 6.) It seems, therefore, very difficult to place any reliance on the authenticity of compositions so necessarily exposed to every kind of corruption and change.

It appears from Elian, that anciently, at least, the Test-books of Homer were never recited by the rhapsodists in that order in which they are now collected. Indeed, had it been otherwise, the exertions of Solon, Pisistratus, and his son, would have been confined to commanding that the work, already complete, should be reduced into writing. And it seems, from Eustathius, that the portions of them usually chaunted, were not the divisions now called books, but separate pieces, as

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Bibliography. the catalogue of the ships, the tale of Ulysses at the palace of Alcinoüs, the Dolonia, the Patroclus, and the slaughter of the Wooers. How, therefore, could the original position of these songs have been discovered in the age of Solon?

4. Aristotle, it is well known, framed a theory of epic poetry from the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*; and professed critics since his time, especially among the French, have thence drawn rules respecting the fable, the characters, the manners, the machinery, and the unities, on which compositions of this ambitious class ought to be modelled. Some there are who have gone further than this, and acquiesced in the last part of the sentence of Macrobius, that there are three things which can never be taken away with propriety—the thunder from Jupiter, the club from Hercules, and any one of his verses from Homer. The art of the poet has generally been admired in making every thing in the *Iliad* tend to illustrate the ire of Achilles, and every thing in the *Odyssey* to conduce to the return of Ulysses. Heyne contents himself with disputing particular parts, while he admits the general unity of the poems; and ascribes it not to the author, but to the first editor, who compiled them. Wolf, on the other hand, boldly controverts the system, and alleges that the unity of action in the *Iliad* is merely imaginary, though that of the *Odyssey* he admits to have been preserved with consummate skill. He contends that the subject proposed in the first seven lines of the *Iliad*—the anger of Achilles, and its direful consequences to the Greeks—is altogether closed at the end of the eighteenth book. The rest of the poem does not relate to the resentment of that hero against his countrymen or their leader, but to a new fury with which he is inspired in consequence of the death of his friend; and which is satiated at last in the death of Hector, and the indignities offered to his remains. If all the contests of the Greeks and Trojans, which chiefly occupy the *Iliad*, are to be referred to one subject, they tend rather, perhaps, to exalt the fame of Achilles than any other hero; but part only of them can be referred to his wrath. Wolf, therefore, expresses his surprise that the exordium of that work is not altered to the following lines, which he proposes as better expressing its argument:

κείνη δὲ δὴ, βῆ, Πηλεΐδης Ἀχιλλεύ,
τοῖς αἰὲς βασιλὴν ἀντιπρὸς ἐμὲ μοῖρ᾽
ἔβη, Ἀγαστέρω γὰρ αἰὲς ἔβη, Πηλεΐδης
ἀντιπρὸς ἀντιπρὸς Τρώεσσι καὶ Ἑλλήσιν.

If this should be esteemed a more correct view of the subject on which the *Iliad* is constructed, than the lines with which it actually opens, those who contend for the common opinion cannot ascribe this defect to the rudeness of Homer's age, when they impute to him the artificial structure of the *Odyssey*; since that would be to allege that he could not express what he was able so admirably to practice. It is, however, doubtful whether Homer particularly intended to mark out Achilles as the hero of his poem, above all others. For since he has been generally supposed not to have invented the ground-work of his plot, but to have taken it from history, the prominence of Achilles among the characters would arise naturally and without design. Thucydides or Xenophon, taking the last year of the Trojan war for the subject of an historical piece, must, in the same way, have represented the quarrel, its consequences, and the final triumph of the Greeks on

the return of their bravest champion. Why then is it that the relation of these circumstances in the *Iliad* should be regarded as the perfection of art? Why might not a poet relate the events he undertook to celebrate in their natural order? And if one poet, why might not several, taking up different parts of successive adventures, form a whole, when arranged according to the story, as complete as the *Iliad*?

It does not appear that any of the ancient grammarians or critics, who wrote respecting Homer, entertained any of these ideas with regard to certain epic rules observed in his poems, or derivable from them, which Aristotle has endeavoured to maintain. They uniformly speak of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* as embracing the affairs of the Greeks and Trojans at Troy; or, if they speak more particularly, the valiant acts of Achilles. In this manner, the author of the life which bears the name of Plutarch, as well as Eustathius, always express themselves. And it does not appear that the poets who immediately followed Homer ever professed to write poems on the plan since laid down for epics. The few remnants of their works that have reached us contradict all suppositions of this kind. They take the names not of individuals, but of families, or of events, as the titles of their songs; and as far as we have any traces of their contents, they gave to these no unity of action, no observance of time, no relief of episode. On the contrary, they are said to have related events from the beginning of the Trojan war to the death of Ulysses, in the order of history. Now it is strange that these men should never have imitated the bard, to whom all assigned the first place in the gratitude and admiration of mankind, in these very points, in which he might have been followed with ease; in those matters of form and judgment, in which the dullest might by industry and care have attained an equal perfection.

5. It is further alleged that there are many parts of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, even as they now exist, which are either entirely spurious, or very much corrupted from the original. Of the former of these descriptions seems to be the passage in the eighteenth book of the *Iliad*, from v. 356 to v. 368, in which, from the mourning of the Greeks over the body of Patroclus, we are suddenly presented with a taunting speech of Jupiter to Juno, and her angry reply, neither of which bear the least relation to the immediate subject; and, at the close, we as suddenly return to Thetis, in her ascent to the palace of Vulcan. In the fourth book of the *Odyssey*, a passage occurs, at the 620th line, where a conversation with Menelaus is abruptly broken off, and four lines follow of which all explanation seems hopeless. Eustathius has recourse to the violent measure of changing the whole scene from the palace of Menelaus at Sparta to that of Ulysses at Ithaca. But the passage is now universally agreed to be either misplaced or spurious. Other and yet more important instances are brought forward by Heyne, in the notes to the different books of his edition of Homer, which we shall hereafter have occasion to allude to, when we speak of the works of the poet; at present, the argument derived from these circumstances is, that since the compilers of the poems and the early critics allowed such gross instances of corruption to remain, we can place little reliance on their correctness, and still less on their judgment in making their collections, which hence

Homer, &c.
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A. M.
2724.
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1280.
to
A. M.
3097.
—
A. C.
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Parts of the
poems
spurious.

Biography.

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B. C.

907.

Arguments

in favour of

the personal

existence of

Homer.

seem to have been brought from more than one author. On these grounds, it is contended that the works now extant, which bear the name of Homer, are a collection of scattered songs, which never were committed to writing by their authors; and that, for their arrangement, they are indebted not to the poets, but to their Athenian editor.

On the other side, the following arguments may be adduced, both to do away the above objection, and to establish the individuality of the author of the *Iliad*.

1. The genius which the *Iliad* exhibits is no proof that it is not the production of a single mind in a barbarous age. Those who speak of poetry as a progressive art, and liken it to the improvements of social life, and things which depend for their excellence on experience, seem to know little of its essence. It has no connexion with the progressions of time; it depends not on external circumstance; it follows not in the train of knowledge, nor improves as mathematical science is unfolded;—its origin is in the heart, and its objects are to be found in every part of the creation. Indeed, the age of Homer was far more favourable to its perfection than later times. Then the whole region of imagination lay unexplored, the themes of poetry were unexhausted, and must have appeared actually exhaustless. Then there were no models of great excellence which should discourage the poet from emulating their fame, or should tempt him to be satisfied with a dexterous imitation of their beauties. The very rudeness of the age afforded also the best opportunities for poetry. The minds of men were then alive to tales of superstition, and their belief in the prodigies related to them was unshaken. There were no critics to fear or to propitiate. Society, if in the inexperience, was also in the bloom and vigour of its youth. Virtues and vices were then gigantic; they had not been rendered puny, or melted down by the progress of civilization and art. Desperate revenge, fierce and uncontrollable anger, inextinguishable hate on the one hand, and heroic bravery, noble contempt of danger and death, and romantic friendship on the other, were to be seen in their utmost extremes of awful or of placid grandeur. Life was then full of adventures. The feuds of rival chieftains afforded a perpetual succession of incident to all, as well as a stimulus to the deepest emotions of their partizans. Friendship was cemented by the participation of hardship and of peril, and proved stronger than fortune, lasting as existence. In the breathing times of concord a wild and generous hospitality filled up the pause, and was rewarded grateful by the aid of song. The poet then found in every region the materials of his art; passion was every where of the most tremendous or exalted kind; tradition filled up the places of history, and gave ample ground for his song; while it left him verge enough for the exercise of his invention. The new religion, which was beginning to afford, even to the common people, a feeling of the grace of form and the harmony of the universe, had its altars on every shore; with its solemn rites and mysteries and "trivial records." Surely there needed not, to render this age poetical, the perfection of scholastic subtlety, the nice control of the police, or the common-place comforts and luxuries of modern times. The poet had then all "the world" of genius "before him where to choose." What education did he need? What formal introduction to the muses?

His infancy might have been delighted with wondrous tales of heroes and demi-gods; his youth passed by the shores of the ocean, amidst the chaste scenery of Greece; and his manhood occupied in wandering from country to country, admiring all that was beautiful, revering all that was grand, and rejoicing in all that was romantic. What had he to do with books, or with worldly knowledge? His school was the universe. The mountains, the streams, and the ocean, were his teachers. The wild traditions of his age afforded him the threads from which he was to weave a glorious composition, whose colours should be ever fresh as long as nature shall endure.

What, in fact, has been the individual knowledge of many who, in after times, have obtained the highest degree of poetical renown? We have no hesitation in believing that the ploughman of Scotland—he who "walked in glory and in joy, beside his plough upon the mountain side," breathed forth the tenderest notes of poetry without the aid of external culture. We hesitate not to think that a youth of sixteen at once fabricated an artful deception with wonderful industry and skill, and poured forth effusions worthy of the best age of English genius. Why then should we think it incredible that Homer should shine as the day-star of Grecian literature, in an age when the common incidents of life abounded with materials of song?

But, in truth, the hypothesis to which the antagonists of Homer's personality must resort, implies something far more wonderful than the theory which they impugn. They profess to have the deepest veneration for the genius displayed in the poems. They agree also in the antiquity usually assigned to them; and they make this genius and this antiquity the arguments why one man could never have composed them. They suppose, then, that in a barbarous age, instead of one being marvellously gifted, there were many; a complete race of bards, such as the world has never since seen—a number of miracles instead of one. All experience is against this opinion. In different periods of the world great men have arisen, under very different circumstances, to astonish and delight it; but that the intuitive power should be so strangely diffused, at any one period, among a great number who should leave no successors behind them, is quite unworthy of credit. And we are requested to believe this to have occurred in an age which those who maintain the theory regard as unfavourable to the poetic art! The common theory, independent of other proof, is *præsumitur* the most probable. Since the early existence of the works cannot be doubted, it is easier to believe in one than in twenty Homers.

But the champions of the new system will ask, how, supposing the genius displayed in these works to be not incredibly imputed to an individual, their artificial construction and arrangement can be explained? Here their arguments are expressly contradictory to each other. When they wish to represent it as impossible that, in a rude age, the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* should have been produced in a connected form, they enlarge on the art with which they are constructed; when they desire to take away the effect of the reasoning that their completeness shows them to have been the productions of one mind, they deny that there is any art at all, and laboriously endeavour to show that they only relate events in a natural order, and are not modelled on any

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Biography. artificial rules. The truth, however, is, that no one ever supposes Homer to have written with a standard of epic poetry before him, like that which Aristotle has drawn from his works. He composed from the impulses of an harmonious mind, and his compositions were, therefore, harmonious. There is nothing wonderful, or even paradoxical, in this. Genius is the soul of art. The unities admired by the critic must originally take their rise from the heart, from the natural perception of loveliness, from the innate admiration of order, or they are worthless. Genius broods over the events it celebrates, and brings them into keeping and harmony. There is nothing really so methodical as the most daring invention, in so far as method is more than an empty form. If Homer conceived the plan of an epic in his mind, and strove to write "up to the height of his great argument," it was because he felt that within such a compass his mind would discover a fit and noble range. But there is no need of this, if we adopt Wolf's opinion, above stated, that the *Iliad* is a mere tale, without any particular design, of the events of a part of the Trojan war, in its natural order. Surely there is nothing incredible in the supposition, that he who had genius enough to compose any one of the parts, should have had art enough to give the whole tale in the simple course of time, and following exactly the traditions of his fathers.

2. The objection which arises from the ignorance of letters, or the want of the materials for writing, is certainly of a more formidable kind. But it is to be remembered, that the very uncertainty attending the introduction of letters into Greece proves that they must have been of high antiquity, and certainly before the first Olympiad, when a regular computation of time began. The testimony of Josephus, who speaks merely in a sceptical tone, and not at all in that of decided negative, is rendered of less importance by the circumstance that he was attempting to depreciate, as far as possible, the antiquities of Greece, and to throw discredit on its early history. But even, supposing the works of Homer not to have been originally transcribed, the very opponents of his personality have furnished us with the means by which they were probably transmitted. The rhapsodists, whom they suppose, and probably with justice, to have recited his poems, were no unworthy depositaries of so great a treasure, especially if we hold them in the veneration with which they would desire us to regard them. It is not necessary to suppose, that any individual was able to repeat the whole; several might take different parts, still remembering the original order and bonds of connection. Might not a play, consisting of infinitely more fragments than one of Homer's poems, be collected with tolerable accuracy from the lips of the actors, if the copy were lost, or if they had been instructed by the author? But there is nothing incredible even in supposing, were it necessary, that a single rhapsodist could retain the whole of the *Iliad*, and even of the *Odyssey* also, in his memory. In the times when the minds of men were not distracted by the attempt to attain a variety of knowledge, a single faculty, and one capable of great improvement by exercise, might easily be supposed to attain a great degree of perfection. In those periods, the memory was, in fact, the only vehicle by which the knowledge of things past could be retained; necessity, therefore, or at least that fondness for living over past

times, which is inseparable from the human heart, *Homer, &c.* prompted its cultivation to a peculiar degree of excellence. When this necessity ceased, it was natural that the skill it sharpened should lose its powers. Xenophon tells us (*Sympos.* iii. 5) that in his time, when the occasion of a great extent of recollection had, in a great degree, ceased, there were Athenians who could repeat the whole of the two great works ascribed to Homer. Surely then it was possible, that they, whose sole profession it was to recite, should attain to this eminence in times more favorable to the perfection of this particular faculty. The same observation will apply to Homer himself, and his remembrance of those things which were the productions of his own genius. It is worthy of observation, that the muses themselves were feigned to be the daughters not of Invention, but of Memory. Homer invokes their aid, not when he is about to relate prodigies, or to take the boldest flights into the regions of imagination, but when about to state the catalogue of the ships; a kind of assistance which they would not be supposed to render in modern times. It seems, therefore, probable, that as the wandering bards were the only historians, memory was peculiarly regarded as one of their requisites, and its faithfulness was that quality which they were most anxious to attain. Indeed, this, as we have seen, is expressly brought forward by Wolf, to obviate the supposition that the poems were originally written.

3. It is probable that most of the opinions advanced by the opponents of the theory usually received by the learned, respecting the dignity of the old rhapsodists, are well founded. In more than one respect they serve to strengthen the common hypothesis. They afford an additional light on the opportunities afforded to the genius of Homer; for they not only raise the character he has supposed to have chosen, but also show what excellent means he had of diffusing his works among the people. And if those to whom the works of Homer were committed were thus eminent and honourable, there is the less reason to suppose that they have materially suffered in their hands. The number of rhapsodists, among whom, many, no doubt, recited these poems, would, of itself, form an adequate check to any very material corruption. All would not agree in the alterations, even from that very cause which might cause alteration to be attempted—the poetical spirit of the reciters. They would agree, at least, as little among themselves as with their original; for him, as being past, they could no longer envy, while they may be supposed to have felt some uncharitable feelings towards each other as rivals. Different rhapsodists, doubtless, gave different versions of particular passages. These were the foundation of the various readings mentioned by the critics of Alexandria. When, therefore, Pisisstratus collected the poems, he had all the opportunity of comparing testimonies, and of selecting, by such an aid, that reading which appeared most correct from its own internal evidence, or was supported by the greatest number of witnesses. That portions of Homer should be chaunted separately, was necessary from the length of the whole, and can, therefore, be no proof that they were never connected. Virgil and Milton may be divided into portions as easily, at least, as Homer;—and the sacking of Troy, the loves of *Aeneas* and Dido, and the death of Nisus and Euryalus in the former; and the battle of the angels,

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4. Setting aside, for the sake of argument, all the technical rules of epic poetry, which have been sometimes said to have been observed in the works imputed to Homer, there is very strong internal evidence that they, or, at least, one of them, are the production of an individual genius. In the whole texture one pervading mind is clearly to be seen. Poets even of the same age, and when treating of nearly the same subject, can scarcely be supposed to have attained so complete a uniformity of style. If two leaves of the forest are never found exactly to correspond, how shall we believe that a number of minds, and these of the first and most original class, should so exactly agree? The same epithets recur—the same kind of similes prevail—the same mode of expression is used in the last as in the first book of the *Iliad*. But the most astonishing circumstance, on the new hypothesis, is the entire consistency of every one of the characters. The broader features, indeed, of these, might be handed down by traditions; whence a number of bards might derive the materials of their songs, though the accomplishments attributed to many of them seem to belong to a later age than that in which the poet has placed them. But their nicer shades and gradations could never have been thus transmitted; and the variety of these traits is endless. Ulysses and Nestor, for example, are both eloquent, and famed rather for council than for action, and thus much might have been commonly reported; but how does it happen that not a speech could be taken from the one and given to the other without depriving it of its dramatic propriety? How is it that the eloquence of the first is always swift, flowing, artful, and persuasive; and that of the last monitory narrative, and more adapted to display the speaker than convince his audience? Achilles, Ajax, Diomed, and Idomeneus are all valiant, but they are as really distinct from each other as Paris is from them. Is it credible that these consistencies could have been retained by a number of contemporary authors, each merely reciting his own portion? It is not, therefore, without some reason, that Wolf expresses an apprehension that his opinion may seem as false, though not so dangerous, as that of those philosophers who have thought that the universe was formed from a fortuitous assemblage of atoms. Indeed, he himself candidly declares, that when he reads the work itself he finds such unity of design, such harmony of colouring, and such consistency of character, that he is ready to give up his theories, and to be angry with himself for doubting the common faith in the personality of Homer.

5. That there are interpolations in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* may be readily admitted, without affecting the authenticity of the whole. Some of these parts to which Heyne has objected, will be noticed hereafter. And it is to be observed, that some corruptions have been noticed as such by the most ancient critics—a circumstance which proves, that though their attention was directed to the question, they never doubted, as they have never expressed any doubt, of the genuineness of the great mass of his poems. The evidence in favour of the common hypothesis, from the testimony of every age, is exceedingly strong. Pindar, who lived

485 years before Christ, repeatedly mentions Homer as he would any other person, and not as a collection of verses. In his ode to Damophilus, he alludes to the 15th book of the *Iliad*, v. 270; thus:

Τὴν γ' Ὀδυσσεύς ἴδ' ἑσθλὸν ἄνθρωπον
Πρὸς ἑσέ' ἀγέτω λατὸν ἴσθ'·
Τίνας παρὶς ἡγήσεται μὲν ἄλλος.

Pyth. iv. v. 493.

"Consider attentively this saying of Homer; he says, that a wise messenger adds the greatest honour to every transaction." He speaks of the *Iliad* as having rendered Ajax immortal (Isthm. iv. 64); and he alludes to the perils of Ulysses as having been celebrated, adored, and rendered greater, by the delightful poetry of Homer, *Mem. vii. 29*. In the fragments collected by Brunck, Mimnermus and Simocritus both allude to Homer. The latter speaks of him as the man of Chios, and quotes the beautiful comparison made by Glaucus, of human life to the fall of leaves and their springing forth again into verdure. Herodotus repeatedly refers to our bard. He quotes the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, and distinguishes between them. He even, which is stronger than all, denies the Cyprians to be his genuine productions, as they contradict the *Iliad*. Thucydides also frequently alludes to him, and always without any intimation that he is speaking of a number of songs by various authors. Aristotle flourished but a short interval from the time when the family of Pisistratus were in power, and yet nothing can be more clear than that he had no idea that they had, for the first time, collected together and arranged these poems which they edited; for he criticises at large that very arrangement; he gives it the highest praise; he makes it the basis of a system of epic poetry; and yet he never attributes this to any other than to the original author. He bestows no praise on Pisistratus, who, in this respect, deserved it all. And surely the ruler of Athens must have been little anxious about his reputation, to have taken no measures for claiming to himself this honour. The Athenians, too, must have become very singularly insensible to the glory of their own state and to the interests of literature, of which they were the guardians for the rest of the world, not to have perpetuated the memory of a work so noble even till the age of Alexander. All mankind have remained strangely ignorant of the service rendered them by the Athenian governor, since neither Horace nor any subsequent critic has attributed it to him; and all the innumerable admirers of Homer in every age have enjoyed "the tale of Troy divine," without at all suspecting to whom they were indebted for so large a share of their interest and pleasure in reading it. The French writers, who have extended the observations of Aristotle on epic poetry to a system, have adopted the same language; and, whatever doubts may have been hinted by Josephus or Elian, the common feeling and opinion of men has given a distinct personality to the poet, and very little credit to his editor. Every kind of possible honour has been done him as to a person, and us the author at least of the *Iliad*. Elian himself tells us, that the Argives used to invoke Homer and Apollo together. Temples were erected to him in the cities which claimed him as a native; statues were formed of him, though probably without resemblance to his person, as we are informed by Pausanias. "Quinimo quoniam sicut, finguntur, pariatque decedunt non traditi

Homer, *loc. cit.*
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vultus, sicut in Homero evenit." [l. xxv. c. 2.] And medals were struck of him at Chios and Smyrna, some of which are even now in existence.

Beside the arguments which have been adduced against the hypothesis of Wolf and Heyne, they have another powerful adversary to encounter in the common prejudice and fond admiration of mankind for one of their chief idols. It is in vain that they contend that the controversy shakes no faith that is of any consequence; or remind us that the intrinsic excellence of the poems would remain unaffected by a decision in favour of the cause they advocate. Men naturally look up for objects to admire. They delight to concentrate, rather than to divide, their emotions of respect and love. The name of Homer has long been to them as a charm, which they will not willingly suffer to be broken. They have rejoiced in believing that a being so gifted actually belonged to their nature, and had flesh and blood, passions and affections, like themselves. To divide, in this case, is to destroy. The high object of undivided reverence would have passed away. That fame which had so long resisted time, change, and mortal accident, would crumble into ruins. An immense blank would be left in the imagination, an aching void in the heart. The greatest light, save one, shining from the depth of time, would be extinguished, and "a glory passed away from the earth." It is little, therefore, to be expected, that the new hypothesis will soon become general among the mass of the admirers of Homer. We proceed now to collect those traces which remain, or are supposed to remain, of his life; and to consider those works which are, by the consent of the majority of the learned, attributed to his genius.

Facts relating to the personal history of Homer.

Very different opinions have been advanced respecting the *antiquity* of the life and writings of Homer. The Arundelina marble places him about 907 years before Christ, under the perpetual archonship of Diognetus, at Athens. Herodotus, who is generally supposed to have flourished about the eighty-fourth Olympiad, or 444 years before Christ, represents him as not more than 400 years before his time, and thus fixes him near to the year before Christ 844. This opinion differs from that expressed by the author of the life of Homer, ascribed, though it is usually thought without foundation, to Herodotus; for he conceives that the poet wrote more than 600 years before the invasion of the Persians, under Xerxes. The capture of Troy is usually regarded by those who believe in the veracity of Homer, as having taken place A. M. 2830, before the first Olympiad 408, A. C. 1184, though the Arundelina marble refers it to an earlier period by thirty years. Tatianus Assyrius, and Clement of Alexandria, tell us, that according to the opinion of the Cretans, Homer lived within eighty years after that event. Erastosthenes regarded him as flourishing a hundred; Aristarchus a hundred and forty; Cassius Heinsius, a hundred and sixty; and some, among whom are Ephorion and Theopompus, even more than five hundred years after it. [Clemens Alex. Strom. l. i. p. 388-9.] It seems most probable, that the events he celebrated took place at a considerable distance from his own time, because, as observed by Velleius Paterculus [l. i.], he represents men as only half as strong in his own age, as in that which his heroes adorned; and consequently some distance must be allowed for the gradual degeneracy of the

species. Some modern writers, however, are disposed to represent him as of a much later period than that to which he is usually given. Mr. Bryant, without expressing any particular opinion, regards him as comparatively modern. Dodwell attempts to bring his age below the Olympiads, and to make him contemporary with Lycurgus. But against this hypothesis, there is strong presumptive evidence to be found in the poems of Homer. Strabo [l. xv.] observes, that the poet was not acquainted either with the empire of the Syrians or the Medes; as otherwise, when he mentions Egyptian Thebes and its riches, and the wealth of I'bernia, he would scarcely have left unnoticed the opulence of Nineveh, Ecabata, and Babylon. According to Pausanias [in Attica, sect. xii.], the use of ivory was of remote antiquity; but the elephant was seen only by the Indian tribes, before the expedition of the Macedonians into Asia; and of this mighty animal we find no description in Homer. Whenever the Nile is mentioned in the Odyssey, it is called, not by that name, but by the denomination of the Egyptian, the river of Egypt, which is the description by which it is characterized by Moses and Joshua; from whence it may be inferred that it had not acquired the name of Nile at the time in which those works were composed. Plioy [Nat. Hist. xii. l.] remarks, that oargents, or mixed perfumes, were unknown at the time of the Trojan war, and accordingly we never find the term *myrror*, by which they are denominated, used by Homer; from whence we may gather that they were unknown, or little used, in his own age. It is also to be observed, that Homer and Hesiod are the only Greek poets whose works have reached us, who use the digamma, which was peculiar to the Æolic dialect, and seems to fix their era about the time when the Æolians emigrated to Italy, and imparted to the language of the regions in which they settled this singularity of their native tongue. These circumstances seem greatly to corroborate the opinion of those who adopt the chronology of the Arundelina marbles, in relation to Homer. With this computation, a fragment of Apollodorus, preserved by Clement of Alexandria, and Cornelius Nepos, in a fragment preserved by Aulus Gellius, nearly coincide. Cicero also speaks of Homer as flourishing before the foundation of Rome. It is highly improbable that he should have lived after the first Olympiad, from whence there is a series of writers, and a regular computation of time, and yet that so little should be known respecting him. On the whole, it seems most probable, that he was born almost 1000 years before Christ, and that his life was comprised in the ensuing century.

The place of Homer's birth, was the subject of great Place of controversy even among the Greeks. "Homerum," observes Cicero, "Colophonem civem esse dicunt suum, Chium suum vindicant, Salaminii repetunt, Smyrni verò suum esse confirmant; itaque etiam delubrum ejus in oppido dedicaverunt; perennis illi præterea pugnant inter se, atque contendunt." [Orat. pro Archia. Poët.] Several states are enumerated, as contending for this honour, in the verse, "Smyrna, Rhodus, Colophon, Salamis, Chius, Argos, Athens." To these names, Egypt, Phryia, and Ithaca, with several others, have been added. Most of these, have but very slender evidence to support their claim. An oracle informed Adrian that the poet was born in Ithaca. A school was shown as that in which he once taught at

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Biography. Colophon, and a tomb as the place of his interment at Ig;—neither of them, even if genuine, a very clear indication of the place of his birth. The Athenians, according to the learned author of the Dissertation prefixed to Pope's translation of the *Iliad*, claimed him as born in one of their colonies; or rather "on behalf of Greece in general, as the metropolis of its learning, they made his name free of their city after the manner of that law by which all Italy became free of Rome." The proofs which might be adduced in favour of Egypt show, almost beyond a question, that the poet had visited that region; and countenance the hypothesis that he was of Egyptian extraction; but they throw very little light on the place of his nativity. Smyrna, Chios, and Ithaca, have been most generally the objects of controversy, and are the only states whose claims seem now to deserve attention.

If the writer of the life of Homer, who bears the name of Herodotus, be entitled to any credit, Smyrna was, beyond doubt, the scene of his earliest days. But this work is rarely regarded as genuine. It is evidently not written by the historian whose name it bears, because its assertions are directly contrary to his opinion respecting the antiquity of the poet. It is also altogether unworthy of him in point of style. It is so particular and minute in some respects as to wear all the appearance of fiction. It asserts that Homer travelled to Etruria and Spain; which seems incredible, as we find no trace of any accurate knowledge in his works of regions to the westward of Greece. On the whole, therefore, it has obtained but little credit. If the poet had been born at Smyrna, it is strange he should never have mentioned that place in his works, or alluded to the river Meles which ran beside it, especially as he mentions some neighbouring cities, and the rivers Cayster and Mæander, which flowed near them. It is scarcely to be believed that an observer so accurate, and so deeply imbued with strong feelings and deep sensibilities, should have communicated to us no impression of the scenes in which he spent his childhood, and of which his recollections may be presumed to have been peculiarly vivid. Indeed, there is considerable evidence, of a negative kind, that he was not a native of the shores of Asia. While he gives a most minute and lively description of the cities of Greece, he does little more than allude to any places in Asia, except those in the immediate vicinity of the Troad. And yet, at the earliest war to which he can be ascribed, Ephesus, Sardis, Mæna, Themiscira, Cams, and Pergamus, must have been in a flourishing condition. It seems, therefore, reasonable to conclude, that he had no personal knowledge respecting them, or the rivers by which the neighbouring countries were watered. The natives of Smyrna, however, preferred their claim with no small confidence in its truth. They cast medals of the bard, erected a temple to his honour, and burned Zolus in effigy for throwing reproach on their state, by reviling the works of its most illustrious citizen.

The claims of Chios have been advocated with great learning and zeal, by Leo Allatius, a native of that island. He brings forward the authorities of Simonides and Theocritus, in favour of his hypothesis. He affirms that his country had yet among them a race called the Homerides, whom they regarded as the poet's descendants; and that they had a temple erected to his honour.

He relies also on a passage in the hymn to Apollo, in which the poet calls himself "the blind man that inhabits Chios." This last authority, however, seems only, at most, to prove that he resided in that island; and the expressions of Simonides and Theocritus, when they denominated him a Chian, may be explained by the same circumstance.

Mr. Bryant has endeavoured to show that the birth-place of the poet, and the scene in which he composed his immortal works was Ithaca. He supports this opinion partly by its freedom from the objections advanced against other theories, and partly from the peculiar statistics of the poet. He contends with great enthusiasm, that Homer returned hither from his wanderings by sea and land to a genial repose; and that here, amidst his native scenery, be produced from the materials collected on his travels, the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*. In the latter, Mr. Bryant supposes him to have told his own adventures, and to have expressed the personal feelings which he most fondly cherished; and to have even celebrated the constancy of his own wife, in the character of Penelope. Undoubtedly there are passages in which the emotion seems to have flowed immediately from the heart—a lingering and fond retrospect of departed joy—a mild and softened melancholy—and a constant and tender recollection of home, with all its sweet associations, rendered yet more sacred by time. Some particular scenes too are described with a vividness so striking, that they seem to have been remembered rather than invented. But all this falls very short of proving the identity of Ulysses and Homer, since it is easy to conceive that scenes of which the poet was actually a witness, were transferred to his works as seen by other spectators, and that he used a fictitious character to express sentiments, which, in their original intensity, glowed within his own bosom.

As the birth-place of Homer is thus uncertain, his family is equally dubious. Accounts respecting them differ; and none are entitled to much reliance. According to the writer of the life of Homer, attributed to Herodotus, his mother's name was Crytheis, who proving lawfully with child, was sent away from Cumæ by her uncle, with Ismenias, and found refuge in the city of Smyrna, which was then in progress; near to which place she was delivered of the poet, on the banks of the Meles, as she was celebrating a festival. In his life, attributed to Plutarch, the third part of Aristotle's Poetics, which has not come down to us, is quoted as giving a more wonderful account of his birth, to the following effect:—At the time when Neleus, the son of Codrus, led the colony which was sent into Ionia, a young woman had intercourse with a genius who delighted to associate with the muses, and to share in their joys. Filled with shame for this lawless amour, and finding herself pregnant, she removed from thence to a place called Egina. There she was taken by robbers, carried to Smyrna, then under the dominion of the Lydians, given to Menon, the king, and married by him on account of her beauty. But as she was walking on the banks of the river Meles, she was delivered of Homer, and expired. The infant was taken by the king, and educated by him till he died, and left him to endure the hardships of poverty. There are other accounts more marvellous even than this;—which can prove nothing

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but the enthusiasm and reverence in which the works of Homer have ever been held, and the meagreness of all authentic information concerning him.

The name of *Homer* is supposed by many not to have been his original appellation, but given to him in consequence of some quality of his mind or incident of his life. Etymology has, therefore, been employed to develop its meaning, in the hope that some light might thus be thrown upon his history. In the life ascribed to Herodotus, it is derived from *Ὅ μὲν ὁπῶν*, and is supposed to denote blindness. By some it has been conjectured to come from *Ὅ μῦθος*, and to signify a *thigh*; and thence an hypothesis has been supported that he had some mark on that part, denoting him to be an illegitimate child: by others it is thought to be compounded of *Ὀπῆ* *ἰσῆν*, and to imply *speaking in counsel*; and thence *Suidas* represents him as inciting the people of Smyrna, by a divine inspiration, to make war on those of Colophon. According to others, *Ὀπῶς* signifies a *hostage*; and thence they agree with *Proclus* in supposing that he was delivered up in that character in a war between Smyrna and Chios. And, to crown these conjectures, it has been thought that the term signifies *following*; and was given to him, because, as stated in the life by *Plutarch*, he said he would follow the Lydians from Smyrna. The author of the *Certamen Homericum*, denominates him *Auletes*; and *Lucian*, *Tigræna*. But the name most usually ascribed to him, by those who regard *Homer* as only an epithet, is *Meleigenes*, which is commonly derived from the river Meles, on the banks of which he is said to have been born. Mr. Bryant, however, with considerable ingenuity, makes this denomination subservient to his theory, that the family of Homer was from Egypt; and that, from that country, he derived the principal materials of his poetry. He derives it from *Μῆλας*, *black*; which answers to the term *Nile*, and supposes it applied to Homer in consequence of his genealogy being traced to the neighbourhood of that celebrated river. But it is to be observed, that the Nile did not obtain that name till after the time of Homer—at least there is no trace of it in any of his poems which have reached us.

Personal history.

Of the life of Homer almost as little is certainly known as of his origin. The author of the biographical piece, under the name of Herodotus, gives in substance the following account of it. After stating his birth, he informs us that *Crytheis*, his mother, supported herself by her labour till *Phemius*, a school-master at Smyrna, fell in love with and married her. On the death of his father-in-law, Homer succeeded him in his school, and was much celebrated for his wisdom. Attracted by his fame, *Mentes*, who commanded a Leucadian ship, visited him, and induced him to leave his occupation and travel. In the company of this friend, he went to Italy and Spain; but, at last, was left at Ithaca in consequence of a delusion in his eyes. While in this island, he was entertained by a man of fortune named *Mentor*, who told him those circumstances upon which he afterwards framed the *Odyssey*. On the return of *Mentes* he accompanied him to Colophon, where he became totally blind. On this misfortune, he returned to his native place, Smyrna; but his hopes of support were disappointed by the apathy with which the productions of his genius were regarded by his countrymen. He, therefore, removed to Cumæ, where he received great

applause but no reward, the people alleging that they could never think of maintaining all the *Ὀπῶν*, blind men, and from this repulse he obtained the name of *Homer*. Thus again baffled, he travelled to Phœcia, where a schoolmaster, named *Thestorides*, offered to support him, on condition of being allowed to transcribe his poems; which being granted, this new friend took them away to Chios, and gained universal applause by producing them. Hearing of this treachery, Homer resolved to lay claim to his own compositions, and, for that purpose, set out for Chios. Before, however, he met with *Thestorides*, he was found by *Glaucus*, a shepherd, and introduced by him to his master at *Bellissus*, who employed him in the education of his children. As his fame increased while he remained in this situation, his piratical foe took flight, and left him in possession of the field. On this he left his employment and went to Chios, where he acquired considerable wealth by his poems, married, and had two daughters, one of whom died young, and the other was married to the person in whose family he had recently been a teacher. He determined, however, to proceed to Athens; but the vessel was detained during the winter at Samos, where he sang or recited his poems, often followed by a train of children. He attempted in the spring to prosecute his voyage, but was seized with sickness at Iô, died, and was buried on the seashore.

This account, as we have already observed, is but little to be relied on. And yet it is the only circumstantial relation which has reached us of the adventures and condition of him, whose name every civilized country has united in revering. According to *Diodorus Siculus*, he was educated under *Prompides*, a man of great genius, who taught the Pelagic letter, invented by *Linus*, [l. iii.]. In two respects, all the accounts concerning him agree—that he had been a great traveller, and that he was afflicted with blindness. From the first circumstance, it has been inferred, that he was either rich or enjoyed the patronage of the wealthy; but this will not appear necessary, when it is considered that, in his time, journeys were usually performed on foot, and that he probably travelled, with a view to his support, as an itinerant musician, or reciter. From most of the traditions respecting him, it appears that he was poor, and, it is to be feared, that necessity, rather than the mere desire of gratifying curiosity, prompted his wanderings. All that has been advanced respecting the occasion of his blindness is mere conjecture. Certain it is, that this misfortune arose from accident or disease, and not from the operation of nature at his birth; for the character of his compositions seems rather to suppose him all eye, than destitute of sight; and if they were even framed during his blindness, they form a glorious proof of the vivid power of the imagination more than supplying the want of the bodily organs, and not merely throwing a variety of its own tints over the objects of nature, but presenting them to the mind in a clearer light than could be shed over them by one whose powers of immediate vision were perfectly free from blemishes.

It is singular that so little information should be gathered respecting this poet, from the most accurate examination of his works. Throughout the whole of them we scarcely catch a glimpse of his personal character or adventures; unless Mr. Bryant's almost

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Various accounts of his death.

From his blindness.

Biography.

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unsupported hypothesis be adopted. We learn, indeed, beyond all controversy, that he was capable of conceiving the noblest sentiments; that he was penetrated with a deep reverence for sacred things; and that friendship, hospitality, and universal kindness, were themes on which he loved to dwell. Even in the midst of the feuds and battles which he celebrates, he seems to delight in finding some breathing places in which the brave of both hosts recognize each other as kindred, and unite in a brief interchange of the courtesies and socialities of life. He seems to join in all the rustic feasts of his heroes, and to enter into every generous feeling which they pour forth in the most genial seasons. He must have felt the softest touches of kindred and love, and brooded over the fond recollections of early home. But even these general indications are only incidentally and necessarily given us. Poets are usually tempted, by the very emotions which spring from their genius, to take an opposite course. They feel so intensely all that is peculiar to themselves; they are so conscious of their own divine faculty; and so sensible to the slights which they receive from those whom they despise, that they are eager to vent feelings almost too big for utterance in their poetry. Thus we learn much not only of the external events in their lives, but of the movements of feeling within them. Whatever his outward circumstances were, Homer must have lived happily, or he would have been an egotist. Had he been wretched, he would have informed us of the fact in his works. He was, no doubt, contented with his lot,—happy in the sunshine of his own mind. He has not even, like Milton, told us of his blindness. He was occupied with his own glorious fancies, and dwelt in a fairer creation than this material world. In the absence of all egotism, he more closely resembles Shakespeare than any of those hardy who are usually classed with him as epic. Like our great dramatist, he throws himself into a thousand characters, instead of philosophising or describing in his own; lives and breathes in the works of his own creation; and seems to exist in an immense variety of persons, rather than in one. He stops not to reflect on the events he celebrates. Noble sentiments and heart-stirring speeches are thickly strewn, but they come from the mouths of his heroes, and not from his own, with dramatic propriety and force. He was too much delighted with the visions and joys which poetry opened before him, for ever new and fresh, to think of the shell in which his genius had taken up its dwelling.

His travels.

It clearly, however, appears from the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, that Homer, in his travels, had visited, and accurately observed, all the principal places in Greece. He uses all its various dialects with perfect ease. In his catalogue of the ships, he has given not merely a beautiful description, but an accurate geography of Greece. He defines the boundaries of a state in a line, and gives us a picture of its beauties in an epithet. He seems not only to have visited, but to have resided, for some time in Egypt; for he has transplanted these customs, rites, mysteries—according to Herodotus, a religion itself. If the hymn to Apollo be genuine, he settled at Chios in his old age. Strabo informs us (l. x.) that Lycurgus had an interview with him, to discuss the constitutions of Sparta, while he was collecting knowledge to frame them; though this seems contradicted by the usual hypothesis, that Lycurgus

brought his works from Asia, where he found them in fragments, after the decease of their author.

Of the death of Homer nothing is certainly known. The account given of it above from the supposititious work of Herodotus seems without foundation. In the life attributed to Plutarch, there is a tradition respecting this event, which only deserves quotation on account of its peculiar absurdity. It is gravely stated, that he had been warned, by an oracle, to beware of the young man's riddle, and that this prophetic warning proved true; for, as he sat in the island of Ios, describing some fishermen, they proposed a riddle in verse for his solution, which he was unable to explain, and was so much afflicted by his failure that he died of grief. It is probable that he lived long, from the length of his works which have reached us, and the immense variety of knowledge which they display. And, though we are ignorant of the manner of his death, we run little hazard in concluding that it took place when he had arrived at a good old age.

From these unsatisfactory speculations respecting the personal history of this great poet, it is with pleasure that we turn to his works, to which time has been less relentless. The *Iliad* and *Odyssey* are the only poems which have been most commonly attributed to him by those who believe in his existence. But a number of others have at different times been stated as his, which it is right to mention.

The *Battle of the Frogs and the Mice* has been generally regarded as Homer's. It has been attributed, however, to Pigras, a brother to Artemisia, who fought at Salamis, in the fleet of Xerxes. (Fabricii Biblioth. Græc. ed. Harles. lib. ii. c. 101.) Mr. Payne Knight, in his *Prolegomena ad Homerum* (Classical Journal, No. xiv, p. 324.), conjectures that it is the production of some Athenian writer; and suggests several points of internal evidence, which show that it is of a much later date than the *Iliad*. The crowing of the cock, for example, is mentioned (v. 191), as a known and familiar sound, though no trace of this bird is to be found in the other works of Homer, or the poets near to his time. This little piece is, however, at all events, one of the oldest specimens of the humorous, and the earliest instance of mock heroic which has reached us. Other works of a similar kind, which are now lost, as the *Arachnomachia*, *Geranomachia*, and the *Heptastection Goat*, have been ascribed to our poet with little reason; and as we are informed that the latter was written in iambic verse, there can be little doubt that it was the production of a later age. Another satirical poem, called *Margites*, consisting of a loose story, and written in ridicule of the female sex, is ascribed to Homer by Plato and Aristotle, and its argument is preserved in Eustathius's Comments on the *Odyssey*. The iambic verses it is said to have contained, are supposed by Mr. Knight to have been interpolations made by Pigras, who is said to have gone through the *Iliad*, introducing a pentameter after every hexameter verse, of which strange labour Suidas has preserved a specimen. Another satirical work, called the *Cerropæes*, probably founded on the old fable of a people of that name, having been changed for their impostures into monkeys, is also ascribed to Homer, but nothing further is known respecting it. The *Epigrams* are extracted from the biography which bears the name of Herodotus, and must stand or fall with it. The *Cypriæ*, or the

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—
B. C.
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Works of
Homer.
attributed
to Homer.

Biography. Loves of the Females at the Siege of Troy, though certainly ancient, is not regarded as genuine. Of the *Anazonia*, the *Troilus*, the *Epigoni*, the *Phœcia*, the smaller *Iliad*, the *Deception of Æcuba*, and others, nothing is known; and it is scarcely possible that one man, however gifted, could have produced them in addition to those which have escaped the ravages of time. Probably many of them were the works of the Homeridae who contended for the honour of being the descendants of the poet, and were thus, in rude periods, confounded with compositions that they were intended to resemble. It is easy also to conceive them to have been literary frauds, which the uncertainty respecting Homer would make practicable, and which the enthusiasm of the wealthy Greeks would render lucrative.

His hymns.

The hymns ascribed to our bard, in number thirty-three, are of more importance, because they are yet in our hands. They are attributed to him by Thucydides, Pausanias, and Lucian, as to their undoubted author. The hymn to Venus is unquestionably ancient; and from the use of the digamma, is probably nearly coeval with Homer. The hymn to Ceres is alluded to by Pausanias, but was not discovered till a very recent time, when Matthæi found it almost entire, among a number of Greek manuscripts, preserved in the library of the synod at Moscow. As, however, this relic varies, in several instances, from the quotations made by Pausanias, it has been supposed to be a different work; though Hermann conjectures the two copies to be only different editions of the same poem. There is much internal evidence against the opinion that these little pieces are the genuine compositions of Homer. In the hymn to Apollo, the word *Niobe* occurs, which, according to the work of Pœsi Homerick, was not used at the time when he flourished. In the hymn to Mars, the word *Typhæus*, and in the first to Minerva, *Tryx*, are introduced, both of which are judged by the same authority to be words of a later invention. All of them, excepting the hymn to Venus, have great inequalities, and are evidently much corrupted. There are also considerable variations in all the manuscripts. Hermann has employed great labour and ingenuity in purifying the text, and in attempting to account for its mutilated condition. He contends that many connecting passages have been lost, whence great obscurity has arisen. He also supposes that the rhapsodists, who were accustomed to recite the works of Homer, sometimes amplified and altered the original, and even supplanted it by introducing their own paraphrase in its room;—that this is still the case with many parts of the *Iliad*; but that, in the hymns, the interpolations did not occupy the room of the original, but were blended with it. These he endeavours to discover and exclude in the larger hymns; and whatever opinion may be entertained of his success, he must be allowed to have executed his arduous plan with great ingenuity and toil. The scholars ascribe these works to a rhapsodist named Cymethus. And the opinion now most commonly entertained is, that though compositions of high antiquity, they are not the productions of Homer. To the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, therefore, we may henceforth confine our attention.

Of these, various parts have been suspected to be from other hands than those of the original author, even by those who believe in his personal existence. It is, indeed, by no means certain that the *Odyssey* VOL. IX.

and *Iliad* are not the works of two distinct poets. This is so far from being only a modern controversy, that Seneca informs us it was one of the useless questions upon which the Greeks wasted their time. Those who were of opinion that the poems are the works of different men are frequently mentioned in the Venetian Scholia, under the appellation of *ἡμετέριοι*. There seems to be some internal evidence for supposing the *Odyssey* to have been the work of a later age than the *Iliad*. The arts appear to have made more progress between the composition of the two works than can be probably supposed during the life of an individual. The lyre is for the first time mentioned in the *Odyssey* as made of the intestines of animals. Columns are mentioned, in this poem only, as adorning or supporting buildings, while in all the magnificent descriptions of Troy and the palaces of Priam, in the *Iliad*, no allusion is made to them. Those which are represented as standing in the palace of Ulysses at Ithaca, are almost exactly like the pillars of the Doric order, when architecture had arrived at its perfection. There is no mention of nets for fishing, or of several other instruments for providing food, and for domestic uses, in the *Iliad*, while they are familiarly spoken of in the *Odyssey*. The mythologies of the poems too, seem scarcely to coincide. In the former of them we do not find Mercury represented as the messenger of the gods; Neptune as armed with a trident; or the island of Delphi as sacred to Apollo—all of which are presented to us in the latter. The language also, in some respects, varies; bearing marks in the *Odyssey* of more cultivation and refinement, especially in the adoption of shorter forms of expression. There is more of Ionic openness in the *Iliad*, and more of Attic contraction and elegance in the *Odyssey*. In the latter the word written *εμπαρα*, *riches*, is always spelled *χρηματα*. Here, the term *λεσχ*, a public game, and the verb *δωρεω*, to serve for hire, from *δωρ*, indicating a race of men different from slaves, hired servants, occur, which we do not find in the *Iliad*. It has been generally supposed that the *Iliad* was the production of Homer's manhood, and the *Odyssey* of his declining years. But it is singular that, as he advanced in life, his fictions should have become more extravagant, and his excursions from probability more frequent and glaring. For it is manifest that wonders, prodigies, and strange adventures, are accumulated in the adventures of Ulysses with much greater boldness than in the tale of Troy. We can, for the most part, trace the places described in the latter, at the present day; but it is contended by Mr. Knight, that it would be as rational to look for Lilliput, Brobdingnag, and Laputa, on the earth, as to assign many of the scenes in which the action of the former is laid. Ithaca itself is almost a rock, and utterly incapable of having supported the court of Ulysses, or of having afforded room for the transactions said to have occurred within its shores. Certain, however, it is, that the *Odyssey*, with all its defects, is very far from being unworthy of the author of the *Iliad*. And the great difficulty in attributing it to another, arises from the improbability of there having been two such poets, of whom so little should have certainly been known, even in very early times.

The most zealous advocates for attributing either of the poems to an individual, will not hesitate to admit that they must have been left by him in a

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Is the
Odyssey
Homer's?

Hography.

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A. M.
2724.
—
N. C.
1280,
to
A. M.
3097.
—
N. C.
907.

What parts
of Homer's
works dis-
puted.

very different state from that in which we now read them. Four verses have been introduced into some later editions of the *Iliad*, on the authority of Plutarch, which are not found in any of the manuscripts, leaving, it is said, been expunged by Aristarchus, as mentioning the intention of periculis without sufficient horror. *Æchivus* speaks of Homer as repeatedly using the words *φαρμακὸν ἐπὶ σπέρματι*, which are not to be traced in any of the poems now in being. And a variety of various readings have been collected by the early editors and commentators of the poet, which probably arose from the errors or interpolations of the wandering reciters. See the *Classical Disquisitions*, by the late Mr. DEWINTER, in the *Athenæum* for 1807.

Many large passages and whole books have been suspected, especially by Heyne, to be spurious.

The third book of the *Iliad*, from v. 121 to v. 244, has been thought to deserve this epithet: because Helen, who, in this passage, points out the leaders of the Greeks from the wall of Troy to Priam, expresses herself doubtful as to the fate of her brothers, which she must have known; and because it is improbable that the king should not, in a ten years' war, have learned the characters and persons of his principal foes. But it must be remembered that the Greeks are usually represented as having till this period contented themselves with plundering the country; and as having made no attack on the capital, and that Priam, from his age, had never personally opposed them. At all events, it is not only useful to the conduct of the poem, as affording an opportunity of describing some of the characters, but it is itself exceedingly beautiful and refreshing to the reader, amidst so many scenes of carnage. A poet, in the time of Homer, would not resign an opportunity of delighting his audience, on the ground of such objections as these, which were not very likely to interrupt their pleasures.

The fifth book of the *Iliad*, containing a narrative of the exploits of Diomed, has been supposed to be a separate poem, written in honour of that hero, and introduced into its present situation at a subsequent period. But it will be found, on an attentive examination of the context, that this part is so closely interwoven with circumstances, both before and after it, that it forms a necessary link in the chain of events. It prepares the way, and gives the occasion for the beautiful interview of Hector and Andromache, for the return of Paris to the battle, for the deliverance of Nestor from imminent peril by the aid of those horses which Diomed had taken from *Æneas*, and for the introduction of the same horses in the funeral games for Patroclus. The speech of Diomed, when Agamemnon advises a return to Greece, manifestly refers to the exploits which are related in this book; and to that speech may be traced the embassy of Ulysses, Ajax, and Phoenix to Achilles, their success in overcoming his determination to retire, and all the subsequent events of the poem. Those who will follow Homer through the whole character of Diomed, as developed in the various parts of the *Iliad*, will perceive the admirable consistency throughout, from the time when he so gracefully receives the rebuke of Agamemnon in the fourth book, to the last time when his name occurs.

The single combat of Hector and Ajax—the nocturnal adventure of Ulysses and Diomed—the embassy of Ildas from the Trojans—and some minor passages,

have been impugned as spurious. But they will probably be found closely connected with the other parts of the work, and even, in many instances, necessary to enable the reader rightly to understand it. To the description of the shield of Achilles, in the eighteenth book, Heyne has advanced many ingenious objections; he contends that it is altogether unconnected with the story which it interrupts, and that although beautiful in itself, of a very different kind of excellence from the scenes which immediately surround it. The shield seems not to be formed of workmanship at all calculated for the purpose, or of a proper character with the design. It would not glitter in the sun, or strike awe in the midst of battle; its curious ornaments would rather require time and leisure to examine them. Instead of presenting to the view some single terrific object, as the head of Medusa, it contains a variety of minute parts, and those, many of them, having no reference to deeds of arms; such as the heavenly bodies, the sea, cities, fields, forensic contests, agricultural labours, dances, and pictures of quiet and repose. From the great number of objects comprised within the compass, each part must have been so exceedingly minute as to require almost a microscopic eye to discern it. The whole could never have been fashioned by the summary process by which Vulcan is said to have prepared it complete for *Thetis*. And, in the early times of Homer, the arts necessary to the formation of so elaborate a work were unknown; and consequently, the whole must have been the production of some other hand in some later period, and introduced to the *Iliad* by the Athenian editor.

In answer to their objections, it may be replied that there is no violation of character in the passage in question. The taste of *Thetis*, rather than of Achilles, would be consulted by the divine workman. Had the poet given to Ulysses the bold and fearless spirit of Achilles, or to Achilles the cunning of the Ithacan prince, the case would have been far different. It is evidently absurd to contend that proper tools and a sufficient time are not allowed in framing the shield, when a deity is represented as its author. There may be an incongruity in setting Vulcan to use the common apparatus at all, and not representing him as going through the requisite process; but this is no other than perpetually occurs in all tales of mythology, whether in Homer, or subsequent writers. It is true, that at the age when the *Iliad* is commonly supposed to have been produced, no such piece of workmanship could actually have been completed. But the poet was not bound to confine his descriptions of natural or artificial beauty to the objects actually before him. It is enough that the elements existed, which he could model at will, surpassing, in his imaginations, the coarse and unrefined realities of his age. Shields, and other pieces of armour, were unquestionably in common use, and were probably embellished with some rude but fanciful devices. It was easy then for him, when he would describe a shield, of which a god was to be represented as the framer, to depict on its surface any resemblances of external things which he might select for the occasion. Perhaps even his silence as to the tools with which these pictures could be fashioned, may show that he was speaking of things which, in his time, no earthly art could imitate; and the crowd of objects he has introduced

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Biography. may prove that he drew after no existing model. It is true, that the passages which border on this episode, are of a very different character; as martial and bustling, as this is quiet and full of repose; but so far from this circumstance proving that it is not genuine, it affords a reason for its introduction, and even for the minuteness of its detail. "Direness" might otherwise have grown too familiar to the thoughts of the poet's audience. They might "have snuffed full of horrors." He might have felt the necessity of relieving himself and them, by introducing, through this artifice, bird's-eye views of calm and peaceful life, and even of elegant entertainments and joys. This is the true reason for the description given of the shield, and the multitude of objects which adorn it. If they do not grace the piece of armour, they at least grace the poem; if they prove not the taste of Vulcan, they exhibit that of Homer; and this was probably thought by him of the most consequence. If we examine all the episodes in the *Iliads* by a similar criterion, we shall find them admirably conducive to the main design; not of shewing forth the anger or the glory of his hero, which, at most, was but the secondary intention, but of delighting his hearers by calling into exercise the greatest variety of human affections. The description of the chiefs by Helen—the single combat of Paris and Menelaus, and of Ajax and Hector—the loves of Paris and Helen—the parting of Hector and Andromache—the meeting of Glaucus and Diomed between the armies, and the renewal of their old friendship—and the journey of Priam to recover the body of his best-beloved son—are not only in themselves exceedingly picturesque, and often pathetic, but delightfully relieve the bustle and sadness of the story, while they heighten its heroic grandeur by the contrast they afford to it. The last six books have been thought by some to be from another hand, especially the twenty-fourth, because they seem to relate to a new subject, not the original anger of Achilles, but the consequences of his grief for the loss of his friend, with the death and funeral of Hector. If this were the case, the author of them possessed a genius at least equal to that of him who composed the body of the poem. The battle in which the immortals join is superior to all the rest; perhaps to any battle ever depicted in verse, in breadth and richness of colouring, in picturesque confusion, in the grandeur of the machinery. Hence it will be remembered, Longinus has derived a favourite example of the sublime. The incidents attendant on the death of Hector, and subsequent to it, are represented with as lively a pencil as any thing in the earlier part of the work. Besides, Jupiter, in one of the preceding books foretells all the events to the end of the poem; and, of course, the mind of the poet must then have conceived them.

That part of the eleventh book of the *Odyssey*, which relates the avocation of the shades of the dead by Ulysses, is supposed to be spurious, even by Aristarchus and the old grammarians. It is very difficult to discover, taking the passage as it now stands, whether the hero actually descended to the shades, or called up the appearances described, as in a vision before him. Some, indeed, have thought the whole account of the invisible state to be fable to great suspicion. Certain it is that nothing can be more cheerless than the view here given of a future world. All is wretched, cold, shadowy, and appalling. The passage in which Achilles

represents the vilest condition on earth as preferable to the highest state in the unseen world, is only in accordance with the spirit of the whole description. But, perhaps, all this, though it shews the dreary opinion entertained respecting the immortality of the soul at that period, proves little against the authenticity of the greater portion. Plato alludes to this part of the *Odyssey*, as the work of Homer, in terms of severe censure; as giving a false view of religion, and discouraging men from the love and practice of virtue; and, on the ground of such fictitious representations, he excludes the poets from his ideal republic. Virgil's description of the Hades, as visited by Æneas, is not much more consistent than that of Homer. He represents those regions as within the earth, and yet as having their own sun and stars. It is to be observed that, in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, whenever the poet alludes to natural objects, all his descriptions are clear, perspicuous, and vivid; but when he refers to preternatural things, his consistency generally forsakes him. Sometimes he represents Olympus as a mountain of earth, at others as the habitation of the gods, full of golden thrones and immortal palaces. His inconsistencies respecting the fates, the powers of the gods, and the liability of the celestials to pain and mortal accident, it would be useless to point out, or to attempt to reconcile. He seems to have regarded only the immediate effect of his machinery; and to have taken little pains to render it consistent either with philosophy, or with itself. As he must have recited his poems in parts, incongruities would not be observed by the hearers; and the admiration excited by the sublimity of detached passages, would be a sufficient temptation for deviations which the impulse of the moment might suggest.

Aristarchus and Aristophanes both suppose that the *Odyssey*, as originally written, ended at the 296th verse of the 23d book; and in this opinion most of the commentators have subsequently agreed. In the concluding passages, there are many circumstances stated which must evidently be referred to a later age. According to the prophecies of Tiresias, Ulysses went into exile after the destruction of his wife's suitors, being driven again from his palace by the vengeance of his relatives. It were almost to be wished, that we could believe the miserable revenge taken by Ulysses on the women, after the slaughter of his more powerful foes, could be regarded as the addition of a later hand; for it disgraces us by the exhibition of a cool and unmanly barbarity, to which there is no similar instance in any other part of the poet's works.

Leaving the reader to draw whatever line he thinks most accurate between the authentic parts of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, and those interpolated or corrupted, we shall now proceed to consider the works themselves as they appear at present.

The question how far these poems are grounded on real events, and from what sources those parts of them which are manifestly fictitious, were drawn, not only possesses great intrinsic interest, but is of high importance to the elucidation of early Grecian history. The admirers of Homer have generally consented to believe, without examination, that the chief events and persons of the Trojan war had an actual existence. Nor can it be surprising, even to those who regard them as entirely fabulous, that the world should have been so

Homer, &c.

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Question as
to the exist-
ence of the
heroes, and
events of the
Trojan war.

Biography. little inclined to scepticism. Never was there a tale in which the supernatural is so intimately interwoven, told with an air of reality so imposing. Impossibilities vanish, and all things become probable, before the magic of the poet's genius. He transports us to a new and ever fresh creation, in which, though much is calculated to astonish, all appears real, substantial, and unperishing. Olympus, with its deities on their golden seats, lies open to our view, "in form as palpable," as the glorious towers of Troy, the sacred Scamander, and Ida with its hundred springs. Prodiges become familiar to us. We feel that we are treading on enchanted ground, where the objects have no relation to the "ignorant present time," and are not subject to mathematical scrutiny. Their wonders too, are generally first unfolded to us in happy times when we desire no joy but that of believing; and the chief persons of the tale seem afterwards like old and dear acquaintance, who have delighted our childhood. With these feelings predominant, it is no wonder that the world should have been little solicitous to fix the boundaries of its historical and poetical faith, and have generally acquiesced in believing the most noble tale of antiquity, without scrupulously weighing the evidence on which its authenticity rests.

Homer
thought
allegorical.

Some of the Grecian philosophers, however, who were disposed to see in the mythologies of their country a spiritual meaning, seem to have regarded the narratives of Homer as allegories intended to convey moral and abstract truths. According to Diogenes Laertius, this was the opinion of Anaxagoras, the preceptor of Socrates. This opinion was never likely to be popular; and perhaps the question respecting the foundation of the Iliad and Odyssey was scarcely agitated, till it engaged the zeal, ingenuity, and learning of Mr. Bryant. In a pamphlet, and several subsequent publications, that celebrated scholar has maintained the daring positions that Helen was never carried from Sparta, and that all the chain of events built on that foundation is altogether fictitious, or rather is derived from circumstances which took place in very different scenes from those in which the action of Homer's poems is laid. His opinions, though controverted by able writers, have obtained no inconsiderable number of followers; and we shall, therefore, state the leading arguments on both sides of the question.

The whole story of the Grecian expedition, it is contended, originates in manifest fable. Helen, its original cause, is stated to have been born of an egg. The heroes are descended from gods, and hold familiar converse with immortals. The injury done by Paris to Menelaus, though atrocious, appears scarcely an adequate reason for an expedition which was ten years in preparation, and ten more in accomplishment; undertaken by chiefs to whom a romantic sense of honour was unknown, and directed against a distant and unoffending people. It appears, from the introduction to Thucydides, that at the latest period which can be fixed as the era of the Trojan war, the Grecian states had made very little advances from barbarism; that their wars were prompted for the most part by the love of plunder; and that there were no common feelings which could unite them in one perilous enterprise. An oath seems but a slender ground on which to build the concert between the leaders, especially at a time when the most sacred obligations were so little regarded. It is astonishing that all the petty chieftains of Greece

should consent to abandon the government of their own territories, forego all their animosities, and enlist themselves under a commander little superior to themselves in extent of territory, and inferior to some of them in personal qualities, in order to annihilate a city they could have known only by report, and in the conquest of which the best part of life was to be wasted. It is utterly incredible too, that Greece in her infant state should have furnished an army far more numerous than she was able to raise in the height of her prosperity and power, when her liberties were invaded by the Persians. The same objection applies, even with greater force, to the immense fleet of which so minute a catalogue is given by Homer. The number of vessels amounts to 1186, while 378 ships, with a few open vessels of fifty of cars, constituted the whole fleet engaged at Salamis. Besides, in those early times, the Greeks were entirely unaccustomed to distant expeditions, and seldom ventured to cross the Aegean sea. According to Libanius,* they thought it hazardous to proceed beyond Delos; and Herodotus† represents the Hellenians as unwilling to venture further, when requested by the Ionians, because they had little knowledge of the seas beyond it, and regarded an expedition to Samos as strange and romantic as a voyage to Gades or the Mediterranean straits.

The age of Helen, and of the principal heroes engaged on her behalf, is also urged, as evincing the falshood of the whole narration. Her brothers were men capable of bearing arms at the time of the enterprise of Jason. Scalliger and Petavius agree in making the interval between this event and the fall of Troy seventy-nine years; so that, allowing Helen to have been only twenty years of age at the former period, she will have been ninety-nine in the last year of the siege; older than Hecuba, who is represented as bent down by years. And yet, a little before this time, she is represented as sufficiently beautiful to charm away the resentment of the Trojan sages, and as a prize for whom worlds might reasonably contend. Nny, Telemachus is stated to have seen her ten years afterwards, at Sparta, when she was still "lovely as Diana." Her suitors, too, among whom we find not only Idomeneus, Ulysses, Menestheus, Philoctetes, and Agamemnon, but Antilochus, Meriones, Machaon, Patroclus, Diomed, Nireus, and Ajax Oileus, can scarcely be regarded as younger than the object of their devotion, and must, therefore, have been nearly a hundred years of age at the time when the action of the Iliad commences; and yet they are all represented as in the vigour of manhood, and some of them as possessing the rashness and the accomplishments of youth. Not only is the age of the champions against the authenticity of the history of their exploits, but the extraordinary preservation of their lives from the accidents of war, and of their ships from the inclemency of the seasons and the decays of time. The number of the chief persons in the Iliad is, at least, fifty-nine; and yet, in a nine year's siege, an exposure to the inclemencies of camps, and even to the ravages of pestilence, all of them survived, except Proteusilas, who was so called from having first stepped on shore upon their arrival, and having been immediately slain by

* Libanius, *Orat.* vi. p. 480.

† Herod. L. viii. c. 132.

Homer, &c.
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Objections
to the reality
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Hector. Though Agamemnon speaks of the loss of courage and the decay of shipping, Ulysses afterwards avenged the sea for three years in his own ship, and Menelaus used his fleet for eight years after the capture of Troy. Men and ships seem to have been preserved from time, accident, and war, without any explanation of the miracle by which this was effected.

It is also contended, that the alleged duration of the siege shews the whole to have been a fiction. Till the Peloponnesian war, there is no instance of a Grecian army carrying on a blockade in winter. Though the Romans were engaged in contentions from the foundation of their city, they never made a winter campaign till the siege of Veii. It is scarcely to be believed, that these petty princes could have kept their soldiers so long true to a cause which could so little interest them on a foreign soil. And how, it is asked, can it be accounted for, that the city was no sooner taken? The army of the Greeks, according to every intimation given by Homer, was twice as numerous as that of the Trojans. From Homer's own statement, it appears that, on a fierce attack being made, both Patroclus and Achilles could have stormed the town in a single day, had not their progress been stopped by the intervention of deities. The Grecian leaders are represented, not only as far more numerous, but more valiant than their enemies; the troops had no means of subsistence but by plunder, and yet nine years were allowed to elapse before any regular attack was made on the city! And during all this time, no intelligence arrived from Greece to inform the monarchs of the state of their kingdoms, though Diomed and his companions reached their home after four days' sail. Achilles is ignorant whether his father was dead, or sinking under the weight of years, though he says he could reach Pthia in three days; and is equally uncertain respecting the fate of his son Neoptolemus, whom he had left at Scyros, still nearer to the shores of the Troad.

Existence of Troy.

Arguments have also been deduced against the existence of Troy, in Phrygia, from the alleged impossibility of finding any vestiges of it remaining. This difficulty was felt in times much nearer the date of its supposed destruction than our own. Lucan informs us that the Romans, under Cæsar, examined the region of Troad, but no ruins could be found there—*etiam perire ruinae*. According to Strabo, Demetrius Scepsius, a native of the Troad, and Hestiasus Alexandrinus searched in vain for any indications of ancient Troy. When Alexander, in the height of his enthusiasm for his favourite poet, visited the region in which Homer has laid his scene, with the anxious desire of building a city on the site of the capital of Priam, he could find no vestiges to direct him. He found, indeed, a small town upon the sea shore called Ilium, which he rebuilt and adorned; but this could never have occupied the site of Homer's city, as that was manifestly situate at a considerable distance from the sea, beneath Mount Ida, leaving room for the Grecian camp, and all the battles which form the chief subject of the Iliad. Modern travellers, especially Chevalier Murrin, and Gell, have regarded themselves as more successful; but their theories differ perpetually from each other, and will perhaps be found not very consistent with themselves.

In opposition to these reasonings, a variety of arguments have been brought forward by the champions of

Homer's veracity. Many of the objections made to Homer, &c. from the existence of Troy, and the reality of the Grecian expedition, prove only that Homer must have greatly embellished those materials which history afforded him, and not that his narratives are altogether without foundation. Greece, though in many respects in a state of barbarism, was not unacquainted with the scene of war in the times referred to by the poet. Though the obligation of an oath might not have been in itself sufficient to unite all the suitors of Helen in undertaking to avenge the wrongs of her husband, a variety of motives, especially the love of enterprise and of plunder, may be conceived to have produced the union. Phrygia was regarded as affording a rich booty to a conqueror. Homer perpetually represents the Greeks as swayed by this inducement; and the very contest on which the Iliad depends arose from the contention of Achilles and Agamemnon respecting a captive. Some too, like Ulysses, might have been unwillingly forced to engage in the war, by the power of Menelaus and his brother, and the general desire of the Greeks. With respect to the number of the forces, it is alleged that there is nothing incredible, even taking Homer's account to have been literally true. Barbarous states have furnished armies more numerous in proportion to their extent; and it may well be considered as easier to raise large bodies of troops from states in a great degree uncivilized, than from regions where the pursuits of agriculture and commerce have given men a love of peace, and the enjoyment of a comfortable home. The ships which conveyed the heroes of Homer to Troy were used for purposes of commerce, piracy, and war, and were, on this occasion, employed merely as transports, furnished not by individuals, but by the state, and equipped at a time when the republics of Greece, excepting Attica, were almost destitute of a naval force for the public service. At all events, it may be allowed that Homer increased both the armament and the troops for poetical effect, without supposing that the Trojan war has no foundation in authentic history. It is scarcely possible to believe that the Greeks were unacquainted with maritime affairs at the era of Troy, however they might afterwards lose that information by their becoming more settled and domestic. They had themselves been imported into Greece and Asia by Egyptian and Tyrian fleets. Diodorus Siculus speaks of Minos, king of Crete, as having great forces, both military and naval, and possessing the empire of the seas. Thucydides also confirms this statement, and speaks of the Carian and Phœnician pirates, before the wars of Troy, in which he is corroborated by the testimonies of Hesiod and Homer.

The objections arising from the age of Helen and her suitors are weakened by the consideration that they are derived from chronologies admitted to be uncertain, and for which, at all events, Homer is not responsible. It is urged, that as the poet has given no account of the heroes who came from Greece, as distinct from that of those who were living in the tenth year of the war, it cannot be assumed that none of the former had perished in the interval; though, from his usual accuracy in referring to past events, some notice of eminent persons who had fallen might have been expected, when the bands of their country were the subject of enumeration or panegyric. Though the

Homer, &c.

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Arguments
answered.

shipping might have been out of repair at the time its decay was alluded to by Agamemnon, it is not to be inferred that it was suffered to become useless during the whole duration of the siege, or that it was not refitted previous to the voyage home; especially as the sides of Mount Ida abounded with proper materials, and the Grecian troops must have had abundant leisure to use them. To the arguments drawn from the length of the war, and the supposed inactivity of the invaders during its first nine years, it is replied—that supposing, in the early times of Greece, no winter campaigns were known, the iden could never have suggested itself to the imagination of the poet; that if he could have conceived any thing so contrary to experience, he would not have dared to make it the subject of his poem; that the war was not merely an attack on Troy, but a devastation of the Phrygian dominions; that it is not to be taken for granted that no hostile movement was made against the city, because none is mentioned by Homer; that, as the capital was strongly fortified, it was scarcely possible, in the infancy of the science of war, to have taken it by storm; and that the real object of the chief part of the Grecian army was best answered by sacking the neighbouring towns, and subsisting on the spoils. With respect to the absence of intelligence from Greece, it is answered, that though, from various obstructions, the chiefs might be for some time ignorant of the state of their relatives or dominions, it does not follow that they received no tidings from home during the whole of their stay; and that the conduct of the wives of some of them might furnish a sufficient cause why any very particular information should have been withheld. The assertion that no vestiges can be traced of the Troad is denied; and the laborious exertions of many classical travellers have been employed in tracing, in the neighbourhood of Ida, the chief rivers, elevations, and sepulchral monuments, mentioned by Homer—with what degree of success, an attentive perusal of Chevalier, Morritt, Wood, Gell, Dr. Clarke, and others, can alone enable the reader to decide.

The chief argument for the truth of the main incidents in the Trojan story, arises from the general belief which has prevailed from early times. Its consequences are intimately blended with the foundation of numerous colonies, where traditions have been preserved, more or less distinct, tending to attest its truth. Thucydides, who is admitted by the opponents of Homer's veracity, to have been a lover of truth, gives it his sanction. Herodotus, while he supposes that Helen was never at Troy, implies the existence of the place in question. Alexander, though unsuccessful in discovering the exact site of the ancient town, proved, by his researches, that he, at least, believed in the common hypothesis that it actually stood in Phrygia. All the writers who speak of its ruins having perished, who lament the total extinction of all the material vestiges of its ancient glories, who mourn that woods and fields should now occupy the place where its palaces were raised, must have joined in this opinion. The state of the Troad has always been alluded to, not as a proof that the narration of Homer is false, but as a striking testimony of the perishable nature of the most venerable and grand of earthly things. "*Fuit Ilium et ingens gloriæ Teucorum*," seems to have been the fond and mournful belief of the lovers of poetry in every age. For they speak of Troy as no more; and

it is only in their sensible and material forms that the towers of that immortal city could perish. To the eye of the imagination, they stand as noble and as sacred as ever. We seem almost to remember them as though we had actually seen them in our youth, and been spectators of the glorious and heart-stirring scenes which took place beneath them. Of this delightful feeling even the determination of the controversy in favour of Mr. Bryant and his followers would have no power to deprive us.

The great antagonist of the common theory by which Troy is placed in Phrygia, does not suppose that the mighty fictions of Homer are altogether without foundation. He has, with all the learning and acuteness for the union of which he is so distinguished among scholars, endeavoured to attribute the whole to an Egyptian origin. All writers seem to agree that Homer in his travels had visited Egypt, and had derived from that superstitious country many of the embellishments with which his writings are adorned. He seems to have introduced the nine muses thence, who were formerly priestesses of the same number at Hermopolis, where they chanted hymns in honour of the deities who were the objects of their peculiar homage. (Plutarch, Isis and Osiris, p. 352.) To these priestesses the archives of state were entrusted; to them, consequently, all desirous of historical information applied; and thence the poet, who had probably shared in their assistance, and whom they had furnished with old traditions, celebrates them as knowing all things. (Odyssey, li. v. 60.) It is observable also that the poet denominates the princes *Thaïsque Aæn, Sæphers of the People*, which was a very ancient Egyptian title. He attributes to seamen, in the fleet of Menelaus and the crew of Ulysses, an abhorrence to fish, which was altogether borrowed from the Egyptians. Plato observes, that during the whole of the war, the Grecian heroes are never represented as using fish as a means of subsistence. Mr. Bryant further adduces evidence to show that the site of the Trojan war was actually in the territories of Egypt, a few miles below Memphis; where Strabo finds a place bearing the name of Troy, and supposes it to have been founded by the Trojan captives who accompanied Menelaus to Egypt.

In support of this hypothesis, Mr. Bryant brings forward traces of old traditions respecting a Trojan war in Egypt; he argues that upon this supposition alone the presence of Memnon and the Ethiopians at the siege can be accounted for; that the deities, superstitions, and rites, attributed to the Trojans, are manifestly different from any that prevailed at the time, in Asia Minor, and are either altogether Egyptian, or those which, having that origin, had been altered and adapted by the Greeks. The names given to the Trojan leaders and the chiefs of the auxiliaries are manifestly not Asiatic but Grecian; and many of them Greek compounds. Hence Mr. Bryant concludes that the poet having, from his family and from his travels in Egypt, derived certain traditions respecting a Trojan war in that place, took the ground-work of his *Iliad* and *Odyssey* entirely from thence, changed the scene to Phrygia, and, for the honour of his country, made the conquerors Greeks, and gave such names to his characters, as he derived from the stores of his native tongue.

Homer, &c.

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Mr. Bryant goes a step further than this; he follows Ptolemy Hephestion, in the opinion, that a woman of the name of Phantasia—which he supposes to mean Phant' Isia, the priestess of Isia—had written a history of certain contentions and adventures on the subjects of the Iliad and Odyssey, which Homer, when in Egypt, obtained from Phantasia, a scribe, and from which he afterwards composed his two principal works. The termination of these names is, indeed, Greek, but this he supposes to have been altered to please the ears of the Grecians. To all this it is replied, that the use of Egyptian customs is easily accounted for by their previous introduction to Greece, and that all the rest is but ingenious and fanciful conjecture, to which the traditions and opinions of the Greeks, and of many colonies from them, furnish more than an adequate answer.

Criticisms
on Homer's
works.

Whatever opinion may be adopted respecting the ground-work of the Iliad and the Odyssey, or of the sources whence their stories were constructed, there can happily be no occasion to contend for their intrinsic excellence. Before, however, we give instances of their beauty and sublimity in detail, it may be curious to view them as having introduced a new kind of poetry into the world, a kind of poetry of which we have little previous trace, but of which the Greek lyrics and tragedies afterwards became the most perfect examples.

There are two great divisions of imaginative composition, we conceive, far more important than the technical distinctions of epic or tragic, because they relate only incidentally to the *form*, but immediately to the *tenor* and *essence* of poetry. These are, to attempt the expression of many ideas in a word, the *contemplative* and the *plastic*. The poet who adopts the latter style presents to us palpable forms; it may be more bright and glorious than the maternal world can furnish, but still definite; "distinguishable" to the intellectual eye "in member, joint, and limb;" while he, whose genius inclines him to the former, gives us only the sensations and feelings which objects have excited within his own bosom. Every kind of poetry belongs to one or other of these classes, or unites both of them. In the present day, and even from the commencement of the Augustan age, most poets have blended them together; but it was otherwise in earlier times. Then the distinctiveness of these modes of the manifestation of genius formed the main characteristic of national poetry; and the prevalence of one of them was generally to be traced to some deep and pervading emotion in the public mind. This principle, as peculiarly affecting the writings of Homer, and the subsequent literature of Greece, we shall endeavour further to develop.

The Hebrew poetry, as contained in the Bible, is the only great mass of surviving poetry more ancient than the Iliad. Some have supposed that there is a great resemblance between these two mighty works; but an attentive consideration will probably convince an unbiased mind, that the similarity exists, not in respect of their texture, but of the simple manners they portray, and the examples of unaffected greatness which they exhibit. The poetry of the Bible is the very reverse of the plastic. In its noblest passages it contains very few palpable images; no forms which we can clearly body out to ourselves, or which a painter could express. It touches, indeed, the finest chords about the heart of man with a sweet and inexpressible

charm; or oppresses him with a sense of his own littleness and of eternal grandeur. It admits us to the company of angels, it allows us to hear their everlasting music, but it does not describe them. We sympathize with the innocence and delightful simplicity of Joseph, but we know nothing of his features. We feel the beauty of Rachel, for which Jacob thought fourteen years of servitude a few days, but we do not see it. Our hearts seem blended in the youthful exile's, at the sacred spot where heaven is opened to him in solemn vision, and angels are ascending and descending on the ladder; but we neither see, nor desire to see, the linements of these celestial visitants. The reason of this peculiarity is obvious. The Old Testament is a partial revealing of things that are unseen. It points "with silent finger" to "temples not made with hands, eternal in the heavens." It teaches of brighter things to come, which shine dimly through prophetic symbols. Above all, its prevailing doctrine is, that One power, altogether beyond the feeble conceptions of men, presides in every part of the universe. How could the poetry of a system be plastic, in which God is every thing, and that God not to be embodied in earthly shape? The prevailing sentiment is reverence; a deep and awful sense of dependance in the midst of darkness; a faith and hope in things unseen. Men had not yet affected to draw aside the curtain which concealed the holy of holies; they heard the voice of their Maker in the deep silence of the night, and felt his gladdening presence in the serenity of an evening sky. This feeling of the vast and indistinct, which the religion of the patriarchs led them to cultivate, diffused itself over all their devotions, and decided the character of the imagination, as well as of the moral sense of their posterity. In the Bible, nature is presented to us only in her grand and elemental forms. Chaos and light, life and death, eternity and time, are the subjects on which it touches, and on which it hints rather than dwells. As faith is its leading principle, and faith either in realities beyond the grave, or in blessings to come in the richness of time, the very hopes it records, though stable in their foundation, are indistinct in their objects; they are built on a rock, but their top is above the clouds. All the solemnities of the Jewish people were shadowings forth of glory to come. The mind was not to rest on them. They were the foreground of an eternal perspective. The prophets carried on the same feelings, and tended rather to heighten than to decrease them. They had glimpses into the distance of years, but no particular or clear sight of the days of which they sung. They trembled with awe at the grandeur of their own conceptions; and referred only to visible objects as illustrations of glories far beyond them. In short, while one God was all to the mind, none but mighty stirrings could find a place there; hopes too vast to be defined, expectations too high to rest on earthly things.

But the mere belief in things unseen was too pure and refined to satisfy the mental appetites of mankind at large. They wanted something *visible* to reverse, and to repose their hopes on. They could not raise their thoughts to the heavens of heavens; and feeling the need, which the heart always feels, of objects to adore, they sought them in the glorious works of creation, which they peopled with the forms of their own imagination, or supplied with presiding deities from their food recollec-

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Influence of
the ancient
mythologies
on poetry.

tions of departed excellence and glory. Hence, in a great degree, the idolatries of the ancient world. Egypt and the eastern nations seem to have been the first thus to create palpable objects of faith, or to raise visible things into the immediate dwellings of celestial spirits. From Egypt, these mythologies were conveyed by emigrants to Greece, where they were modelled into beautiful forms by the influence of a clatter and more varied scenery. Homer, who had certainly visited the parent country of superstition, deeply imbibed a poetical faith, at least, in its marvels. How far he has altered these it is not possible for us to decide; certain it is that he has given an imaginative life to glorious fictions; and has rendered earth-born deities immortal.

These fictions had as great an influence over the poetry, as over the conduct of those who embraced them. The dim, the remote, the indistinct, was, in a great measure, rejected; and sensible objects supplied its room. As religion is always a prevailing cause in moulding the national mind, the poets, as well as the priests, learned to shun at noble objects, without regarding them as the vestiges of a glory that had been, or the indications of a greatness yet to come. Every thing in poetry was cast in a set and definitive form. The objects of nature which at first had been merely described, soon became personified, and were rendered even more distinct to the mind than they appeared in their proper form. Brooks, and trees, and the ocean, no more gleamed in song as in a landscape, but were converted into nymphs, fauns, and a trident-bearing deity. Every quality too of the mind was invested with personal attributes. Nature and the human soul, in the hands of the poet, become mere quarries of exquisite marble, from which he might fashion statues of the most perfect grace and inimitable proportions. Generally speaking, all was sensual in the moral world, and sensible in that of poetry.

The works of Homer, however, though they seem to have begun, by no means completed this singular change. He gives us magnificent descriptions of the world without us, and sometimes throws a genial light on that within. He refers to the ocean, the moonlight and the stars, without calling to his aid a machinery which, in some instances, became almost too unwieldy even for him to control. He affords us glimpses too of a Great First Cause, and of the solemnities of life and immortality, in the midst of the wonderful creations which he has raised up, as if to hide them from us. And it is only on these occasions, when he seems to have caught a light from holier days, that he bears any resemblance to the sacred writers. In general, they make earthly things spiritual, while he makes spiritual things earthly. They raise us from earth to heaven, he brings down heaven to earth. He peoples every thing beautiful in the world with deities bodied forth to the mind in more decided forms than the objects over which they presided; they looked on material things as telling the glory of one who was invisible, and whom they dared not even to imagine. To them eternity revealed itself in things of time and sense; he conferred immortality on the objects of creation. In the Scriptures the universe appears the vestibule of a mighty temple, from whose inner shrine we catch faint echoes of divine music, and whose glories we sometimes dimly see; in Homer it is the

fane itself, adorned with exquisite skill, in which the materials afforded by earth are fashioned into a thousand admirable shapes, that, instead of revealing to us higher things, tend to hide them from us.

But the plastic style, introduced by Homer, though arising, in a great degree, from the Pagan mythology, has added largely to the capabilities of genius. It gave to poetry "a local habitation and a name." It taught men to see beauty and grace wherever they existed, and to create them where they were wanting. It tended to ameliorate and soften the mind, by making loveliness and fair proportion familiar to the thoughts. It spread the spirit of poetry and the admiration of genius among the people, who were little able to enjoy that which had no earthly foreground,—but who perceived the beauty of the glorious shapes which the hand could set before them. As religious feelings, when mis-directed, had produced it, it had, however, an unfortunate re-action on religion. It taught men yet further to multiply deities, and rites, and temples; and finally modified both the character and the genius of Greece. The tragic poets caught the sentiment of shape in all its grace and in all its coldness, and perpetually brought it to adorn those mythologies by which it had been created. They have one great moral which they constantly inculcate—submission to the decrees of heaven. They perpetually refer us to deities as the immediate causes of the events which they celebrate. Thus they exclude themselves from portraying the emotions of the human heart—the strength and the weaknesses of noble passions—the "torrent, tempest, and whirlwind of the passions." Their heroes act and suffer, become innocent or guilty, not from motives within them, but an influence above them. Virtue and vice, as well as happiness and despair, become the mere dispensations of the gods; and, if there is any contest, it is not in the bosoms of men, but between propitious or opposing deities. Their tragedy is a high and solemn sacrifice, in which the heroes are the victims. We see the fate of their persons from the beginning, for it is decreed on high. Theirs are the mere contests "of poor humanity's afflicted will, struggling in vain with ruthless destiny." The embellishments with which these compositions are adorned are all in character. They remind us of the cornice, the architrave, and the statues of an ancient temple. The images are all palpable, and addressed immolately to the senses, though in grace and vividness they are altogether unequalled. The very sentiments have a precision and accurate boundary which almost pictures them to us. The persons stand like the statue that enchants the world, as distinct, as pure in the conception, and as admirable in the finishing. Every idea is elaborated till it acquires a distinct shape: their works, in short, are like inimitable pictures without a perspective.

Descriptive poetry, as well as tragic, that which refers us to external nature as well as that which relates to the heart of man, was altogether changed by the exclusive cultivation of the plastic style. A river could no more water the flowery fields, or dash over opposing rocks in its own pure course, but it must become a spirit, a beautiful female, or a youth with golden hair. The mora was not represented as standing "tip-toe on the mountain's top," but was bodied forth as a lady with roscate fingers. When the sun sunk tranquilly down on the bosom of the ocean, Aurora was betaking

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herself to the bed of Tithonus. The woods were vocal, not with the whisperings of the breeze, but with the breath of Zephyr. The crescent moon became a chaste lustress with a silver bow. Jupiter rolled the thunder, and winged the lightnings. The winds themselves had habitations assigned them; their invisible power was exchanged for a corporeal form; and the wide range of earth and sea for the cave of Æolus. In a word, instead of a description presenting us with an assemblage of objects comparatively indistinct, which every one's own imagination might mould to its more particular images, one palpable form was substituted, which even the dullest could not refrain from admiring.

Although this style of composition was carried to an excess in Greece, the world is most deeply indebted to Homer for its introduction; not only because the peculiar beauties of his successors are drawn from its stores, but because, in after times, when different principles were brought into action, this very style adorned contemplative and philosophical effusions, and, in some cases, most happily blended with its opposite in the same images and thoughts. The Roman poets, and especially Virgil, though they, for the most part, copied from the Greeks, did not cast their sentiments in a mould so definite and decided. There are some very fine indications in the Georgics of the return of unmodified nature, especially that noble exclamation—

"O qui per gelidus in silibus fluvius
Sistat, et ingenti rancore protegit umbra." ll. 407.

Effects of
Christian
religion on
poetry.

But the Christian religion was the great cause of the revolution of poetry. It banished the illusions of mythology from the world. For a time, it even caused the mighty fictions of Homer and his countrymen to be deprived of that poetical admiration to which they are entitled. It fixed men's hopes and affections on things unseen. It gave distant glimpses of an eternal world, instead of the sensible images with which the regions beyond the grave had been fantastically adorned; and restored the feeling of One great pervading Cause, which had so long been divided amidst a multitude of material deities. Hence the mingling of the classical with the contemplative class of poetry, which has ever since been blended with the greatest works of imagination. The poets of our own country, and especially Shakespeare and Milton, have thus eminently succeeded. And they have not merely given us, in some passages, clear and distinct images of graceful and elegant forms, and in others referred us to the elements, and to the vast and undefined in nature and in eternity, but they have frequently, by one effort of the imagination, united both the sources of the grand and delightful. While they have pictured forth distinctly sublime and beautiful forms, they have made those forms the representatives of whole classes; they have involved the universal in the individual. They have described to us, with a Grecian precision, the glorious objects of creation, and yet have made these objects the mere fore-ground of a far-reaching perspective. The most noble and deep feelings, and sentiments, and thoughts, are, in their works, expressed and embodied in the fairest of earthly shapes. Every feature has an expression which no colouring of this world could supply. Creation is covered with an imaginative lustre, a dream-like radiance emanating from the soul. And yet nothing of distinct-

tiveness is lost to the objects which we see through this pure and softening medium.

In reading those works which now unite the philosophical and the descriptive, we are most frequently placed in an intermediate state between the mere sight of external things, as in a picture, and of the personifications of the Grecian bards. The brooks, the fountains, and the woods, are no longer supplanted by nymphs and satyrs; but, while they are described as in the freshness of nature, the emotions of the heart are transferred to them, and even assist in the perfect representation of their actual appearance. Thus they are joyous, pensive, melancholy; yet lose not by these epithets their clearness, their gentleness, or their sober hue; but are seen more distinctly for the attributes with which sympathy has endowed them. The mind associates itself with mountains and hills as with old acquaintance and dear companions, without ever losing their waving woods and forked steeples in the image of a local deity. It loves nature for her own sake, and for the sake of those fond recollections of youthful joy, and those gleams of remembrance which in happy moods and contemplations she now recalls. It transfers its own brightness to the world around, and surveys it through this medium. The humblest flowers and bushes have power to stir and delight it. All creation becomes sacred, not as filled with a thousand deities in every part of it, but as echoing back tender sentiments and thoughts indulged amidst its beauties; as dimly showing forth a goodness that cannot fail, and a glory to come, which shall not pass away. As far as these feelings refer us to things we see not yet, we owe them to our religion, to the Bible, to our deep and innate sense of immortality; but in so far as they take their spring from the distinct perception of beauty and grace in material things, we are indebted for them to Homer and the bards of ancient Greece.

One of the most remarkable characteristics of the Air of truth is the absolute reality and air of truth which it in the blind wears. This arises partly from the vividness of the poet's pencil, and partly from the minuteness of detail in which he indulges. Those who complain of his descriptions of feasts, of ceremonies, and of armour, as tedious, should consider how much the effect of his brilliant passages is heightened by them. They persuade us that the poet himself believes what he is relating, from the apparent accuracy of his statement; just as we give credit to a circumstantial tale. We become acquainted with his heroes in their retirements, and are, therefore, fully prepared to sympathize with them, as with old friends, when they rush amidst the thickest battalions of their foes, and gain mighty victories, or a triumphant grave. The domestic parts of the tale not only relieve the heroic scenes, but prepare us to enjoy them. We see the chief buckling on his armour in the morning, snatching a hasty repast, and taking a hurried leave of his comrades; we follow him with breathless interest through the adventures of the field; and we feel the deepest tragic interest when he falls in the pride and glory of manhood. This art of Homer, by which not only all his narratives are made credible, but all his scenes are presented to the mind in a light so clear, and in colours so fresh and imposing, that the impression of them can never wear out, is copied by no subsequent author with so much success

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as by Richardson, who almost deserves the title of the Homer of prose. The superiority of the ancient over the modern writer consists, however, not merely in the poetical faculty superadded to the rest, nor in the greater dignity of the subject, but in the life, spirit, and freshness of the delineations. Richardson spreads his little filmy nets around us like a dream; we feel spell-bound; we try to escape from the company with which he surrounds us, but in vain; while the minutest detail of Homer is ever fresh and living; and we seem to breathe in a pure atmosphere throughout the whole of our progress.

Variety of characters.

Nothing can be more surprising than the immense number and variety of the characters which are brought together in the *Iliad*, without any one clashing with another, or bearing too near a resemblance. Achilles, Ulysses, Nestor, Ajax, Hector, and Diomed, are perhaps the best. They all talk, as well as act, in character. Of those which have the most similarity, scarcely a speech or an action could be transferred from one to another, without taking something from its force, grace, and dramatic propriety. There are nice shades of distinction, and those philosophically accounted for, even in the valour of the chieftains; a quality which would commonly seem to admit of few, and those very broad, diversities. The variety of wounds described by Homer, is not greater, and not so extraordinary, as the modes by which each warrior manifests the kind of prowess in which he excels in the midst of the combat. The character of Diomed, in particular, is admirably drawn; fiery, ingenuous, choleric, and yet yielding the most ready and graceful submission to those whom he regards as competent to check or direct him. Hector is the most unshaken and virtuous of all the heroes, and is rendered yet more interesting by his premature death. There is great life and spirit in the delineation of Achilles; though his quarrel with the Greeks, and revenge on the body of Hector, are utterly inconsistent with real greatness. He is a mere warrior, open-hearted, sincere, and detesting every mean and low vice, but little relieved by any touches of gentleness and pity. His unhappy Trojan foe is as superior to him in accomplishment and grace, as he is in moral worth. There are passages in the *Iliad* of great pathos, as well as of quiet beauty. The account of the impression made by Helen on the counsellors of Priam, and of the affectionate address of the venerable monarch, in which he tries to soothe her, is no less exquisite in its kind, than the most vivid picture of a battle, in which heroes and gods are the combatants. The melancholy journey of Priam to the tent of Achilles, is admirably conceived, and touchingly described; and the whole scene in the Grecian camp, forms an excellent dramatic picture. There is nothing in the poem more gently pathetic than the lamentation of Helen over the body of Hector, in which she declares, that while others have reviled her as the author of their calamities, he had never given her one unkind word, or upbraiding. It gives a finishing stroke to the almost perfect character of the unfortunate hero, and leaves on our minds the kindest impression respecting him.

The number of incidents brought together in the *Iliad*, is no less astonishing than the variety of the characters. In the space of less than fifty days, there are councils, contentions, reconciliations, battles, vic-

tories, and defeats, of infinite diversity, and without the least confusion. The heroes whom we see before us, at the dawn, vigorous in bodily strength, and burning with the enthusiasm of youth and the strong desire of fame, are, before evening, mingled with the slain. In no work of narration, fictitious or real, are we struck with equal force by the transition from the noon-tide of life to the coldness of death—from the full play of all the pulses of existence to their final pause—from the midst of bustle, enterprise, and vivacity, to the stillness of the grave. The fate of every chief with whom we seemed, on the preceding evening, to be reclining in his tent, or sharing a rustic meal, sinks deeply into the heart and makes an impression there which time cannot weaken. In breadth of colouring, as well as in interest of detail, the battles of Homer are quite unrivalled in verse or prose. They rise above each other in the magnificence of their confusion, to that amazing contest in which men and gods, fire and water, the elements themselves, and the powers that govern them, are so wonderfully mingled. Images are poured forth from the mind of the poet as though he were unable to restrain them, and yet they have all the distinctness and perfection which might have been expected from the most anxious thought and the most laborious finishing. If we are overwhelmed by the grandeur of the mass, we shall be yet more surprised, on minute examination, to find that the minutest of its component parts is, in itself, as complete as though the whole art of the poet had, with an almost microscopic eye, been exhausted upon it.

The smiles of Homer are another proof both of the copiousness of his genius and the accuracy of his perceptions. They frequently contain the most beautiful pictures of noble objects, and even landscapes in miniature. Sometimes they bear the poet too far from his immediate theme; but they more than compensate for this breaking in on the thread of the narration by their own intrinsic excellence. Even when most prolix, they show the intensity of his feeling, which would not allow him to touch, incidentally, on any thing grand or lovely, without waiting to revel in its charms. Occasionally too, they relieve the heart by diverting an interest which becomes oppressive; and by pouring delight on the fancy, take away the sting from a tragical catastrophe, while they render our pity gentler, and our sympathy of a tendrer description.

The language of Homer deserves indeed to be called Language. "the language of the gods." It is surprising that, in the infancy of Grecian literature, he should have been able to find expressions so exactly suited to the loftiest and most beautiful poetry. It seems certain that the Greek tongue, at the time when he composed his immortal works, had not arrived at that degree of perfection which it afterwards attained; that words had then fewer inflexions; that the nicer shades of meaning were less distinctly marked; and that many terms of considerable grace and power, which adorned the later compositions of the country, were then unknown. This, indeed, appears from his works themselves; but he has made every possible use of the materials before him. He has not been content with the use of a single dialect; but has blended and harmonized the stately Doric, the terse Attic, the comparatively feeble Æolic, and the soft, open, and flowing Iælian. He has formed

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Commentaries and editions of Homer. The works of Homer have naturally furnished abundant opportunities for commentaries and editions from the time of their first collection. Of the earliest writings of the critics respecting them, immediately after the work of Pistratus, we are unfortunately ignorant. The first commentators were probably those philosophers who endeavoured to remove prejudices against the representations made by the poet of supernatural things, by endeavouring to find in them a secret meaning, of which the fiction was but an allegorical veil. None of their works, however, now survive. Alexander the Great, being enthusiastically attached to the poems of Homer, is said not only to have encouraged a new and improved edition by Aristotle, his preceptor, but to have assisted himself, with Anaxarchus and Callisthenes, in its revision. When this work was completed, the conqueror of Asia laid it up in a casket of great value which he had taken among the spoils of Darius, as the most valuable thing which he could deposit in so precious a case; and thence it was called the edition of the casket. Aristotle also, in his Poetics, comments largely on the works which he thus edited; and drew from them the system of epic poetry which has since determined the laws of that species of composition.

It does not appear that the Greeks were either very skilful in tracing out the true readings of the poet, or very careful to preserve the text entire as corrected by its first editor. Their disposition and genius were little fit for verbal criticism; and there is every reason to believe that great errors were allowed to creep into the manuscripts, amidst the highest veneration for the author. At length the Ptolemies, in Egypt, began to show a great degree of zeal for the purification and general diffusion of the Iliad and Odyssey. A number of copies, especially the *Masilistic*, the *Chian*, the *Argive*, the *Sipontine*, the *Cyprian*, and the *Cretan*, so called from the cities in which they had been preserved, were sent to Alexandria. Hence Zenodotus framed his edition under the auspices of the first of the Ptolemies. But the great restorer of Homer to purity and correctness was Aristarchus, tutor to the son of Ptolemy Philometor, who entered critically into the examination of his author, and formed the basis of those copies which are now extant.

The commentaries of Eustathius are the most celebrated and useful of all the critical writings on Homer,

until very recent times. The author lived in the twelfth century, was a native of Constantinople, and Bishop of Thessalonica. The results of his critical labours were published at Rome in the years 1542 and 1550. A variety of collections of Scholia have, at different times, been given to the world. The *Scholia Bervia* were first published by John Lascaris, at Rome, in 1517. "*Scholia vetera in Iliadi librum ix. Græce edita e Curado Horææ*," were published in 1626. The Venetian Scholia were brought to light in 1740, by A. Bongiovanni. And in 1788, the most valuable of all the collections was taken from two manuscripts in the library of St. Mark, at Venice, and published there by Villouson.

In modern times, a great number of editions of the works of Homer have been published. The first printed edition was at Florence, in 1488, in two volumes, folio, at the cost of two brothers, named Nerius and John Acciajolii; and under the superintendence of Demetrius Chalcondylus, an Athenian, and Demetrius the Cretan. The second, was that of Aldus, in the year 1504, in octavo; but it is a mere copy of the Florentine edition. The same editor published two other editions, one in 1517, and the other in 1524. In 1519, Francisus superintended the first, and in 1537, the second *Justine* edition, of which the latter is in the greatest repute. Cephæus published four editions at Strasburg, between the years 1525 and 1550; and a fifth was added by his family, in 1563, after his decease; they contain the various readings of Homer from the earliest copies. In 1542 a splendid edition was published at Rome, containing all the commentaries of Eustathius. Various editions have been published at Paris; the first of which was that of Turbetus, in 1554, diligently collated with the preceding copies, especially that of Rome. The magnificent work of H. Stephens, entitled "*Poete Græci Principes Heroici Carminis*," containing the works of Homer, appeared in 1566, and is framed from the collation of a great number of manuscripts. Burnes, in 1711, published his edition at Cambridge, which has been the subject of very severe animadversion by Dr. Bentley, but is invaluable for its extensive collation of manuscripts and preceding editions. Clarke's splendid edition of the Iliad, in two volumes, quarto, appeared in 1729; and contains, in the notes, clear illustrations of the principles of grammar and prosody. The Odyssey, *Batrachomyomachia*, &c. in 1740. The Glasgow edition appeared in 1756, in four volumes, folio; it was superintended by Moor and Muirhead, and underwent a singularly careful revision. The edition of Ernesti, in 1759, takes Clarke's for its basis, but embraces many important additions by the editor. Villoson's excellent edition, appeared in 1788, accompanied by the Venetian Scholia. Three editions of Homer have been given to the world by the celebrated Wolf; the second of which, in 1794, contains the *Prolegomena*, which has excited so much attention among the learned. A magnificent edition of all the works of Homer, issued from the Clarendon press, in 1808, under the patronage of the Grenville family; the Odyssey was collated by Porson, with the Harleian MS. In 1802, Heyne's great edition of the Iliad made its appearance, enriched with an immense fund of critical observation on the works of Homer; but countenancing all the sceptical opinions respecting the unity and authenticity of the whole. It should not be omitted that an excellent introduction to the study of Homer was

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Homer has been translated into most modern languages. The continental efforts of this kind have not, however, been much celebrated beyond the countries for the use of which they were intended, excepting perhaps those of *Voss*, in German. In England, the principal translations of the poems of Homer are those of *Chapman*, *Pope*, and *Cowper*. *Hobbes*, indeed, the celebrated philosopher of Malmesbury, made the attempt, but altogether without success. His work is entirely obsolete; nor has the fame of his political and metaphysical works been able to rescue it from oblivion. It is astonishing he should ever have made the trial. His mind was not only without poetry, but anti-poetical. His excellence in the argumentative style, in the clearness of his demonstrations, and the ingenious subtleties of his logic, could little entitle him to translate Homer. His brain was not on fire with glorious and mounting thoughts—it was "dry as the remainder biscuit after a voyage." *Chapman's* translation is the very reverse of that of *Hobbes*, as his mind was in perfect antithesis to that of the philosopher. He knew, indeed, little of the refinements and elegancies which have since prevailed; but his spirit was fiery, impetuous, and undaunted. He loved his author with a poet's love; he came to his work with a kindred spirit with his great original; but his production is not a translation, scarcely a paraphrase. His genius was too daring to be confined to the text even of Homer. To use the words of an excellent critic, "His Homer is not so much a translation as the stories of Achilles and Ulysses re-written. The earnestness and passion which he has put into every part of these poems, would be incredible to a reader of mere modern translations. His almost Greek zeal for the honour of his heroes, is only paralleled by that fierce spirit of Hebrew bigotry with which Milton, as if personating one of the zealots of the old law, clothed himself, when he sat down to paint the acts of Samson against the uncircumcised. The great obstacle to Chapman's translations being read is their unconquerable quaintness. He pours out, in the same breath, the most just and natural, and the most forced expressions. He seems to grasp whatever words come first to hand during the impetus of inspiration, as if all other must be inadequate to the divine meagrier. But passion (the all in all in poetry) is every where present, raising the low, dignifying the mean, and putting sense into the absurd. He makes his readers glow, weep, tremble, take any affection which he pleases, be moved by words, or in spite of them; he disgusts and overcomes their disgust." See *LAM's Specimens of early dramatic Poets*, p. 98. n. 41, where the reader will find, in addition to the above, an admirable character of Chapman's poetry in general, written with that depth of thought and intensity of feeling which pervade all the criticisms interspersed in the collection.

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Translations of Homer.

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Translations of Homer.

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bles, and to exhibit more frequent instances of elision. It is observed by Dr. Clarke, that Homer has used the word *enake* above two hundred and seventy times in the course of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, and has, in every instance, made the first syllable long; while Hesiod often makes it short. Hence, as he supposes the liberty of making the first syllable short, not to have been allowed till a later period, he concludes that the works of Homer are considerably more ancient than those of Hesiod. It must, however, be observed, that the Ionic poets always made the first syllable in *enake* long; the Attic and Doric often short; and that, therefore, Homer might have used it in the Ionic form; and Hesiod, sometimes in one form, and sometimes in the other, though they lived nearly at the same period. Homer, in the *Odyssey*, whenever he names the Nile, calls it the *Ægyptus*; while Hesiod gives it that appellation which it now bears. Hence Mr. Bryant infers, that in the time of the former it had not acquired its present name, but was called, as in the works of Moses and Joshua, the river of *Ægypt*; and consequently, that Homer wrote at an earlier period than Hesiod. Both authors use the digamma, which appears in no other Greek poet whose works have reached us; it is certain, therefore, that both are ancient, and probable that they were either contemporaries or that no great interval of time elapsed between them. The opinions concerning the comparative antiquity of these poets are collected in Fabr. Bih. Gr. vol. i. p. 96, edit. Hales; and it appears that, on the whole, the testimony is in favour of the superior antiquity of Homer.

His own account of his life.

Happily for the biographers of Hesiod, that poet has not, like Homer, omitted to give in his works any traces of his personal history. From his *Works and Days* we learn, that he was the son of a man who had been an inhabitant of Cumæ, in one of the *Æolian* isles. Suidas, Fabricius, and others, hence represent the poet as a native of that place; but the contrary will appear from his own poems. He represents his father as having removed to *Ascræ*, a village in *Boeotia*, at the foot of Mount *Helicon*, and in the same book asserts, that he never crossed the seas, except in a voyage from *Aulis*, in *Boeotia*, to *Eubœa*. Hence it follows, that he never sailed with his father to *Ascræ*, and consequently that he was born after the settlement of his family in that village. From this place, he derived the name of *Ascræus*, by which he is often called in the classical writers. It appears from his own statement, that misfortunes, and chiefly poverty, occasioned the removal of his father. *Proclus*, however, on the authority of *Ephorus*, tells us that a murder was the cause of his exile. It appears from another part of the *Works and Days*, that the poet tended sheep on Mount *Helicon*. We also gather, that his father left some property, which his brother *Peres* obtained from him by means of fraud, and bribing the judges; but that, instead of resenting this injustice, he was able to look with compassion on its author, and to assist him, when he had fallen into poverty, out of his own substance. He also informs us, that he was the conqueror in a poetical contest at the games which *Amphidamas*, king of *Eubœa*, had instituted in honour of his own memory, and which his sons accordingly solemnised. By his success on this occasion, he obtained a tripod as the prize, which he consecrated to the *Muses*.

These are all the incidents in the life of Hesiod, which has enabled us to collect from his works which still survive. But other writers have professed to fill up the chasm, and have detailed circumstances respecting him which are not much deserving of credit. Of these the most remarkable is his contest with *Homer*, which has been probably invented from his own statement above-mentioned, that he had been the victor in some rivalry of song. *Plutarch*, in his *Banquet of the Seven Wise Men*, makes *Periander* give an account of the poetical contention, by stating that it was the custom of the ancient Greeks to propose to each other questions of difficult solution; that a contest arising from this practice took place at *Calais* among all the most celebrated poets of the age; that the performances of the poets themselves, and the feeling of their celebrity, which imposed a restraint on the judges, rendered the determination difficult; but that, at last, the first honour was given to Hesiod. There is a treatise also entitled, "The Contention of Homer and Hesiod," which enters far more into detail. It represents each of the candidates in turn, as putting questions and verses of imperfect sense, to be answered, or supplied by the other; and professes to give the substance of all that passed on the occasion. This work has been thought not to have been written till the time of the Emperor *Adrian*. It was first printed by *H. Stephens*, in 1573, and has been prefixed to some editions of the works of both poets, but it is universally regarded as a mere fancy of the unknown writer. The epigram in the *Anthologia*, professing to be the inscription on the tripod won,

"Ἡσίοδος Μοῦσας ἔδωκεν ἴνδ' ἑλθεῖν,
ἔπειτα νικῶντες ἐκ Χαλκίδος ἦσαν Ὀμήρου,"

is also considered as spurious. It is not very probable that Hesiod should come off victorious from a contest with *Homer*; and perhaps scarcely more so, that if such had been his good fortune, he should not have mentioned the name of his adversary when alluding to the contest.

Hesiod is generally thought to have lived to a good old age, but to have ended his days by a violent death. *Plutarch* in the piece already quoted, gives the following account of this catastrophe. In the latter part of his life he had removed to *Loeris*, a town near Mount *Parmanus*. There he resided with a man named *Troilus*, who ravished a young woman in the same house. The brothers of the girl, seeking revenge for the violence done to their sister, falsely suspected the poet of having been accessory to it, slew both him and the party actually criminal, and threw their bodies into the sea. The body of *Troilus* was cast upon a rock, which still bears his name from the circumstance. Hesiod, when dead, was taken by dolphins, and carried to the city of *Molicria*, near the promontory *Rhios*, where the *Locrians* were then holding a solemn festival. They saw the body of the poet, and on recognising it, proceeded to revenge the death of their favourite bard, by throwing the authors of the calamity alive into the sea, and destroying their houses. His remains were deposited in *Nemæa*, but his tomb was not generally known, having been concealed, lest the *Orchomenians*, who had been advised by an oracle to procure them, should steal them away. *Pausanias* tells us, that the oracle had directed the *Orchomenians* to bring the bones of Hesiod to their country, as the

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only means by which they could stay the ravages of a pestilence. He states that they succeeded, and erected a tomb over them, on which they placed a suitable inscription. Hesiod is said, by Julius Gyrardus, to have left a son and a daughter, and that this son was Stesichorus, the poet; but this statement seems unsupported by any ancient authorities.

The works now extant which are commonly published under the name of Hesiod, consist of the *Works and Days*, the *Theogony*, and the *Shield of Hercules*. Various opinions have, however, been entertained respecting the authenticity of the two latter of these pieces. Wolf, indeed, applies his theory respecting Homer to Hesiod, and regards the works as collected from the rhapsodists, and probably as originating from different authors. He thinks the *Works and Days* is a century more ancient than the *Theogony*, or the *Shield of Hercules*. The first of these has generally been admitted, without dispute, as authentic, except the opening address to the Muses, which the Boetians contended was spurious, on the authority of an ancient copy they professed to have preserved, engraven on plates of lead. The *Theogony* has commonly been regarded as genuine, though the Boetians denied it. It is undoubtedly the work of very early times. But "the *Shield of Hercules*" is usually rejected as spurious. Longinus intimates more than a doubt respecting it. It appears, indeed, to be a collection of fragments, some of which were probably composed by Hesiod, and others interpolated or added by subsequent hands. It appears from the Ion of Plato, that the rhapsodists were accustomed to recite the works of this poet, as well as of Homer.

Style of Hesiod.

The great excellence of Hesiod consists in a natural and simple style. His pictures of the manners of a rustic age are sometimes more striking than those even of Homer, on account of the absence of that radiance which is shed over all the scenes in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, from the imagination of their author. But he is, perhaps, the most unequal of poets. In some of his delineations, he displays a daring and ardent conception, which is not afraid to grasp the mightiest things, and which succeeds in its efforts by a natural and gigantic power. At other times, he is insufferably low, creeping, tame, and prosaic. In his didactic poetry, he rises occasionally into a high and philosophical strain of thought, but commonly gives mere trite maxims of prudence, and the most common-place worldly coming; as when he advises his reader never to conclude a bargain, even with a brother, without a witness. He has none of the refined gallantry of Homer, but seems to delight in satyrizing, or rather abusing, the female sex. The *Works and Days* is a rambling and very unequal didactic poem. The description near its opening of the two different kinds of contention among men—that of hatred and envy on the one hand, and the honourable exertions arising from emulation, and a desire to excel on the other, is accurately discriminated and well finished. Hence the poet proceeds to the subject of his work—*labour*—and describes how it fell to the lot of man. We have then the story of Pandora, and of the gradual degeneracy of mankind from the golden to the iron age. A digression is made to the evils inflicted on pur race by the powerful wicked, in which the great are recommended to be merciful, and a variety of maxims are introduced fit for the purposes of com-

mon life, without much connection with the subject, or, as Homer, &c., with each other. At last, the duties of agriculture are set forth, interspersed with moral and religious admonitions, and probably regarded as of practical value in the times when the poet flourished. The whole forms a very curious relic of antiquity; but its nakedness is scarcely to be endured after the variety and the brilliancy of Homer.

The *Theogony*, on the whole, exhibits more decided traces of genius than the more domestic poem of the *Works and Days*, which seems generally to have obtained the preference. It is the best and most accurate account, or catalogue, at least, of the deities of Greece. In general it is a mere enumeration of names, and deduction of mythological genealogies; but the *Battle of the Titans* and the *Gods* is one of the most sublime passages in classical poetry, conceived with great boldness, and executed with a power and force which show a masterly, though rugged genius. It has been imitated by Milton, in his *Battle of the Angels*, and certainly not exceeded. If it is not the work of Hesiod, it belongs to some superior poet, whose name has not reached us. But, though raised far above the common level of his style, it bears evident marks of his hand. Heyne, Wolf, and Herman, suppose the present copies of the *Theogony* to be much corrupted by the introduction into the text of various readings from different editions.

The "*Shield of Hercules*," though disconnected, and entirely devoid of arrangement or plan, contains passages of more elegance and grace than any of the undoubted works of the Aæonian. It is probably a compilation, in which some fragments of Hesiod's poems, transmitted through the *mnemos* of the rhapsodists, have been connected by more modern additions. The description of the shield, which occupies only a part of the work, is an evident imitation of the shield of Achilles in Homer. Some have contended that the reverse of this opinion is the fact, and that Hesiod, and not Homer, is the original. Independently, however, of the external proof, it will appear from an examination of the two pieces, that the charge of imitation is more probably brought against the author of the "*Shield of Hercules*;" since he has embellished those parts which in the *Iliad* are simple, with a profusion of ornament: and it will always be found that a copy deviates from its original, not in becoming more simple, but in the addition of grace of which he to whom the first conception belongs did not feel the necessity.

The fame of Hesiod has, in a great degree, been reflected from that of Homer. Since they were named together by Herodotus, they have been, for more than two thousand years, frequently united. The ancients seem to have thought highly of the ethics and the precepts of Hesiod. Xenophon represents the "*Works and Days*" as quoted by Socrates. Cicero speaks of that poem as though it was customary for youth to commit it to memory. Quintilian says of him, "*Raro nescit Hesiodus magna que pars ejus in nominibus est occupata tamen utilis circa precepta sententia levitasque verborum, et compositionis probabilis; daturque ei palma in illo medio genere dicendi.*" The *Battle of the Titans* certainly rises above the terms of this eulogium.

The chief editions of Hesiod are, The *Works and Days*, together with eighteen orations of Isocrates and the *Idyls of Theocritus*, published at Milan, in folio, in

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Biography. 1493; the *Theogony*, the *Shield of Hercules*, and the *Georgics*, in a collection of Greek Poems, in folio, by Aldus, at Venice, in 1495. The edition of the works of Hesiod, at Trincavellus, with Scholia, at Venice, in 1537, in quarto; the edition of Heinsius, in quarto, with Scholia, in 1603, which was long a work of great celebrity, and is, in some degree, the basis of subsequent editions; the edition of Grevius, printed at Amsterdam, in 8vo, in 1667, with commentaries and notes; that of Le Clerc, in 1701, at Amsterdam, in 8vo, containing the notes of Scaliger, the commentaries of Grevius, and annotations by the editor; which last have been the subject of much severe misapprehension, especially from Heyne; Robinson's splendid edition, published at Oxford, in 1737, with the commentaries of Grevius, and notes of the editor and others, which contains the contest of Homer and Hesiod; that of Loewner, at Leipzig, in 1779, in 8vo, which is a republication of Robinson's with improvements; and an edition of the *Theogonia*, by the celebrated Wolf, at Halle, in Saxony, in 1783. Beside these editions, the works of Hesiod are comprised in the collection of Greek Poets, by H. Stephens, in 1666; and in that of the Minor Greek poets, published at Cambridge, by Winterton, in 1635; from which last text they have been frequently reprinted. The best copy of these reprints is that pub-

lished at London, 1739. Professor Gaisford has supplied us, however, with a most respectable modern edition of the "*Poete Græci Minores*," including the works of Hesiod, printed at the Clarendon press, in 1815.

Hesiod has been translated into English, by Chapman, Cooke, and Elton. The first of these has infused into his work much of the fire and spirit which are every where prevalent in his version of Homer. But he is exceedingly diffuse, and regardless of the text of his original. It is now extremely scarce. Cooke's translation is generally correct, but very dull and spiritless. The maxims of Hesiod, which now appear trite and common-place, seem almost ludicrous in his version. He was one of the heroes of the Danciad. Mr. Elton's translation is by far the best now in use. It is more faithful than Chapman's, and more poetical than Cooke's. The *Battle of the Titans* is excellently rendered. But though Hesiod will always be interesting to the lover of antiquity, as exhibiting an accurate picture of simple manners, and will be admired by the lover of poetry for a few passages of rugged sublimity, he possesses none of those charms of story or of character which can render a translation of his works, however executed, popular among the unlearned.

Homer, &c.
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C O D R U S

AND THE KINGS OF ATHENS.

FLOURISHED ABOUT A. M. 2914. B. C. 1090.

Biography. MENESTHEUS, who succeeded Theseus on the throne of Athens, advocated a better title to that honour than his predecessor, having been the descendant of Erechtheus, one of its eldest kings. This monarch, finding himself firmly seated in the kingdom, after the death of Theseus, joined in the Grecian confederacy against Troy, and, accompanied by his brother Achæus, led fifty ships, and a proportional landed force, to join the attack of Agamemnon and Menelaus upon that devoted town. Under the walls of Troy, Menestheus fell, and is scarcely noticed by historians, amidst the heaps of slain in that memorable contest; although the duration of his reign over Athens has been pretty generally fixed at twenty-four years. At his death, we find Demophoon, the son of Theseus by Phaedra, restoring the line of that monarch to the Athenian throne. He was one of the few conquering Greeks who lived to return to their native shores after the destruction of Troy; and who, surviving the turbulent passions then pervading every bosom connected with the scene, died afterwards in peace. On his voyage homeward, this prince landed at Thrace, and is said to have won the affections of Phillis, queen of that country, to whom he promised marriage; but, failing in his engagements, the forsaken and disappointed queen destroyed herself in despair. To Demophoon is attributed, by some writers, the honour of having first established the famous court of the

Epheta, which consisted of fifty Athenians and as many Argives; and continued in that form until it was re-modelled by Draco. To this tribunal was awarded the power of trying murders and all capital offences; and a singular act of justice is recorded of its founder. Having accidentally killed one of his subjects, as he was riding under the walls of Troy, he submitted to be tried by this court for the offence, and the issue only appears from the circumstance of Demophoon having reigned in tranquillity thirty-three years afterwards, and leaving the undisturbed possession of the kingdom to his son.

Of this son, whose name was Oxyntes, nothing is recorded, but that he held the sceptre twelve years, and left it to Aplydas, a prince who was assassinated, in the first year of his reign, by his bastard brother Thyminetes. In the eighth year of the reign of Thyminetes, the Athenians being at war with the Boeotians, it was resolved that the two kings of the contending nations should decide the difference by single combat, to which Xanthus, the Boeotian sovereign, readily acceded, but Thyminetes declined the contest. Melanthius, however, a noble Messenian, who had been driven by the Heracleidae to seek refuge in Attica, eagerly accepted the office of champion on behalf of the nation, and the combatants entered the lists. The Athenian cause proved

Codrus, &c.
A. M.
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1090.

Melanthius.

Kings of Athens after Theseus.

Biography. victorious by the following stratagem: Melanthius affecting surprise as the combatants approached each other, accused his adversary, Xanthus, of dealing unfairly. "I came to fight thee singly," said he, "but thou hast brought another to second thee." The Boeotian king, on hearing this charge, looked back to discover who had followed him into the field, and Melanthius, at this unguarded moment, transfixed him with a lance.

The conqueror was now elected to the throne of Athens for an act which, some ages afterwards, would have been stigmatized as highly criminal; and a feast was instituted in commemoration of the victory, which the Athenians entitled *Apatheria*. Of the deposed Thymetes we hear no more. Melanthius seems to have held the government with a firm and a judicious hand for thirty-seven years, and was the father of the brave and patriotic Codrus.

Codrus.

Although the records of the reign of this monarch do not particularize many of his actions, it is clear, from the general tone of history, that he fully possessed the affections of his people, and that his advancement to the throne may be considered as an important epoch in their civilization. The manner of his death, indeed, is the circumstance which throws the greatest splendour around his name, and in which may be traced the first spark of that patriotism which afterwards so distinguished the Athenians.

The Heracleids (the descendants of Hercules) and the Doræ, their confederates, having already subdued all Persia, in the twenty-first year of the reign of Codrus, made an irruption into Attica. The Athenian forces, led by their king, marched to meet the enemy, and both armies were drawn out in order of battle. The invaders having, previously to their expedition, consulted the Delphian oracle respecting its success, the reply was, that, "that they should be victorious, if they avoided to slay the Athenian king;" and the confederates were therefore strictly ordered to abstain from attacking his person. Every precaution was taken to prevent such an accident which human prudence could suggest; but Codrus, being informed of the oracle, magnanimously determined to sacrifice his own life to the cause of his country. Whilst the opposing armies, therefore, stood confronted to each other, he disguised himself in the habit of a peasant, and, eluding the observation of his own troops, penetrated to the camp of the enemy. Here he purposely provoked a quarrel with some private soldiers, and, courting the death they were not backward to inflict, he fell a magnanimous sacrifice to the safety and glory of Athens. His rank was now discovered, and the tidings of his death reaching the Athenian camp on the following day, an embassy was dispatched to the enemy demanding the body of their king. The invaders were panic-struck at the remembrance of the oracle; they broke up their camp in fear, and retired from Attica without striking a single blow.

Oracle respecting him.

Magnanimous death.

With the death of this gallant monarch ended the regal sovereignty of Athens, which, between the reign of Cecrops and that of Codrus, had extended over a period of nearly five hundred years. Athens, under various modes of administering the chief magistracy, became from this period a republic, and rose, under that form of government, to the summit of human grandeur.

The origin of this change, however, is singular, if it is not peculiar to the history of this memorable state, and is closely connected with the character of Codrus; the brief history of whose family, while it enjoyed the chief magistracy of Athens, we shall not find a better opportunity to trace. On the principle of high veneration for the memory of Codrus, the Athenians are said to have made an express declaration that they deemed none worthy to bear the title of king after him, and thus arose the government of the Archons; a title which they first conferred on Medon, the eldest son of Codrus. But the election of Medon being opposed by his brother Nileus, on the plea of his intellectual incompetency, and from the circumstance of his being lame in one foot, the Athenians applied to the oracle on the occasion, which confirmed the title of the elder son, who, in consequence, enjoyed the chief magistracy for his own life, and transmitted it to his heirs for twelve generations; the Archontes derived from Medon were commonly known in history by the name of the *Medontides*.

The population of Attica had now very considerably increased, and many of the superior families being admirers and supporters of Nileus and a younger son of Codrus, the brothers placed themselves at the head of considerable bands of the Athenians, and formed various settlements in the neighbourhood. To these adventurers have been attributed the founding and peopling of twelve cities of Ionia, on the coast of Lesser Asia; Ephesus, Miletum, Priene, Colophon, Myus, Teos, Lebedos, Claromene, Erithra, Phocæa, Chios (situated in an island), and Samos; at first governed each by its separate king, but afterwards united into one state, which attained considerable celebrity. In the mean time the Medontides enjoyed their dignity in undisturbed succession, until the archonship of Alcmæon, or Alcmaeon, the son of Æschylus, who died after having exercised his office only two years. The Athenians were now ambitious of strengthening the democratic part of their constitution, by limiting the future duration of the archonship to ten years, and though the supreme magistracy appears to have remained in the line of Medon to the time of Hippomenes (about four generations), in the archonship of Eryxias a still further alteration was made in favour of the people, who declared the office in future to be elective and annual. Hippomenes, the last of the line of Codrus, is said to have been deposed for his cruelty to his own family, having had his son torn to pieces by wild horses, and his daughter stoned to death.

History of his family.

Codrus, &c.
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LYCURGUS.

FLOURISHED ABOUT A. M. 3294. B. C. 710.

Biography.

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710.

Early history.

Lacedæmon.

Sparta, the rival of Athens, in arms, if not in arts, is a star of the first magnitude in that bright constellation of human genius which shone in the early states of Greece. Not exempt from the usual prejudices of antiquity, the kings of Sparta ascribed their origin to the gods, threw a veil of splendour over the general ignorance of their origin, and thus supported the allegiance of the people by their superstition. Accordingly we find it alleged, that Lacedæmon, the first king of Sparta, was the son of the god Jupiter, by a mortal named Taygeta. This monarch married Sparta, or Sparte, the daughter of Eurotas, gave his own name (Lacedæmon or Lacedæmonia) to the country which he governed, and honoured his wife by bestowing hers (SPARTA) upon the city which he founded there. Perhaps the only fact to be deduced from these records is, that monarchy was the earliest form of government in this country. Twelve kings after Lacedæmon are said to have reigned over Sparta; not indeed in linear male succession, although they were all connected by relationship, whose names it may be sufficient here to mention; for little else has come down to us concerning the greater part of them, and of the rest, much of what has sometimes passed for truth is now placed, by the best critics, amongst the *terra incognita* of history. Thus we have Amyclas, the successor of Lacedæmon, and after him his three sons, Angulus, Cynortas, and Hyacinthus; the latter of whom was said to have been killed by Apollo, and by that god afterwards turned into a violet. Then followed Elmlus, the son of Cynortas, who gave his own name to a particular district of the country, of which he assigned the government to his son Hippocoon, and the rest of the kingdom to another son, Tyndareus; but Hippocoon afterwards drove Tyndareus from the throne. A story is then told of the god Hercules having been offended by Hippocoon, whose sons had beaten to death one *Æonus*, a cousin of that god; and that Hippocoon and ten of his sons were slain in an engagement with the followers of Hercules. Tyndareus, the banished monarch, was then re-seated on the Spartan throne, and succeeded by his sons, the demi-gods Castor and Pollux, in whom the male line of the divinely-descended Lacedæmon became extinct. Menelaus next governed Sparta, in right of his wife Helen, the beautiful sister of Castor and Pollux, and the fatal cause of the Trojan war. Helen was first stolen away by Theseus, and, after she was recovered by her brothers, her suitors took an oath that they would leave her to fix her own choice of a husband, to whom, in case she should be again carried off, they would all unite in restoring her. Menelaus being the husband of her own election, and this firebrand of beauty being again seized by Paris, her former lover, in fulfilment of their oaths, undertook the siege of Troy.

Succession of Agamemnon.

Clytemnestra, the other daughter of Tyndareus, was the cause of almost equal discord and enmity with her sister Helen; for having lived in adultery during the absence of her husband, Agamemnon, on his return

from Troy, she caused or connived at his murder. Menelaus, after the siege of Troy, returned to Sparta, and was succeeded on the throne by his two sons, Nicostratus and Megapenthes, not the offspring of Helen, but of another wife. The Lacedæmonians, however, threw off the yoke of these spurious kings, and elected for their monarch Orestes, son of Clytemnestra by Agamemnon, who had revenged his father's murder by that of his mother; an act for which he is said to have been accused by his uncle Perilous before the court of the Areopagus, though we are not informed of the issue. Orestes enjoyed a long reign, and died in Arcadia. Tisamenus, the son of Orestes by Hermione, the daughter of Menelaus and Helen, was now raised to the throne, in whom this short dynasty ended on his expulsion by the Hermelida, the descendants of Hercules, the ancient enemy of the Spartan kings. The reign of these celebrated sovereigns is by some writers said to have begun in the persons of Eurythènes and Procles, sons of Aristodemus, while others assign that honour to Aristodemus himself. With its new masters, the government of Sparta now took a singular form; and under the twin brothers, Eurythènes and Procles, became a diarchy, or a double monarchical state, both these kings reigning with equal authority throughout the whole kingdom; a mode of administration which seems to have been continued, not only during the lives of its founders, but in their descendants through several generations. In the one line, Agis succeeded his father Eurythènes, and from him the title of Agida was given to his successors; on the other side, Eurytionides became the name of those princes who descended from Procles, so called from Eurytion, the grandson of that prince. The jealousies of the rival sovereigns, however, at length gave birth to hostile parties in the state, and every contention between the governors increased the weakness of the kings whilst it augmented the power of the people. The following names are recorded as bearing the title of king, whatever were the separate powers of their sovereignty. Echestratus, the son of Agis; Leobates, son of Echestratus; and Dorasena. Then followed Agesiulus and Archelaus; in the same line, that of Eurythènes. In the line of Procles followed Soias, Eurytion, and Prytanis, Eunomus, and Polydeutes. From Eunomus sprang the illustrious Lycurgus. LYCURGUS, the great lawgiver of the nation, to whom Polydeutes, the son of Eunomus by another wife, left the kingdom on his death; and Lycurgus thus became cotemporary sovereign with Archelaus. During the periods of the above-mentioned dynasties, nothing of moment occurs in the annals of Sparta, except a war with the Cynosureans, a colony of Argives, the issue of which appears to have been very indecisive. It seems clear, however, that the internal state of the kingdom was generally that of much confusion and disorder.

These circumstances, therefore, together with the rank to which Lycurgus was entitled by birth, afforded him an opportunity to display those talents which otherwise might have been entirely obscured.

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This celebrated lawgiver, by the fame of his institutions, has attracted the attention of inquisitive and reflecting minds in every age; while the circumstances of his personal history, and even the precise nature of those institutions, the manner in which they were received by his countrymen, and the extent to which they were adopted, are points all involved in an uncertainty which it is now impossible to remove.

Plutarch, whose Life of Lycurgus, and *Laws and Customs of the Lacedæmonians*, we must be content to follow through some portion of our way, appears to have diligently collected and preserved most of the information on those subjects which had escaped the ravages of time. He wrote, too, at a period when, though Sparta, with the rest of Greece, had been reduced to the condition of a Roman province, yet her institutions still retained some of their influence, and curiosity would naturally be excited to learn the history of her lawgiver. It appears from Horace (L. i. Od. vii.) that *patiens Lacedæmon* was a theme among the courtiers of Augustus. Livy, also, in the same age, had celebrated her rigid discipline,* and described the city as distinguished, not by magnificent buildings, but by a well-ordered government.† Yet so little had been done to separate truth from fiction in the Spartan story, that Plutarch commences his account of her law-giver by the confession that he has "nothing to relate that is certain or incontrovertible; for there are different accounts of his birth, his travels, his death, and especially of the laws and form of government which he established."

Differences of chronology.

The first difficulty which occurs to a modern biographer of Lycurgus is, how to select what may have a just claim to authenticity among the varying accounts of the age in which he flourished. Sir Isaac Newton, in his *Chronology* (p. 36.), has placed him at the year 708 before the Christian era, chiefly relying on the testimony of "Socrates and Thucydides," who "made the institutions of Lycurgus about three hundred years older than the end of the Peloponnesian war." In this opinion, Mr. West, in his learned *Dissertation on the Olympic Games* (Sec. 11.), appears to coincide. It is also adopted by Dr. Priestley, in his *Chart of Biography*, though with some marks of uncertainty, and this is the date which we have followed in the margin. Yet some able modern chronologists concur in receiving the authority of Aristotle and Strabo. Thus they consider Lycurgus as the contemporary and associate of Iphitus, and place the commencement of his legislation on his return from his travels, at about 884 years before the Christian era. With this date a passage in Livy remarkably agrees, where, describing the submission of Lacedæmon to the Achæans (189 years before Christ), he represents the institutions of Lycurgus as having then subsisted seven hundred years.‡

Sparta had been long governed by two kings of equal authority, the descendants of Eurysthenes and Procles, sons of Aristodemus, of the race of Hercules.

* In a speech which he ascribes to the Roman Consul, Tarquinus, said to Spurius, *non illis et horrida disciplina moris?* L. xxviii. c. 17.

† In the progress of Pausanias through Greece, *Inde Lacedæmonem addi; non sperem magnificentiam, sed disciplinam institutisque ammirabilem.* L. xlv. c. 28.

‡ *Nihil tamens res locis etiam dæmonis patris disciplinæ Lycurgi cui per septingenta annos amiserunt, subleat.* L. xxviii. c. 24.

Eanomus, the father of Lycurgus, was of the family of Procles. He lost his life in a popular commotion, leaving his share in the kingdom to Polydieters, the elder son, on whose decease, after a short reign, the royalty descended on Lycurgus. Yet he no sooner understood that the deceased king had left his widow in a state of pregnancy, than he declared that the regal authority would belong to her issue should it prove a son, and in the mean time he administered the government under the title of *Proculus*, by which the Lacedæmonians denominated the guardians of a minor king.

The widowed queen, in whom ambition appears to have prevailed over moral sentiment and natural affection, now made to Lycurgus the inhuman proposal of procuring the destruction of the child, if he would promise to espouse her on thus succeeding to the royalty. He abhorred the suggestion, yet disguised his resentment, and persuaded the cruel mother, from a regard to her own life, to abandon the present destruction of her child, promising that he would take care to destroy it immediately on the birth.

Having thus diverted the queen from her barbarous birth of design, he gave strict orders to her attendants, that if Charilæus, she were delivered of a girl, the child should be committed to the care of the women, but if of a boy, that he should be immediately brought into his presence, however he might be engaged. The infant, proving to be a son, was carried to Lycurgus, who was then at supper with the magistrates; to whom he is reported to have said, "*Spartans, see here your new-born king,*" naming him Charilæus, because of the joy and admiration of his own magnanimity and justice, testified by all present towards so faithful and disinterested a guardian.

"Thus," says Plutarch, "the reign of Lycurgus lasted only eight days. But the citizens had a great veneration of him on other accounts; and there were more that paid him their attentions, and were ready to execute his commands, out of regard to his virtues, than those that obeyed him as guardian of the king, and director of the administration." There were, however, some who opposed his advancement, as too high for so young a man; particularly the relations and friends of the queen-mother. He therefore took the resolution of travelling into other countries, till his nephew should be grown up and have a son to succeed him in the kingdom. The guardianship of the infant king was now probably assumed by Leonidas, brother of the queen, whose violent hostility to Lycurgus must have contributed to his resolution of becoming a voluntary exile.

At this period of his life, when, as we have just learned from Plutarch, he was still young, may be Lycurgus placed, with most probability, his interview and co-operation with Iphitus, king of Elis. Mr. West says (sect. 11), that prince "may with great justice be styled the founder of the Olympic games, for he seems to have been the first that reduced that festival into a regular or coherent system or form; united the sacred and political institutions; and gave it, by the establishment of the *Olympiad*, that principle of life and duration as enabled it to outlive the laws and customs, the liberty, and almost the religion of Greece." Plutarch claims for Lycurgus a share in this high reputation, and imputes to him the "providing for a cessation of arms during the Olympic games," as "a mark of the

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humane and peaceable man." Of his introduction to the king of Sparta, he has borrowed from Herminippus and others the following marvellous account: "Lycurgus had no communication with Iphitus; but coming that way, and happening to be a spectator, he heard behind him a human voice (as he thought), which expressed some wonder and displeasure that he did not put his countrymen upon resorting to so great an assembly. He turned round immediately to discover whence the voice came, and, as there was no man to be seen, concluded it was from heaven. He joined Iphitus, therefore, and ordering, along with him, the ceremonies of the festival, rendered it more magnificent and lasting." An Olympic *diace*, mentioned by Aristotle, on which was inscribed the name of Lycurgus, is supposed to confirm the opinion of his co-operation with Iphitus.

To Crete.

The visit of Lycurgus to Crete is less disputed; and there he appears to have derived the largest assistance towards his future plans of legislation for Sparta. Minos, the king of Crete, was famed for his jurisprudence; and his laws, which he professed to have received from Jupiter, remained in vigorous exercise to the time of Plato, more than a thousand years after the death of the legislator. Here Lycurgus associated also with Thales, whom he persuaded to settle in Sparta. He was a poet, famed likewise for political wisdom, then generally recorded in traditionary verse, to which he procured the attention of the people by the attractions of his lyre.

Into Asia Minor.

From Crete, Lycurgus passed into Asia (*Minor*), desirous to compare the Ionian expense and luxury with the Cretan frugality and hard diet. There, in the reputed country of Homer, and amidst the scenes on which his genius had conferred immortality, he is reported to have discovered the entire poems of the bard, of which only a few detached pieces had been known in Greece. "Observing," says Plutarch, "that many moral sentences, and much political knowledge, were intermixed with his stories, which had an irresistible charm, he collected into one body, and gladly transcribed them, in order to take them home with him; for his glorious poetry was not yet fully known in Greece, only some particular pieces were in a few hands, as they happened to be dispersed. Lycurgus was the first that made them generally known."

To Egypt.

The proverbial wisdom of the Egyptians scarcely failed to attract the attention of Lycurgus, who could not indulge his personal security from enemies at home without seeking to acquire among foreign states all the information which could enable him, on his return, to improve the institutions of his own country. Nothing, therefore, is more probable than the opinion, that during his travels, which appear to have extended through ten, or, probably, a greater number of years, he visited Egypt, to examine those remarkable laws and customs which were early celebrated among the nations of antiquity. "He was most pleased," says Plutarch, "with their distinguishing the military men from the rest of the people; a regulation which he is said to have adopted at Sparta, though it is not easy to comprehend what distinction could exist among a people who, as to the free citizens, if they are correctly described, were all military. So indeed were many of the Helots, who accompanied their masters in battle, though their valour was frequently so ill re-

quited. The accounts of the visits of Lycurgus to Libya and Spain, and his interview with the gymnosophists of India, appear to rest, according to his biographer, on insufficient authority.

His inquiries into the institutions of foreigners were, however, suddenly terminated by the situation of his own country, probably long before the period which he had proposed for his return. This he had intended to defer till the infant king should have attained to manhood, and become a father, a period during which, time might lessen the number of his enemies, and abate the rancour of those who survived. But here we must revert to the earlier history of Sparta.

Lacedæmon, of which that city was the capital, is said to have been repeopled about eleven hundred years before the Christian æra, after having been reduced to a desert by the devastations of intestine war. Two kings, the sons of Aristodemus, as before-mentioned, then shared the regal authority. This divided rule, uncontrolled as it afterwards became by a senate, appears to have little promoted the public tranquillity. The nominal authority, indeed, still descended in the two branches of the royal family, yet it was perpetually disputed, till at length that tumult occurred which proved fatal, as we have seen, to the father of Lycurgus.

Precious to his departure from Sparta, he had administered the government only a few months, but in that time his abilities had become known to his fellow-citizens, who now, more sensible of his merit, sent deputations to him, in conjunction with the kings, to solicit his return. At length Lycurgus determined to revisit his country, and, as the only remedy he could devise for the existing evils, to new model the government.

Influenced by the superstitious notions of his time, or rather, perhaps, by the policy of encouraging them, he deferred the execution of his great design till he had visited the far-famed oracle of Delphos. The *Pythia*, who was, no doubt, prepared for his reception, saluted him as *beloved of the gods, and rather a god than a man*. "So great was either the reputation of Lycurgus to command this testimony, or so great his art in procuring it," say the learned and accomplished writers of the *Athenian Letters*.

Returning with this sanction from the oracle, he soon engaged in his design the principal citizens, of whom Arithmides was his chief supporter. They agreed, to the number of twenty-eight, to assemble armed in the public square, lest any other citizens should oppose him. None of this description appeared, and Lycurgus proceeded to accomplish the suggestions of his extraordinary mind, aided by the lights which his travels had afforded him.

He found the royal authority in the possession of Charilaus, his nephew, and Archelaus, who had both attained it by hereditary descent. But this authority was undefined, and frequently disputed, while the people passed by rapid transitions from the suffering of tyrannical oppression to the indulgence of licentious anarchy. Lycurgus now undertook to remedy both these evils, and to secure the liberty of the citizens, by tempering its exercise, while, by limiting the sovereign power, he consolidated and confirmed it.

Archelaus does not appear to have resisted his projects, or to have expressed any alarm; but Charilaus,

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Lycurgus now established a senate, consisting of twenty-eight members; and nominated to that office those citizens who had been the first promoters of his design. Plutarch quotes the opinion of Aristotle that they were only twenty-eight, because two of Lycurgus's friends had deserted him through fear; though he himself concludes, that this number was chosen, that, with the kings, the whole body might consist of thirty members. Of these, no one must be under sixty years. This election, determined, according to Plutarch, by the shouts of the people, was for life; and the senators were not responsible. Both these regulations are censured by Aristotle. He especially considers it as prejudicial to the public weal, that those should continue to possess a control over their fellow-citizens who had survived their capacity of forming a wise and equitable decision. Plutarch applauds this establishment of a senate, as an intermediate body, which, "like ballast, kept the state in a just equilibrium; the senators adhering to the kings whenever they saw the people too encroaching, and supporting the people whenever the kings attempted to make themselves absolute."

"Lycurgus," says Plutarch, "had this institution so much at heart, that he obtained from Delphi an oracle in its behalf, called *rhêtra*, or the decree. This decree, which was couched in very uncommon terms, recognized the establishment of a senate of thirty persons, including the two kings. It also directed that the people should be occasionally summoned to an assembly between *Babæa* and *Cnacion*, and that they should have the determining voice." These boundaries are supposed to describe a spot where they held their assemblies, "having neither walls nor any kind of building for that purpose. Lycurgus thought these things of no advantage to their counsels, but rather a disservice; as they distracted the attention, and turned it upon trifles; on observing the statues and pictures, the splendid roofs, and every other theatrical ornament. The people thus assembled, had no right to propose any subject of debate, and were only authorized to ratify or reject what might be proposed to them by the senate and the kings."

Of these popular assemblies there were two descriptions. One, which was held once a month, and called the *lesser assembly*. This consisted exclusively of the citizens of Sparta. They decided on all questions respecting the regal succession; the choice or removal of magistrates; the punishment to be inflicted on public criminals; and all important questions of internal policy or religious rites. The larger assembly comprehended, with the citizens of Sparta, the deputies from the cities of Laconia, and those of their allies, and even from any nations who came to improve their success. In these assemblies of the people, no one was allowed to give an opinion till he had completed his thirtieth year, and he might lose the privilege by misconduct. When any subject which engaged the attention of the assembly had been sufficiently discussed, one of the Ephori called for their voices, or ascertained their opinion by the numbers on a division.

Whether these magistrates, named the Ephori, were established by Lycurgus, or appointed, under the sanction of the oracle, more than a century after his time, is uncertain. Herodotus and Xenophon attribute their appointment to Lycurgus, while Plutarch, after Aristotol, places their institution 130 years later, in the reign of Theopompus, of whom it is related, that when his wife upbraided him that he would leave the regal power to his children less than he received it, replied, *Not, but greater, because more lasting.*

The Ephori were five in number, like the *Quinquæviri* at Carthage. They were annually chosen by the people, in their general assemblies, and designed to be a check on both the senate and the kings, thus possessing a power not unlike the tribunitial authority in Rome. In the exercise of this power, they were obliged to be unanimous. It was among the duties of the Ephori not only to preside in the assemblies of the people, and collect their suffrages, but also to proclaim war and negotiate peace; to decide on the number of troops to be embodied, and to appoint the funds for their maintenance. They appear, indeed, at length to have engrossed nearly the whole power in the administration of the government; yet, according to Herodotus (*Eratol*), the kings still possessed an authority and distinction scarcely consistent with such a power in the Ephori.

The priesthoods of the *Lacedæmonian* and celestial Jupiter were assigned to the kings. They had the power also of making hostile expeditions wherever they pleased; nor might any Spartan obstruct them without incurring the curses of their religion. In the field of battle their post was in the front; when they retired, in the rear. They had one hundred chosen men as a guard for their persons (three hundred according to others). When on their march, they might take for their own use as many sheep as they pleased, and had the chine and skin of all that were sacrificed. Such were their privileges in war. In peace they had many distinctions. In the solemnity of any public sacrifice the first place was reserved for the kings, to whom not only the choicest things were presented, but twice as the kings, much as to any other person. In the public games they sat in the most distinguished place, appointed the *Proxeni* (entertainers of ambassadors), and each of them chose two Pythii, who were sent to the oracle at Delphi, and maintained like the kings at the public expence. If the kings did not chuse to take their repast in public, two *chemeræ* of meal, with a *cotyle* of wine, were sent to their respective houses; but if they were present they received a double portion. The oracular declarations were preserved by them, though the Pythii also must know them. The kings alone had the power of deciding in the following cases, and they decided these only. They chose an husband for an heiress, if her father had not previously betrothed her. They had the care of the public ways. Whoever chose to adopt a child must do it in the presence of the kings. Such were the honours paid by the Spartans to their princes, according to Herodotus; who has here left some interesting traces of ancient manners, but whose account we shall find, on some points, at variance with the representations of Plutarch.

Lycurgus, having established his new government and defined the powers by which it should be administered, proceeded to the important objects which he considered as essential to its permanence. The

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first innovation on the existing forms of society at Sparta which he attempted, was a measure of extraordinary hazard, in which nothing could have encouraged or supported him but the reputation he had now acquired as a favourite of the oracular Apollo.

"He found," says Plutarch, "a prodigious inequality; the city overcharged with many indigent persons, who had no land, and the wealth centered in the hands of a few. These he persuaded to cancel all former divisions of land, and to make new ones in such a manner that they might be perfectly equal in their possessions and way of living. His proposal was adopted. He made nine thousand lots for the territory of Sparta, which he distributed among so many citizens, and thirty thousand for the inhabitants of the rest of Laconia. Each lot was capable of producing (one year with another) seventy bushels of grain for each man [as master of the family], and twelve for each woman, besides a quantity of wine and oil in proportion. A story goes of our legislator, that, some time after, returning from a journey through the fields, just reaped, and seeing the shocks standing parallel and equal, he smiled, and said to some that were near him, 'How like is Laconia to an estate newly divided among many brothers.' This journey has been attributed to the apprehensions of the legislator from the public odium which his innovations had excited. In the story is taken for granted, what probably never yet happened in any district, that the fertility of the lands in Laconia, and their cultivation, were in exact proportion. We are also left vainly to conjecture, how this equality of lands could be preserved, at the furthest, beyond one generation, considering the unequal increase of families; and especially how there could be always one of the nine thousand shares, the reserve of which will presently be mentioned, as the portion of an infant who was deemed strong enough to be permitted to live. Colonization is the only expedient which has been suggested; but great inequalities would occur before this relief could operate.

Lycurgus next projected an equalization of personal property; "but," according to Plutarch, "he soon perceived that they could not bear to have their goods directly taken from them, and therefore took another method. First he stopped the currency of the gold and silver coin, and ordered that they should make use of iron money only. Then, to a great quantity and weight of this, he affixed a very small value; so that to lay up ten minæ (about thirty pounds sterling) a whole room was required; and to remove it, nothing less than a yoke of oxen. He next excluded unprofitable and superfluous arts; which, if he had not done, most of them would have fallen of themselves, when the new money took place, as the manufactures could not be disposed of." Plutarch adds, that their iron coin would not pass in the rest of Greece, but was ridiculed and despised. And, as the result of this contrivance of our lawgiver, he states, that "luxury, losing by degrees the means that cherished and supported it, died away of itself; when even they who had great possessions had no advantage from them, since they could not be displayed in public, but must lie useless in unregarded repositories." But, in his *Laws and Customs of the Lacedæmonians*, he says, that there was a law against covetousness, which made it a capital crime to amass gold or silver; for which several had been put to death.

On this subject it is easy to discern the advantage the Spartans derived from having no money which would invite to their country "sophists, wandering fortune-tellers, or keepers of infamous houses;" but there is nothing very agreeable in the account that they "had no means of purchasing any foreign or curious wares, nor did any merchant ship unladen in their harbours."

Another purpose of this iron coin, and, as some authors add, of *leather money*, was to discourage avarice, and the injustice of which it is so frequently the parent. This design was generally effected. Yet a striking exception occurred about a century after the time of Lycurgus which deserves to be recorded; as nothing brings more credit on any institution than a view of the evils incurred by its violation. We refer to the story of Eucleides the Lacedæmonian, as related by Pausanias. This unworthy Spartan, by the desire of wealth, was tempted to possess himself of the property of the Messenian Polycharès, which the latter had entrusted to him, and afterwards to betray his too easy confidence by the murder of his son; crimes which principally gave occasion to the first Messenian war, horrible and calamitous, though at length successful to Sparta.

The next institution of Lycurgus was that of "public tables, where all were to eat in common of the same meats, and such kinds of it as were appointed by law. They had not the privilege of eating at home, and so to come without appetite to the public repast; and they made a point to observe any one that did not eat and drink with them, and to reproach him as an intemperate and effeminate person that was sick of the common diet." When returning home from the tables they were forbidden to use a light, that they might be accustomed to march in the night without apprehension.

At these public repasts, the plan of which Lycurgus appears to have borrowed from the institutions of Crete, there were about fifteen persons to a table. "Each was obliged to contribute monthly a bushel of meal, eight gallons of wine, five pounds of cheese, two pounds and a half of figs, and a little money to buy flesh and fish. If any of them happened to offer a sacrifice of first fruits, or to kill venison, he sent a part of it to the public table; for after a sacrifice, or hunting, he was at liberty to sup at home, but the rest were to appear in the usual place." Plutarch adds, what cannot be easily reconciled with the account of Herodotus, "that when King Agis returned from a successful expedition against the Athenians, and from a desire to sup with his wife, requested to have his portion at home, the *Polemarche* (chief men who distributed the commons) refused to send it."

In these public halls there were distinct tables or *meases*, to which a new member could be admitted only by ballot. The favourite dish of the Spartans was their *black broth*; of its ingredients we have no very inviting description, *pieces of flesh, blood, salt, and vinegar*. Yet the old men were so fond of it, that they ranged themselves on one side, and sat it, leaving the meat to the young people. Plutarch relates of a king of Pontus, what he has also, as well as Cicero, ascribed to Dionysius, the tyrant of Syracuse, that he purchased a Lacedæmonian cook for the sake of this broth. But when he came in taste it; he strongly expressed his dislike, and the cook made answer, *Sir, to make this broth relish, it is necessary first to bathe in the Eurates*;

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with which expression the Spartans connected labour and abstinence.

We can easily credit the information of Plutarch, that this institution of common repasts was peculiarly unacceptable to those who had enjoyed the distinctions of opulence. In this connection he has introduced an interesting story, too creditable to the conciliating talents of Lycurgus to be omitted in an account of his life.

"The rich were more offended with this regulation than any other, and rising in a body, they loudly expressed their indignation; nay, they proceeded so far as to assault Lycurgus with stones, so that he was forced to fly from the assembly, and take refuge in a temple. Unhappily, however, before he reached it, a young man, named Alcander, hasty in his resentments, though not otherwise ill-tempered, came up with him, and, upon his turning round, struck out one of his eyes with a stick. Lycurgus then stopped short, and without giving way to passion, showed the people his eye beat out, and his face streaming with blood. They were so struck with shame and sorrow at the sight that they surrendered Alcander to him, and conducted him home with the utmost expressions of regret. Lycurgus thanked them for their care of his person, and dismissed them all except Alcander. He took him into his house, but showed him no ill treatment, either by word or action, only ordering him to wait upon him instead of his usual attendants. The youth, who was of an ingenious disposition, without murmuring, did as he was commanded. Living in this manner with Lycurgus, and having an opportunity to observe the mildness and goodness of his heart, his strict temperance, and indefatigable industry, he told his friends that Lycurgus was not that proud and severe man he might have been taken for, but above all others gentle and engaging in his behaviour. This then was his chastisement, and this punishment he suffered; and thus of a wild and head-strong young man, he became a very modest and prudent citizen. In memory of his misfortune, Lycurgus built a temple to *Minerva Optileta*, so called by him from a term which the Dorians use for the eye." Plutarch adds, from *Dinacrides*, that his eye was hurt, but not struck out, and that he built the temple in gratitude to the goddess for his cure. In memory of the accident, the Spartans never afterwards carried staves to their assemblies.

By proscribing the currency of the precious metals, Lycurgus had rendered the indulgence of those luxuries which ingenious artists must supply scarcely attainable. As an additional guard against the propensity, he ordered that "the ceilings of houses should be wrought with no tool but the saw," taking it for granted that into such houses no one would introduce highly wrought and costly furniture. Plutarch, however, attributes to the Spartans excellent workmanship "in their useful and necessary furniture," and instances their "cup called *cotkoi*," which was highly valued, particularly in campaigns." But we must now inquire how the lawgiver of Sparta provided for more important objects.

He encouraged marriage by setting a brand of disgrace upon celibacy. The bachelors were liable to a prosecution, and obliged to appear naked in the public market, even in the winter season, and sing verses containing ridicule of themselves. They were likewise

refused those honours to old age, which were in all other cases so scrupulously paid by the Spartans. On the other hand, those who married had many privileges, and if they had four children were free from taxes. Plutarch says, that "in their marriages, the bridegroom carried off the bride by violence, and she was never chosen in a tender age, but when she had arrived at full maturity." He proceeds to describe the circumstances attending the commerce of the sexes at Sparta, and affects to commend the lawgiver's gross expedient for preventing adultery, by encouraging a community of wives.

Lycurgus considered children not so much the property of their parents as of the state. Under this notion, he established the following severe regulation: The father "was obliged to carry the child to a place called *Leuke*, to be examined by the men at ancient men of the tribe, who were assembled there. If it was strong and well-proportioned, they gave orders for its education, and assigned it one of the nine thousand shares of land; but if it was weakly and deformed, they ordered it to be thrown into the place called *Apoleia*, which is a deep cavern near the mountain Taygetus, concluding that its life could be no advantage either to itself or to the public, since nature had not given it at first any strength or goodness of constitution." How much wiser to have reflected, as observed in the *Athenian Letters*, "that a weak constitution often settles into a state of health, and that nature sometimes makes amends for a feeble and deformed body by the strength and beauty of the understanding."

As to the children who survived this ordeal, the parents were not at liberty to educate them as they pleased. How the girls were initiated does not appear, except that they were taught "to exercise in running, wrestling, and throwing quoits and darts," and that Lycurgus "accustomed the virgins occasionally to be seen naked, as well as the young men, and to dance and sing in their presence, on certain festivals." Such is Plutarch's account, and he is disposed to excuse, if not to commend this indecorous custom, which was, however, guarded by a law, which punished capitally the violation of a virgin's chastity. The learned author of *Anacharsis* (c. 48) is also an apologist for this custom of occasional exposure, and claims for the female Spartans the praise of exemplary purity; *les femmes de Lacédémone se distinguaient par la pureté de leurs mœurs*. Bayle, on the other hand, in his article *Lycurgue*, says of this custom, *N'étoit-ce pas le moyen de les rendre dévergondées? Et se faut-il étonner après cela, que les filles de Lacédémone aient été en si mauvaise réputation*. He adds, from the ancient writers, examples sufficiently numerous of the character which the Spartan matrons obtained and deserved, as being the most immodest women of all the Greeks. They had, however, the praise of being excellent nurses, and for this purpose were frequently employed in neighbouring countries.

When a boy had passed the examination of the ancient men, and was allowed to live, he was laid upon a buckler, and a spear placed within his reach, that his very first efforts might be warlike. The boys, at seven years of age, were enrolled in companies, where they were all kept under the same order and discipline, and had their exercises and recreations in common. His

A. M.
3294.
B. C.
710.

Assaulted by Alcander.

Children exposed.

Education.

Encourages marriage.

Biography. who showed the most conduct and courage amongst them was made captain of the company. The rest kept their eyes upon him, obeyed his orders, and bore with patience the punishments he inflicted. The old men were present at their diversions, and often suggested some occasion of dispute, or quarrel, that they might observe with exactness the spirit of each, and their firmness in battle. At twelve years of age their under-garment was taken away, and but one upper one a year was allowed them. Hence they were necessarily dirty in their persons, and not indulged the great favour of baths and oils, except on some particular days of the year. They slept in companies, on beds made of the tops of reeds, which they gathered with their own hands, without knives, and brought from the banks of the Eurotas. They were introduced to the public tables; and when they first entered, the oldest man present pointed to the door, and said, *Not a word spoken in this company goes out there.* In the education of the Spartans, the higher branches of literature appear to have been excluded upon principle, as also were arts and sciences, except some attention to the art of design, probably for the purposes of war; poetry, such as might consist with their habitual consciousness, and music, on an instrument, the form of which was limited by law. Thus Terpander, though he had the merit of setting the laws of Lycurgus to music, was severely reprimanded by the Ephors because he had added a string to the lyre.

Juvenile contests.

Among the Spartans was an instructor called *Iren*, who had left the class of boys two years, and was twenty years old. It was his employment to improve the boys by conversation, and to draw out those concise repartees for which the Spartans were celebrated, and which gave birth to the epithet *laconic*. The *Iren* also presided over the juvenile contests, which were designed to prepare the combatants for those perilous encounters which were their sole manly occupations. These contests were severe, and maintained with a perseverance of which history has furnished few, if any, adequate examples. They are thus described by Cicero (*Tuscul. v. 77*), *Adolescentium greges Lacædæmonæ vidimus ipsi indolenti contentionē certantes pugnis, calcibus, ungulibus, morum denique ut exanimarentur prius-quam se victos faterentur.*

It was also the business of the *Iren* to ensure the boys to hardships, and to encourage feats of craft and agility. These adventures have been, perhaps, improperly censured as thefts, which they could scarcely be called, when we consider the community, especially of subsistence, which prevailed in Sparta. Plutarch says that the *Iren* sends the eldest of the boys "to fetch wood, and the youngest to gather pot-herbs. These they steal where they can find them, either sily going into gardens, or else craftily and warily creeping to the common tables. But if any one be caught, he is severely flogged for negligence or want of dexterity. The boys steal with so much caution, that one of them having conveyed a young fox under his garment, suffered the creature to tear out his bowels with his teeth and claws, chaming rather to die than to be detected." So highly, indeed, was dexterity valued by the Spartans, that for a victory gained by valour they offered only a cock, but for one acquired by a stratagem, which spared the lives of their countrymen, they sacrificed an ox.

Another severe discipline of the Spartan youth, by which *Lacedæmon* *nursed her hardy sons to war*, was also one of their religious rites, performed at the altar of Diana. Plutarch appears to have witnessed this celebration, and to have seen many of the youths "expire under the lash." In his *Laws*, &c. he thus describes the scene:

"There was, indeed, a strange and unnatural custom annually observed at the celebration of the bloody rites of *Diana Orthia*. A number of children, not only of the common, but of the higher class, were whipped, almost to death, with rods, before the altar of the goddess, their parents and relations standing by, and exhorting them to resolution in suffering. Though this barbarous ceremony lasted a whole day, yet they endured these severities with such extraordinary cheerfulness and resolution, as could not have been expected from the tenderness of their age. They did not express one sigh or groan during the solemnity. But, from an emulation of glory, they contended each to excel his companion in suffering the length and sharpness of his pains, and he who held out the longest was ever the most valued person among them." Well might Cicero say, as in the words immediately preceding the passage we lately quoted, *Pueri Spartani non ingemunt verberum dolore lenitate.*

Though thus early trained to hardihood, the Spartans appear not to have been admitted into military service till thirty years of age. For this service Lycurgus established various regulations. Their dress was scarlet, probably to hide the appalling spectacle of blood. They were never to march before the full moon, nor to fight often against the same enemies, lest they should thus teach them, though by severe experience, the art of war. They slept all night in their armour, except the advanced guard, who were not allowed their shields, that they might depend solely on their vigilance. After every meal they sang hymns to their gods, who were always represented in armour, that every thing might foster the military spirit. The king, who commanded the army, was attended by two Pythii, or augurs, with the *Polemarchæ*, who formed a council of war, and he had an Olympic champion to fight by his side. On his departure from the city he offered a sacrifice to Jupiter; a youth took from the altar a flaming brand, and bore it, at the head of the troops, till they reached the frontiers, when the king offered another sacrifice. Just before the onset of battle he sacrificed to the Muses, that they might perform deeds worthy of praise. The troops then advanced to the sound of flutes, and with chaplets on their heads, as if in anticipation of a victory, the king singing the psalm, or hymn of Castor, as a signal to engage.

The Spartan wives and mothers encouraged their sons and husbands to the fight, conjuring them to return, either with their shields or upon them; never lamenting those who died in battle, but rather thanking the gods for the honour they entailed on their families. Those who fell in battle were buried in scarlet cloth, and had inscriptions on their tombs, which was not generally permitted. And that his Spartans might be familiarized with mortality, Lycurgus, contrary to the practice of the Greeks, his contemporaries, directed their tombs to be built around their temples; among which he is said to have built a temple to Laughter,

Lycurgus.
A. M.
3294.
A. C.
710

Spartan severity.

Biography.

A. M.
3294.
B. C.
710.

and was at length honoured with one, which Sparta dedicated to her lawgiver. Whether, after all, Lycurgus was himself a soldier, it is impossible to determine. Plutarch has quoted two directly opposite testimonies; one, that he "was a man of great personal valour, and an experienced commander," which is also the report of Xenophon; the other account is, "that he never had any military employment, and that there was the profoundest peace imaginable when he established the constitution of Sparta."

Helots re-
duced to
slavery.

There is one striking feature in the legislative system of Lycurgus, of which we have yet said nothing, but which well deserves to be considered; we mean the case of the *Helots* or *Ilots*. A maritime town of Laconia, called *Helos*, was conquered, and the inhabitants were reduced to slavery by the Lacedemonians, some ages before the time of our law-giver. From them all the slaves in Laconia are supposed to have been called *Helots*, though the author of *Anacharsis* (ch. xli.) distinguishes them from those who were domestic slaves, and describes their condition as like that of the *serfs* or *villains*, under the feudal establishments. *Ille tamen plerûq; se militem entre les esclaves et les hommes libres*. Plutarch certainly considers the domestic slaves as *Helots*, whom he describes as tempted, or rather forced, to intoxication, and then brought into the public halls, to deter the youths by their example.

To these *Helots*, who were far more numerous than the free inhabitants of Laconia, were appropriated all mechanic arts, and the cultivation of their lands; for the free Lacedemonians, when not engaged in war, or preparing for it by martial exercises, claimed the privilege of idleness, which they accounted dignity. Plutarch, in his *Laws*, &c. describes the *Helots* as "employed not only in all kinds of servile offices, but especially in tilling the fields, which were let out to them at reasonable rates." But, in his *Life of Lycurgus*, these *Helots* are represented as the victims of the most wanton cruelty. They were slaves not only of individuals but of the public. The youth massacred them in cold blood, to prepare themselves for the slaughter of foreign enemies; and, lest they should become too numerous for the safety of the freemen of Laconia, they sallied forth in the evening to cut off great numbers of them as they returned home from reaping their harvests. This occasional destruction of the *Helots* appears to have been brought into a regular system by the institution of the *Cryptia*, or ambuscade, which Plutarch describes, but is disposed to consider it an invention of much later date than the time of Lycurgus. Xenophon, however, attributes it to our lawgiver; nor is it difficult to believe that he may be correct. Even in this enlightened country negroes were scarcely allowed to be *human* beings, till

that era when Granville Sharp lived and laboured for their deliverance. Was it, then, extraordinary that Lycurgus, whose legislation, after all, was only a systematic barbarism, should have considered the *Helots* as brutes, whose lives might be sacrificed to any purpose which his policy required. Yet he has found an able advocate in the author of *Anacharsis*, whose note to his 67th chapter the reader will do well to consult.

How long Lycurgus remained in Sparta to superintend the practical application of his laws, and under what circumstances he finally left the country, are questions involved in the common uncertainty of his story. Plutarch describes him as living on good terms with his countrymen, and highly gratified by the effect of his institutions. He represents him as pretending an occasion for visiting the oracle at Delphos, and obliging the Spartans, by an oath, to alter nothing till his return, which he never intended. He then, after an interview with the *Pythia*, is said to have put an end to his life by abstaining from food, at the age, according to Lucian, of eighty-five; which must, in that case, have been after a long residence at Sparta; yet Plutarch evidently supposes him to have died in the prime of life. Tertullian, in his *Apology*, differs from Plutarch as to the retirement of Lycurgus. He twice alludes to the circumstance (ch. iv. xlvii.), and attributes it to the determination of the Spartans to mitigate the severity of his laws, on which he withdrew in disgust, and pined himself to death. These laws, which certainly discover a mind superior to the general information of his age, have been panegyriced in all times, though several of them need only a description to be justly censured. At best, they considered war rather than peace as the business of life; and it has been well observed that Sparta flourished while she was in perpetual hostilities, but in the enjoyment of tranquillity presently decayed. As to their operation on domestic life, if women were not depressed in Sparta as in other countries, yet they were formed to *roughen to the sense*, and appear destitute of *all that cheers and softens life*. But, as to human nature in general, considering the great proportion of slaves in Laconia, how ill was that provided for by Lycurgus. Upon the whole, if we compare the two lawgivers who appeared in different ages, both learned in the wisdom of the Egyptians, and merely consider how one provided to mitigate the evils of bondage, and to maintain, in the commerce of the sexes, a decorum which the other lawgiver seemed to have placed no value, we cannot avoid the conclusion that Lycurgus had only availed himself of the false pretensions of the *Pythia*, though with a laudable design, but that Moses had repaired to that only Oracle, which is neither the author nor the victim of delusion.

Lycurgus.
A. M.
3294.
B. C.
710.

ROMULUS.

BORN, A. N. 3233. B. C. 771.

DIED, A. M. 3293. B. C. 771. U. C. 37.

Biography.

A. M.
3233.
B. C.
771.

On the destruction of Troy by the Grecians, two only of the Trojan chiefs were exempted by the victors from the severities which followed that memorable conquest. Æneas and Antenor, the Trojan leaders thus preserved from destruction, had, on every occasion which offered, been the strongest advocates for peace; even upon the condition of surrendering Helen, the beautiful, but fatal cause of the war. These chiefs too, had another title to the clemency of the Grecians: prior to the unfortunate contest which destroyed their country, they had been the intimate friends of their conquerors; and the rites of friendship and hospitality have in no age of the world been deemed more sacred and inviolable, than in that of which we are speaking. Troy, however, being now razed to its foundation, and the whole of its little territory desolated, both Æneas and Antenor were driven out to seek other homes, and to adopt new countries.

Antenor became the leader of the Hæneti, who, uniting themselves with his few Trojan followers, formed one people, and settled in an inner bay of the Adriatic, occupying the country between that sea and the foot of the Alps. But a more celebrated destiny awaited Æneas.

Without borrowing any thing from the stores of imagination, or invading the interesting offices of poetry in the diffusion of patriotism (an application of the art never more successfully sustained than in the Roman poets, from Virgil downwards), the chief from whose progeny originated the mightiest and most extensive empire of antiquity can never cease to be an interesting personage in the history of the world. After a variety of misfortunes, after attempts at forming a settlement repeatedly baffled, the wandering hero, with a few faithful followers (in number about six hundred, who had, like their leader, escaped from the flames of devoted Troy), landed at length at Laurentium, on the western coast of Italy. Possessed of little except their arms and their ships, Æneas and his band for some time were reduced to subsist only on such cattle or other provision as they could obtain by forage or by force; their ravages consequently soon attracted the attention, and roused the fears of the neighbouring princes. King Latinus, the venerable monarch of an adjacent state, marched with his people, called the Aborigines, in an expedition to repel the invaders, and, according to some accounts, yielded up his life and his throne to the victorious Trojan, in the contest which ensued.

More judicious historians, however (amongst whom is Livy), relate that Latinus, struck with surprise and admiration at the martial appearance of the veteran troop of Æneas, suspended the battle, and demanded a conference with the chief. The former renown of the Trojans had reached the ears of this king, and prepared his mind to receive the account of their recent adventures with commiseration and respect.

Whatever were the causes, an offer of alliance was promptly made by Latinus, and no less readily accepted by the Trojan prince, who was now entertained as a welcome guest at the palace, and received the only daughter of the king, Lavinia, in marriage. Here, therefore, a place of rest was allotted to the wandering Trojans; and Æneas is said, shortly after, to have built a town, which he called Lavinium, in honour of his newly-acquired wife.

A new cause of disturbance, however, quickly arose. Turnus, king of the Rutulians, who had been affianced to Lavinia before the arrival of Æneas in Italy, commenced war upon Latinus and his son-in-law. A general battle followed, in which Turnus was slain, and the confederate Aborigines and Trojans were victorious; but in the same action King Latinus also fell. His kingdom, therefore, now descended to Æneas, who, apprehending further opposition to his plans from the jealousy of the adjacent countries, and to unite all his subjects in the closest bands, declared that henceforth the Aborigines and Trojans should be only known by the name of the Latins, and be governed without distinction by the same laws. His anticipations were soon realized. War ensued between the Etrurians and the new settlers shortly after the death of Latinus; but the fidelity of his subjects was unshaken; the Aborigines were faithful as the Trojans, nor did they, on any future occasion, prove otherwise than true and firm friends to the cause of the united nation. In the Etrurians, Æneas had to combat a powerful enemy, whose renown had been spread throughout the coast of Italy, from the Alps to the Sicilian straits; and Mezentius, the king, was determined on the destruction of the new city. Assured of the affections of his people, the king of Lavinium disdained to shut himself up within its walls, but marched out without hesitation to meet the attack. The battle proved victorious to the Latins, but with the irreparable loss of their king. Æneas, in the heat of the action, found an enemy he had long disdained; while encouraging his troops he was forced into the river Numicius, and drowned. The people having recovered his body, interred it with great solemnity on the banks of the river in which he perished; and afterwards, by ranking him amongst the gods of their country, by the title of Jupiter Indiges, convinced their admiration of his government and exploits.

The Etrurians risked another battle after this, in which Lausus, the son of Mezentius, was slain; when they entered into a treaty with the Latins, by which the Tyber was fixed upon as the boundary of the two nations, an arrangement which became the basis of a lasting peace.

During the short period of the reign of this first monarch of the Latins, which is stated by historians to have been only about three years, Æneas re-established the religion of ancient Troy, and added the

Romulus.

A. M.
3233.
B. C.
771.

Mother
Lavinia

Lands in
Italy.

Death of
Æneas.

Biography. gods of that city to those of his newly-acquired dominions. Amongst other Trojan solemnities, he introduced the worship of Vesta, and the peculiar rites of the vestal virgins, amongst whom it was afterwards accounted so honourable to be ranked; and from this circumstance the hero is supposed to have attained the especial appellation of the *First Æneas*.

Worship of Vesta instituted. Ascanius, sometimes called Euryleon and Julius, the son and successor of Æneas, was left a minor at his death. Yet the Latins, under a temporary female reign (for the royal widow Lavinia held the reins of government for a time), continued in a state of undisturbed repose; and their affairs were sufficiently flourishing, shortly after the ascent of Ascanius to the throne, to induce him to found another city on Mount Alba, within about thirty years after the building of Lavinium.

His mother uncertain. It is uncertain whether the founder of this new city was the son of Æneas by Lavinia, or that of a former wife Creusa; for he is stated by some to have escaped with his father from the flames of Troy, and to have been the partner of his fortunes since that event until his death. It is allowed, however, on all hands, that he was the son of Æneas; that he was sometimes called Julius, and was the progenitor of the Julian family, afterwards so renowned in Roman history. Ascanius is now stated to have finally resigned the government of Lavinium to Lavinia, and to have chosen the neighbourhood of Mount Alba for his new dominion, whence the city he built was called Alba Longa. Here he reigned in peace, and the undisputed possession of Alba Longa devolved upon his son Sylvius, so called from the accident of his having been born in a wood. To Sylvius succeeded Æneas Sylvius, and to Æneas his son Latinus Sylvius. In the times of Latinus the people were again found to have increased so considerably, that he found it necessary to colonize various districts in the neighbourhood, the people of which were called the ancient Latins.

Kings of Alba Longa. From this time Sylvius was the general surname of all the Alban kings, a succession of whom is said, by some historians, to have extended over a period of four hundred years. But more reliance is to be placed on the account of Livy, who records, after Latinus, the names only of Alba, Atys, Capys, Capetus, and Tiberius, in lineal succession. The last-mentioned prince was drowned in the river Tyber, and from this event it is said to have derived that name. Agrippa, son of Tiberius, was the next king, succeeded by Romulus Sylvius, who was struck by a thunderbolt, and left the throne to his son Aventinus. This prince was buried in the Aventine hill, so called from that circumstance. To Aventinus succeeded Proca, who left two sons, Numitor and Amulius, of whom Numitor was the elder, and entitled to the throne. Amulius, however, not only deposed his brother, and usurped the government, but murdered the sons of Numitor, and obliged Rhea Sylvia, his brother's daughter, to take the vows of perpetual virginity, on the pretence of conferring upon her the rank and office of a vestal virgin.

Birth of Romulus and Remus. Vain, however, are the efforts of man to change the designs of Providence: from this very Rhea sprung the enterprising founder of mighty Rome. The royal vestal proved with child. Unwilling, and perhaps unable to name the real father, she asserted that she

had met with violence from a man in armour; and appealing to the superstitious feelings of the age, declared that Mars, the god of war, was the progenitor of the healthy and remarkably vigorous male twins which she brought forth. The boldness of this asseveration availed not to lull the suspicion, nor to awaken the awe of the usurping Amulius. He committed the offending princess to close confinement, and he commanded the twin boys, who were called ROMULUS and Remus, to be thrown into the Tyber. In pursuance of this inhuman mandate, the infants were placed in a wooden trough, and, the river having recently overflowed, they were exposed on its banks, in a pool made by the waters, that they might perish either by their reflux, or for want of proper sustenance. In this precarious situation they are said to have been found by a she wolf, and the destined founders of Rome

were for some time suckled by her, when they were discovered by the king's shepherd Faustulus. It is said that this animal was in the act of caressing the twins at the time, and licking them with her tongue, as if they had been her own offspring. Others give this story a less marvellous form, and relate that Faustulus having taken the foundlings to his own house, committed them to the care of his wife Laurentia, who suckled them herself; and that this nurse had acquired the name of *Lupa*, which word signified *she wolf*, or *prostitute*, from her former licentious conduct.

When Romulus and Remus were yet in their boyhood, they began to display that spirit of enterprise and aptitude for command, which afterwards so greatly distinguished them. The herds and the fields were forsaken for the resorts of man, and the sluggish cares of the husbandman were relinquished for the hardest sports of their time and station. At the period of an early maturity, the royal twins had induced a certain number of bold and martial youths, who looked up to them with admiration, and obeyed them with alacrity, not only to hunt with them regularly the beasts of prey in the forest, but occasionally to attack the various bands of plunderers, who were very numerous, and almost equally ferocious. The exploits of these youthful chieftains, however, soon rendered them obnoxious to the neighbourhood, and particularly to the irritated troops of handitti, who designed, and in part, successfully executed a plan to destroy them. It happened that on Mount Palatine, a festival to the god Pan, was, according to custom, to be observed with certain sacred sports, in which a number of young men assisted unarmed and naked. In this unguarded situation Romulus and Remus were attacked by the surrounding robbers; who, taking them by surprise, secured Remus a prisoner, while Romulus, defending himself with some difficulty, escaped. The outlaws then charging their own crimes upon their prisoner, delivered him up to Numitor, his grandfather, with the character of a reputed thief. It was now that the shepherd Faustulus, who had long entertained secret hopes respecting the royal birth of the foundlings, pressed by the danger of Remus, related to Romulus the manner in which he and his brother had been found and nurtured, and disclosed his suspicions respecting their descent. Stimulated at once by the danger of his brother, and by a narrative so favourable to his ambition, Romulus collected around him his intrepid associates to revenge his wrongs upon the head of Amulius,

Romulus.
A. M.
3233.
B. C.
771.

Biography.

A. M.
3233.
B. C.
771.Numitor re-
sented on
his throne.

the usurper; but finding himself unable to cope with the forces of his kinsman, he divided his troop into various small parties, and directed each to march in secrecy to the palace of Amulius. Numitor, at the same time, being made acquainted with the story of his captive Remus, and comparing the time of the exposure of the twins with that of their alleged discovery, became convinced of the claims of Romulus and Remus to his protection. He raised a body of horse, with the command of which Remus was entrusted, and the usurping Amulius being thus doubly assailed, by the party of Romulus on the one side, and that of Remus on the other, was slain. Numitor reinstated on the throne of Alba, related to the council of the city the story of Romulus and Remos, declared their royal birth, and acknowledged them as his grandsons.

The young princes thus settled under Numitor in considerable authority, quickly found another opportunity to display their enterprising and adventurous spirit. The Alban and Latin had considerably increased in numbers, and being further augmented by the followers of the royal twins, it was found that a sufficient number of men might be spared to people a new colony. The talents, the exploits, and the supposed celestial lineage of Romulus and Remus, pointed them out as the fittest leaders of the proposed expedition, while they secured to them a number of enthusiastic associates. The princes, on their parts, at once determined to build a city on the spot where the shepherd Faustulus first found them, on the banks of the Tyber. But thus agreed with respect to their object, a controversy arose on another point far more difficult to determine, the pretensions of each of the contending parties to the presidency of the new kingdom. In adversity they had shone as twin brothers; but rank, and talents, and prosperity, gave to the circumstances of their birth a new colouring, and as from then the priority could not be determined, they resorted to the decisions of a popular form of augury: Romulus for this purpose retired to Mount Palatine, and Remus to the Aventine hill. To Remus six vultures appeared, while Romulus saw double that number. But the augury having presented itself to Remus before his brother perceived any omen, the friends of each saluted the princes separately with the title of king. The contest then became violent, and an appeal was made to arms, when Remus, in the tumult, fell by an uncertain hand. Another account states, but with less probability, that the dispute having been decided in favour of Romulus, and the walls of the town having been commenced, Remus, in contempt of its appearance, amused himself with leaping over the new erections, and was slain by Romulus, who exclaimed, "thus perish every one that leaps over my walls."

Dispute
between
Romulus
and Remus.Remus
slain.
Rome
founded.
A. M.
3256.
B. C.
748.

Undisputed master of the rising colony, Romulus now founded that city, which was afterwards to be the mistress of the world, on the 21st of April, according to Usher, in the year of the world 3256, a day on which the Romans ever after celebrated the festival of Pales, the goddess of shepherds, and the anniversary of the foundation of Rome.

The new city, the first fortress of which was placed on the Mount Palatine, consisted of about one thousand houses, in the midst of which Romulus built a palace for himself; and, to secure respect for his authority, immediately assumed all the ensigns of kingly power. He chose twelve lictors to attend his person, armed

with rods and axes; the number of whom has been thought, by some, to bear allusion to the venerated birds which appeared to the chief, and awarded to him the office of king; while others state, that the number, as well as the custom altogether, was copied from the manners of the Etrurians; from whom the sella curulis, or chair of state; the toga praetexta, or gown of youth; and some other customs, were also borrowed. Under the control of Romulus, the infant city rapidly increased in strength; but the fortifications were of an extent rather proportioned to the wishes and expectations of the ambitious founder, than to the actual number of the inhabitants. Romulus, therefore, when he had finished the city, set apart a certain portion of it as an asylum for the outlaws and discontented of the neighbouring states; a measure that proved important to the increase of his subjects. To newly-founded Rome a multitude repaired, as to a place of security from the severities of slavery, the vengeance of offended law, and the merited or unmerited hardships of poverty.

Romulus.
A. M.
3256.
B. C.
748.

Rome thus built and peopled, a hundred of the inhabitants, distinguished for age or wisdom, were selected, as a SENATE, entitled *Patres*, or *Fathers*, as a name of particular respect and honour; for the parental character was, as will be afterwards shown, held in high veneration by the Roman law. But Romulus did not limit the honours of the senators to their own persons; he awarded the rank and title of patricii to their descendants, and hence arose that order so conspicuous in the history of Rome.

Forming of
the senate.

Romulus then enrolled all those citizens who were able to bear arms, and divided them into companies; each company containing from three to four thousand foot, and three hundred horsemen. To these he gave the name of legion; and the horsemen, who were called *celeres*, from their activity, were commanded by a tribune, and considered as his own guard, additionally to the lictors already mentioned; these companies formed the second rank of his subjects, and were the body from which the knights were in after times created. From this period also is dated the distinction of patron and client; the former always belonging to the rank of the patricii, and the latter to the common people. The patrons were chosen by their clients, to protect them on all occasion with their authority, and to advise them by means of their superior wisdom or experience; a relationship which proved the source of much patriotic attachment, and of many mutual good offices between the various ranks of the state. But the king now found that although his city possessed a numerous population, its strength was not calculated to be lasting, as it consisted chiefly, if not wholly, of men alone. Romulus was now, therefore, to supply his subjects with wives; and to fulfil this interesting office, with the advice of the senate, he sent ambassadors into the neighbourhood, desiring alliances, and proffering advantages, with truly patriotic profusion and sincerity. "Cities," the embassy stated, "like other things, arise from small beginnings; and such as are assisted by the gods and their own virtue, never fail to attain wealth and renown." The ambassadors also referred to the wonderful escape of Romulus, from his being exposed to perish when so infant, as a proof of the favour of the gods; and argued, that it was no degradation to be matched in blood

Division of
the people.

Biography, and affinity with such men, and under such a leader.

This offer was, however, received with coldness by all the adjacent states, and by some with contempt and derision: the ambassadors were asked, in scorn, "whether the Romans had opened an asylum for abandoned women also; for that alone," it was added, "would render their marriages just and equal."

Roman offer of alliance rejected by the neighbouring nations.

The king and the Roman people were much irritated at this reception of their overtures: but the prudent Romulus repressed his anger, and resolved upon a new method of supplying the want in question. He ordained solemn games of horsemanship in honour of Neptunea Equestris; and took especial care that the surrounding nations should be duly informed of the extensive and extraordinary preparations which he ordered, in consequence, to be made. The expectations of Romulus were not disappointed; a multitude of people arrived to view the sports at the appointed time, and, amongst other nations, the Sabines, with their wives and daughters. They were received by the Romans with much hospitality, and conducted through the new city in perfect admiration of its extent and power. The sports now commenced, and Romulus, clad in a robe of purple, was seated on a throne, elevated in the midst of the spectators. On a sudden, he arose, and gave the preconceived signal, by folding his robe around his body; when the eager Romans rushed on the Sabine and other virgins present, and bore them triumphantly away from their astonished and terrified parents and kinsmen. Resistance was in vain under such circumstances, and the males were suffered to escape without further insult. Romulus now took every possible means to calm the fears of his captives. He perambulated the city, and assured them that they should be honourably and faithfully united to his people in marriage, bear a part in all their fortunes, and share the freedom of the city. The solemnities of marriage were accordingly performed; and the wives which the Romans had thus acquired by stratagem and outrage, were soon won to the feelings of affection and to the duties of their new station.

War with the Corninenses, &c.

The insult, however, was not so easily overlooked by their indignant countrymen. The Corninenses, the Crustumini, and the Antemnates, each of whom had borne some share in the loss of the Sabines, immediately prepared for war with the aggressors. But, whether by the address of Romulus, or hurried from more prudent counsels by the impetuosity of rage, they unadvisedly came singly into the field, and each in turn were subdued under the arms of the new monarch. The Corninenses made the first attack upon the Roman territories. They were a nation little known; but Acron, the king, is said to have assembled a considerable army, and to have ravaged the Roman territories in every direction. The vigilant Romulus, however, fell upon them in the midst of their successes, slew their king in single combat, and carried off his armour, while his troops dispersed the forces. This is the first occasion on which we read of the *opima spolia*, as Romulus entitled the arms of the defeated monarch, which he elevated on an engine, and bore himself into the city, consecrating it to Jupiter, and giving the new surname of *Feretrius*, or the *Smiler*, to that god. "I, King Romulus," said the conqueror, "having been victorious, bring thee here the arms of a king, and dedicate to thee a temple in that place which I have, in

Spolia opima.

my mind, just now marked out as a repository for rich spoils, which all posterity, when they have slain kings and generals of their enemy, shall, in imitation of me, bring thither." Accordingly, on this spot, a temple was marked out for the god, which afterwards became famous, as the place of deposit for the armour or accoutrements of the vanquished enemies of Rome.

The army of the Antemnates next encountered the conqueror: and, with less effort on the part of the Romans, met with as signal a defeat. A total rout took place at the first onset, and their town fell an easy prey to the Roman arms.

But amidst their newly-obtained wives, it happened that a lady called Hersilia, a married woman, and the only one of that quality, had fallen to the lot of Romulus. She had belonged to the Antemnates, and now successfully implored her new husband to spare the nation of her father. The Antemnates were, at her request, admitted within the walls, the name of their nation was, by the same act merged in that of Rome, and thus we may mark the origin of that wise and magnanimous policy of conciliating conquered nations, and incorporating them into the state, by which Rome became, in after ages, the mistress of the civilized world. Romulus soon experienced the benefit of this conduct, for not only did these newly-made Romans, by their numbers, increase the population of his city, but the Crustumini, another offended nation, intimidated at his victories, and won by his clemency, forgot their injuries, and were easily persuaded to form a close alliance with Rome. Here, while some of the nation contentedly seated themselves, the rest admitted the Romans to form colonies in their own country.

Brundisium. A. M. 3256. B. C. 748.

But a more powerful enemy remained yet to be appeased. The Sabines were strong in number, accomplished in policy, and of equal pretensions to Romulus himself in all the manoeuvres of war. One Sabus, as others called Sabinus, seems to have been their first leader, and gave his name to this people; he was reported, after the superstition of those times, to have been the son of Sanguis, the tutelary god of the Sabines, and to be descended, with his followers, from the Umbrians, a very ancient people of Italy. Eighteen cities belonged to his successors at the period of this war against Rome, and a considerable tract of territory. Resentful as the Sabines felt at the insult offered to their females by the Romans, they at first evinced no disposition to hostilities, but silently prepared their forces for effective war. Through this delay, however, they only afforded Romulus the opportunity of overcoming his other enemies, and increasing the experience of his troops. On their first attack of the Romans, led by Tatius, their valiant king, they found Romulus so strongly posted in his camp, that an assault by force was deemed impracticable. Tatius had, therefore, recourse to stratagem. He corrupted the daughter of Tarpeius, the governor of the castle at Rome, by gifts and promises, to admit the Sabines privately within the walls; and having, by her means, taken the fort, his soldiers threw their bucklers upon the treacherous female and killed her, either as a token of their hatred of her perfidy, or perhaps to make a show of the necessity of force, where artifice only had been employed. A different construction, however, is given to this fact, by some historians, who relate that the

Sabine war.

Biography. presents which had been promised Tarpeia (for that was her name), as a reward for her treachery, were the glittering rings and bracelets of gold, which the Sabine soldiers were accustomed to wear upon their left arms. When the assailants, therefore, had by her means attained the fort, they chose to assign to their promise another meaning, and performed it by throwing the heavy bucklers, which they also wore on their left arms, on Tarpeia, who was thus destroyed by means of the very reward that had induced her to betray her country.

Important battle with the Sabines. The Roman valour was provoked to fury when it was discovered that the enemy had obtained so important a position as the castle; and they rushed with impetuosity to the assault for the purpose of regaining it. Metius Curtius at the head of the Sabines, and Hostus Hostilius, the Roman general, animated their respective troops, and displayed in their own personal conduct, great courage and skill. Hostus, after maintaining a disadvantageous post for a considerable time, fell, covered with enemies; and the Romans retreated to the gate of the palace. Romulus himself, at this time, was either wounded by a stone received in the head, according to some accounts, or borne down by the promiscuous and tumultuous flight of his troops; but the undaunted king, soon recovering his vigour, uttered aloud a vehement prayer to Jupiter, for assistance in this emergency; and made a solemn vow to build him a temple on the spot. "O Jupiter," he is said to have exclaimed, "by the command of thy sacred birds, on this spot of the Mount Palatine, I laid the first foundation for my new city; and now the Sabines have obtained possession of that castle by treachery not by courage, and they are posting down from thence in arms over the valley that lies between us. But, Father of Gods and Men, do thou, at least, repel the enemy from this place—remove this terror from my Romans—stop their dishonourable flight, and I vow that I will build thee a temple by the title of Jupiter Stator, which may be a monument to all posterity that our city was preserved, in this battle, by thy immediate aid." Then affecting to perceive an omen of the acceptance of his vow, and calling to his soldiers, he exclaimed, "Romans, the good and great Jupiter himself bids you rally and renew the fight." Animated by these words, his troops rushed with renewed vigour on the enemy, and the battle once more became doubtful. On the other side, Metius Curtius reminded his troops of the insult they had sustained from the Romans, in the persons of their unoffending and confiding females; and had driven the Romans across the plain below the castle, through the forum, or market-place of the city, nearly to the Palatine gate. At this place, Romulus, with a select party of youths, met the Sabine general, who, encumbered by being on horseback in a straight passage, was repulsed with advantage, and escaped with great difficulty to the fort, through a deep and dangerous fen. The Sabines, now in turn discouraged, gave way on all sides, but regained the fort, and the Romans were nearly masters of the field, if not of all the honours of this bravely-contested day, when the Sabine women, the wives of the Romans, took upon themselves a noble and most important task. Attired in mourning garments, and with dishevelled hair, these generous

and affectionate females suddenly appeared from the city, many of them with their sucking children (the offspring of the one army, and the near relations of the other), and rushed between the combatants; they implored the Sabines, by the respected names of fathers and brothers, and the Romans by the still more tender titles of husbands, to refrain from further acts of hostility. "If your enmity," they exclaimed, "cannot be subdued without blood, upon us turn your weapons; we are the unfortunate cause of your wounds, and of this slaughter: better is it that we should die, than live inevitably to become mourners either for our husbands, our parents, or our brothers, slain." A general silence ensued, and the leaders and soldiers on both sides, moved with the same impulse of affection, advanced from their respective ranks, to meet in friendship, and to form a treaty of peace. The terms of this celebrated treaty were, that the two kings, Romulus and Tatius, should both reside in Rome, and govern it with equal authority; that the city should still retain the name of its founder, but that the united people should be called Quirites, from the Sabine city Quir; and, lastly, that both nations should become one, and enjoy all the privileges of the new city. As a compliment to Sabine valour, the place where Curtius leaped his horse out of the fen and escaped with so much difficulty from the late fight, was called, the Locus Curtius. Thus ended the Sabine war, which at once doubled the population and strength of Rome; and, like every occurrence which at first threatened destruction to Romulus, from his exposure when an infant on the banks of the Tiber, to the propitious event of this contest, tended ultimately to increase the brightness of his prospects and the consolidation of his power. This enterprising and successful leader, therefore, was, in that age of darkness and superstition, easily accredited as the favourite of the gods, and their especial protection was believed, and relied upon, for the newly-erected and fortunate Rome.

This union having been accomplished, it next became the object of the two kings to cement it by certain ordinances. In the first instance, many marks of honour and privileges of distinction were awarded as tokens of respect and gratitude to the Roman ladies, who, on account of the noble part they had acted, had doubly endeared themselves both to their kindred and to their husbands. Every one was commanded to give way to these matrons of Rome in the public streets; all immodest discourses were forbidden in their presence; no indecent objects were to be presented to their sight; they were exempted, in all capital cases, from the judgment of the common magistrates; and lastly, their children were allowed to wear the bulla aurea, or golden ball, suspended from their necks, and the pre-texta, an elegant robe, with a border of purple, to distinguish them from the children of the vulgar. In consequence of these ordinances, the title of Roman matron was held from this time forth as one of particular honour, and in high veneration, wherever the fame of Rome itself extended. It was at this period also that the feast of Matronalia was instituted, so called in additional honour of the matrons, and in commemoration of the late peace.

Tatius, after the manner, and in compliment to the institutions of his co-partner in the government, also

Romulus.
A. M.
3256.
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B. C.
743.

Interference of the Roman ladies.

Peace with the Sabines, and consequences.

A. M.
3276.
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B. C.
723.
—
C. C.
8.

Biography.

A. M.

3276.

B. C.

728.

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C.

8.

Death of

Tatius.

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formed to himself a senate, consisting of the same number of fathers, and enjoying the same rank, titles, and privileges as that of Romulus. The two councils of the nations at first held their meetings separately, each at the palace of its own king, but soon afterwards appointed a court, wherein they both sat together as one assembly, in a place called from hence the *comitium*, from *comire*, to meet. A body of three hundred knights was then formed, and divided into three troops; one troop of which was named *Rumenenses*, from Romulus; another *Tatienses*, from Tatius; and a third *Luceres*, but for what reason is uncertain; (most probably in honour of some officer of distinction who commanded them,) and these knights were enlisted into the Roman legions before described.

But this impartial administration of affairs could not suddenly extinguish all the remaining jealousies and distinctions between two nations who had lately been such bitter enemies to each other as the Sabines and the Roman people. It had not perhaps been prudent to attempt it. Accordingly we find that the Sabine monarch held his court on the hill *Tarpaeus*, while Romulus selected the *Palatine* mount as the centre of his government. The habitations of the Sabines too were at first as distinct from those of the Romans. Gradually, however, these distinctions vanished; the forum, or market-place, became the joint and constant resort of both nations; they were every day more intimately connected, and it is no small proof of the superior civilization of the Romans, that the Sabines were soon induced to adopt the fundamental laws and tutelary gods of the new city.

Thus closely united in peace, their fidelity to each other was tried shortly after this settlement in a war together against the *Camerini*, in which they were quickly victorious, and on the conquest of their city, according to the policy now becoming usual with Romulus, they sent a strong colony to the subjugated place, and admitted four thousand of the *Camerini* into Rome. This was the only military achievement performed by the two kings; for in the sixth year of their joint reign over Rome, Tatius was slain. It is related by some historians that the rights of the ambassadors from *Laurentium* being violated by certain friends of Tatius, who imprudently shielded them from the punishment due to the offended laws of nations, he was assassinated at *Lavinium* in revenge of the insult, while others allege that the friends of Tatius had invaded the territories of the *Lavinians*, and were protected by that king from the demands of justice. Whatever were the cause, the fact is undisputed; he was dispatched when joining with his associate Romulus, at *Lavinium*, in a solemn sacrifice to their common gods; and because Romulus did not attempt to avenge his death (a forbearance which might well accord with his prudence on other occasions), it gave rise to the suspicion that he connived at the murder. The surviving monarch, however, bore the body of Tatius back to Rome, and there gave it interment, on Mount *Aventine*, with all the honours of royalty.

The first act of Romulus when again sole monarch of Rome, was to pacify offended *Lavinium*; and to renew the treaty of peace between these anciently allied cities. Shortly after, the newly-subdued *Camerini*, taking advantage of a dreadful plague which then

ravaged the country, broke their faith, and appeared in open rebellion against him, but Romulus promptly met them in battle, and putting six thousand of their troops to the sword, reduced the insurgents to obedience. He then found a new enemy in the *Fidenates*, a people whose capital city, *Fidene*, stood but a short distance from Rome, and who had hitherto been friendly to his rising power. Impatient, however, now of his rapid and extensive encroachments on the neighbourhood, they suddenly declared war, and surprised the Romans by carrying their plundering expeditions to the very walls of the city. Romulus immediately drew forth an army to oppose them, quickly drove them from his suburbs, and encamped his force in turn within a thousand paces of *Fidene*. Finding some difficulty in bringing the enemy to meet him in the open field, he had recourse to the stratagem of leaving a small force in his camp, and having posted an ambuscade in a neighbouring wood, with the rest of his troops, of whom many were horsemen, he ravaged the country around up to the very gates of *Fidene*; now advancing with apparent temerity, and now, by a hasty retreat, assuming the appearance of fear. The *Fidenates*, provoked by his insults, and encouraged by this desultory and skirmishing kind of warfare, at length drew out their forces, and commenced an attack. The Roman army now feigned a retreat, and induced the enemy to advance so far, and with so much irregularity, as to throw them completely into the snare prepared. At a given signal the ambuscade issued from their concealment, and vigorously attacked the scattered *Fidenates*. Confusion was followed by flight, and flight itself was vain, for at this moment the garrison of the Roman camp quitted their entrenchments, and rushing upon the fugitives, pursued them to the gates of their town, where, joined by their brave comrades, they cotered at the same moment with the flying foe. Thus fell *Fidene*, another conquest ordained to swell the power of Rome, which it had vainly hoped to crush, and from this time became a colony of that city.

The last military exploit which the founder of Rome achieved, was his successful war with the *Venientes*, a people allied to the *Fidenates* in the strictest bands of friendship, and even of consanguinity, for both these nations traced their origin from the *Etrurians*. The war, which began on the part of the *Venientes*, is therefore considered to have originated from a desire of revenge on the Romans for the injuries inflicted in their late conquest of *Fidene*; and the manner in which the aggressions were made seems to confirm this supposition. The enemy began by making hostile excursions into the Roman territories, carrying off whatever they found, and committing every species of unnecessary and barbarous havoc across the exposed property and persons of the inhabitants. They established no encampments, and even pitched no tents, but, as if waging a war for destruction only, when the work of mischief was accomplished, they returned to their own city. Romulus endeavoured in vain to provoke them into the field, and was therefore obliged to take steps for the siege of their city. He passed his army across the *Tiber*, and found the enemy strong in numbers, a circumstance which at last emboldened them to venture forth before the town. Totally unable, however, to cope with his veteran Romans in military skill, Ro-

Romulus.

A. M.

3270.

B. C.

734.

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C.

14.

War with

the Came-

rini and the

Fidenates.

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Biography.
A. M.
3270.
B. C.
734.
U. C.
14.

malus defeated them without much difficulty, and pursued their flying troops, with considerable slaughter, to their city, Veii, a place so remarkably strong, both by nature and art, that Romulus felt it prudent not to venture on assaulting it, and contented himself with wasting the country as he retired. This he did so effectually, however, that the Veientes felt themselves thoroughly unable to sustain the contest, and sent ambassadors to the Romans to sue for peace. A truce was made in consequence for one hundred years, on the humiliating conditions of the Veientes ceding a considerable district of their country to the Romans, containing seven small towns on the banks of the Tyber, and the valuable salt-pits near its mouth; fifty of their chief citizens being demanded by the Romans as hostages for the fulfilment of the treaty. On the prosperous termination of this war, Romulus enjoyed the honours of a third, and, as it proved, a final triumph.

Rome in
peril.

Rome had as yet tasted few intervals of repose, and its early records speak of little else but arms and violence. Created and nurtured by war, this city had, under Romulus, acquired considerable accessions of territory, of population, and of power, from each succeeding contest. The time now arrived when its illustrious founder was anxious to consolidate in peace the advantages gained by war; to cultivate other talents than those of the successful general—the wisdom of a law-giver, and the habits of discernment, so essential in the absolute magistrate of such a state as infant Rome. If we rightly consider the darkness of the period in which the Roman founder flourished, we shall not, perhaps, think him deficient in these qualifications. Considerable prudence must have been necessary, hitherto, to have kept together, as Romulus did, the heterogeneous elements of his power; but we now find him sustaining, by wise regulations at home, those impressions of respect and homage which his conquests must have made abroad, and giving to his country a period of profound repose unexampled in that barbarous age.

Laws of
Romulus.

Few of his laws have descended to us; but they argue a mind capable of penetrating into all the great principles of human nature, the various present circumstances of his people, and their future prospects. To the kingly office, he united that of the priesthood; and, in his own person, executed the higher duties of both. He appears to have been well skilled in all the superstitious rites and ceremonies of the age; and was thus enabled to throw around his political authority all the sanctions of the popular religion.

After the first building of the city, he divided his people into three tribes, each commanded by its own tribune. Every tribe was then divided into ten curiæ, or courts; and these curiæ were again separated into ten decuriæ, or under courts; the commanders of the curiæ having the titles of curiones; and officers called decuriones being appointed over the decuriæ. He set, apart the revenue of his territories, one-third to maintain the religion of the state, another portion to defray its expenses, and a larger one (subdivided into thirty portions) for the administration of justice in the thirty curiæ. The senate, on its enlargement and final establishment by Romulus, was elected by each tribe naming three members of this great council of the nation, and each of the thirty curiæ selecting the same number. Thus ninety-nine senators were chosen by

the people, and Romulus named but one, to make up the number one hundred. The powers of the sovereign were marked out with much precision: he watched over and officiated in all the religious ceremonies, decided the higher appeals, and more important affairs of justice, and summoned together the senate; he commanded the army, and superintended the use of public money. The senate had their duties and their rights defined to them with no less accuracy; on occasions of minor importance they administered justice, they debated upon and determined such public affairs as were laid before them for that purpose by the king, and decided all questions by majority of votes. The people had also their appointed privileges; they elected magistrates, concluded upon wars, and even enacted laws; but no act of theirs was valid until first approved of by the senate. Many wholesome laws were made in confirmation of the junction between the patron and the client, whom the former was bound on all occasions to protect, to advise, and personate, in all suits of law, and to promote on every occasion, to the best of his power and talents, his happiness, and safety. On the other hand, the reciprocal duties of the client were, to assist his patron with money when possible, to ransom him or his children when taken prisoners, to defray the charges of any public office which fell upon the patron (the honour of such an office being considered as reflecting honour on the bearer of it, to his client), and to portion the daughters of this privileged patrician in marriage. It was also decreed that no accusation should be admitted between these parties on either side; and that the violation of any of these regulations was punishable as an act of treason to the state. In the laws which related to marriages,

Romulus.
A. M.
3270.
B. C.
734.
U. C.
14.

Right of
the senate.

Of patron
and client.

Laws of
marriage.

a wife was forbidden to leave her husband for any cause whatsoever, although the husband was permitted to put away the wife. Even absolute power of life and death over the married woman was given to the man, in case of her committing adultery, attempting to poison, making false keys, and other such offences. On the other hand, polygamy was forbidden; and all goods and chattels were the common property of both wife and husband. The power given to parents over their children was also remarkable; by his own private authority, a father possessed a legal right to imprison his children, to sell them for slaves, and even to doom them to death; nor was this power restricted by the age of the offspring, nor by any employment they exercised, any office they possessed, nor any dignity, however illustrious, to which they had attained. The same principle of high veneration for parental authority which dictated these laws, induced a total omission of assigning any punishment to the crime of parricide. Every kind of murder was indeed called by this name, but the actual murder of a father by a son was deemed an impossible thing, and therefore not provided against in the Roman code of legislation. It is noticeable also, that that horrid guilt remained uncommitted in Rome for nearly six hundred years; nor within the same period is there a single instance of divorce on record, notwithstanding the power awarded to the husband for that purpose. By these and other such ordinances, which, however imperfect in themselves, do not appear to have been unfitted to a people just emerging from barbarism, did Romulus govern his city during a prosperous reign of thirty-seven years, and increased his

Biography.

A. M.

3270.

B. C.

534.

U. C.

14.

Increase of
population
under Rom-
ulus.

subjects from the small number of three thousand three hundred men, originally little better than outlaws and slaves, to a nation of forty thousand, valiant in war, and rising every year in the arts of civilization and peace. In this computation it must, however, be noticed, that the kingdom of Alba devolved upon Romulus at the death of his grandfather Numitor, the time of which event is not upon record. The king of Rome governed Alba by naming a dictator, and it was called a republic.

After a life of glory and almost unprecedented success in his various projects, both in peace and war, the death of this first hero, and founder of Rome, approached. It is said that he continued the idol of the common people and of the soldiers, but was looked upon, in his latter days, rather with fear than with love by the senate. He had abridged some of their privileges, and increased his own power. He divided the lands of the conquered enemies amongst his soldiers by his single authority, and contrary to the advice of this grand council of the nation; and he restored to the conquered Volscians their hostages, by an act of his own will. The senate were duly assembled indeed, but the fiat of the monarch was the only law, and the meeting of that venerable body became almost a mere form. These encroachments were deeply felt by the fathers, and their resentment is the first instance on record of that jealous and proud spirit of aristocracy which, in after ages, so greatly distinguished the patricians, and elevated a Roman citizen above the rank of a barbarian king. The discontented patricians at last determined upon his death; but the king, ever accompanied by his soldiers, and being the darling of the common people, was no easy object of attack. At length, however, an unusual opportunity occurred for the accomplishment of their disgraceful purpose. Romulus was reviewing his troops in the field, when a sudden and unusual darkness, accompanied by a violent tempest, obscured their beloved general from the army. The conspiring senators alone were near him, and they eagerly rushed to complete their premeditated revenge. Romulus was slain, and when the storm had subsided, the astonished soldiers missed their leader! The conspirators had taken especial care to conceal the body; and boldly availed themselves of the admiration in which Romulus was held, and the credulity of the age, to divert the people from revenging his death; and, at the same time, to flatter their general prejudices. They immediately reported, that amidst the gloom which had just enveloped them they beheld the king surrounded by celestial fire, in which his kindred gods had exalted him to their own abodes. "All hail!" they exclaimed, "to Romulus: a god, born of a god, the king and father of Rome. We all pray to him for peace, and that he would always be ready

propitiously to protect and preserve his own progeny." But, notwithstanding this stratagem, and the partial success with which it was at first attended, suspicion soon arose that their idolized sovereign, the founder of their city, and the protector of its citizens, had been assassinated by the ambitious senate; and the people and the army became tumultuous against the patricians, and clamorous for vengeance. At this crisis, Proculus Julius, a popular favourite, stepped forward in a public assembly of the citizens, with the following opportune commission from this new deity: "Romans," said the orator, "as Livy preserves his speech, 'the father of the city came down from heaven this morning, at break of day, and suddenly stood full in my sight. Astonished and trembling before him, I begged that I might see his face; 'No,' replied our deified king, 'hasten thou to my people, and inform them that the gods have ordained my Rome to be the head of the world; let them perfect themselves, therefore, in every military accomplishment, and transmit the important science to which we owe so much, to posterity; so shall no human power be able to withstand the arms of my Romans; and having thus spoken,' continued the deluding, and, perhaps, self-deluded orator, 'he vanished.' Whether the minuteness and confident tone of this narration, or the character of the speaker, had the greater weight with the people, we have not now to determine; nor how far the propensity to believe, that which most flatters our ambition might contribute also to produce the result. The tumult, it appears, subsided; the people were reconciled to the senate; the patricians, the army, and the plebeians united henceforth in one flattering belief, that this mighty son of mighty Mars, fortunate on earth, and having fully accomplished his mortal destiny, had become, like his sire, immortal, had been received into the abodes of his kindred gods, and was to be accounted and honoured as one of the tutelar deities of Rome.

The character of Romulus, as a warrior, appears to have united the most indisputable personal valour with consummate skill, and a sound and provident judgment. These qualities, too, were well proportioned to each other in his mind; nor is it on record that on any occasion, however trying, his native courage broke away from the discipline of his reason. On the other hand, Romulus, the lawgiver, must be viewed as surrounded by the darkness of his age; and it must also be duly considered that war, and not legislation, was the more especial object of his inclination, and the one which he was particularly allotted to practise. Enough is it therefore for his fame, and more than enough for his virtue and humanity, to regard him as the distinguished founder of a military state, with whose entire history were connected all the future fates of civilised man.

Romulus.

A. M.

3293.

B. C.

711.

U. C.

37.

Artifices to
conceal the
murder.Romulus
slain.

A. M.

3293.

B. C.

711.

U. C.

37.

Character
of Romulus.

D R A C O.

FLOURISHED ABOUT A. M. 3380. B. C. 624.

Biography.

A. M.
3380.
B. C.
624.

THE early history of Attica, like that of the other Grecian states, is involved to such an extent in fable, that it is difficult to select any ancient narration on which a reader may, with confidence, rely. So numerous, indeed, and contradictory, are the marvels recounted concerning the founders and restorers of these states, and that in proportion to their subsequent consequence and splendour, that we can hardly repress our incredulity as to the simplest facts that are related concerning them.

We have had occasion repeatedly to notice these disadvantages in the study of ancient history; and with regard to Athens, from the age of Theseus to the period at which we are now arrived, six centuries elapsed, whose records furnish us but with the single name of COBRUS, as a subject of Biography, and of his life, as we have seen, the materials are very few.

Nine
archons ap-
pointed.

On the close of the archonship of Eryxias, and some time after the death of Hippomenes, the last of the Medontidæ, the people having made the office of archon elective and annual, nominated nine of the richest citizens to the chief magistracy, and assigned to each his peculiar duties. The title of Archon was confined to the first of these magistrates, and the year in which he was chosen was distinguished by his name; the second was honoured with the title of Basileus, or king, and had his distinct tribunal for the administration of justice; the third was called Polemarchos, and his chief occupation was the management of the military affairs of the country; the six remaining archontes were called indiscriminately Thesmothetæ.

From the commencement of the Athenian republic, it is worthy of remark, that although both the nobles and the people joined in the wish to limit the powers of their rulers, yet there existed a contention between themselves for power and authority; which indeed, though always distracting, was not unequally divided. For the right of electing the supreme magistrates, the archontes, was settled in the people; but it was from amongst the nobility alone that these officers could be chosen.

The first of the nobles who exercised this office, under the new limitations, was Creon; to him succeeded Theseas; then Lysias; Antostheus; Archimedes; Miltiades; Dropis; Damastias; Epomenus; and lastly, the celebrated lawgiver, DRACO, to whom we devote the present article.

Of Draco's early life nothing is recorded, and the year of his accession to the archonship is a point of considerable uncertainty; of his after progress to fame, and even of his institutions, very few particulars remain scattered through various authorities, among which we are chiefly indebted to Pausanias. Some authors place his archonship in the second, while others refer it to the thirty-ninth olympiad. The commencement of his legislation is now, however, generally placed at the year 624 before the Christian

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era, when he appears to have been considerably advanced in age.

Under the different sovereigns of Attica there were probably many attempts to legislate; but it does not appear that there were any laws in a connected form till the time of Draco, when the flourishing state of Sparta might awaken the Athenians to a sense of the value of a regular legislation. According to Demosthenes (who mentions a law of Theseus engraven on stone), till Draco compiled and framed a regular code, neither the criminality nor punishment of any action had been distinctly defined.

The precise nature of the institutions of DRACO, though they have become proverbial in all history for their sanguinary character, is very little known. He renewed an extravagant law for the prosecution even of inanimate things which had caused the death of any one. Another law, attributed to him by Diogenes Laertius, was designed for the prevention of idleness; a habit which (as may be seen in our account of Lycurgus) was differently estimated at Sparta, where it formed a distinction between the free citizen and the slave. It has been said that Draco also depressed the authority of the *Areopagus*, by instituting a tribunal called the *Epheta*, but Plutarch considers the *Areopagus* as not established till the time of Solon.

Aristotle, who highly esteemed the laws of Draco, has preserved an ancient censure of them, as less the work of a man, than of a dragon, alluding to the name of the legislator. The orator Demades also declared that they were written with blood, rather than with ink. Excessive severity appears upon the whole to have been their striking feature, and that death was the punishment of almost every crime, from a trivial theft to the foulest murder; a severity which, indeed, entirely frustrated the legislator's design.

Notwithstanding the divine sanction which DRACO assumed, by directing that his laws should be named *Thermos* (if the conjecture of Herodotus respecting the origin of the word *Θεός* may be followed, that this term was applied to the Gods because they *laid down* or *disposed* all things), they were presently neglected, and their author compelled to fly from the indignation of his countrymen. In his old age he took refuge at Egina, where he met with a most flattering reception; but his residence there was short, and the manner of his death singular as it was tragical. Entering the theatre, the audience, to testify their regard, threw upon him their cloaks (a mode of homage then in use), and under this load of honours DRACO perished. Thus is the transaction represented. Yet the character of DRACO was the last to excite the fond though indignant enthusiasm of a mixed assembly, and it is most probable that the real design of this semblance of respect was accomplished in his assassination.

From the concurrent testimony of historians, DRACO

Draco.

A. M.
3380.
B. C.
624.

Obscurities
in Draco's
history.

Biography. appears to have possessed a stern integrity, united with a disposition harsh and austere. The first is probable from the choice of him by the Athenians, to the important functions he exercised, though he failed in the execution of his trust. But of how dark a cast must that mind have been, and of how questionable a character his heart, to whom the most trifling crime of a fellow creature appeared as an atrocity admitting of no palliation, and who to the charge of that excessive

severity, is said to have answered, "the smallest crimes deserve death, and I can find no higher punishment for the greatest!"—thus confessing that his rigour was bounded only by his ability. Such was Draco, according to the scanty remains of him discoverable in antiquity. As a legislator, he might have shone with distinguished lustre at Sparta, but he was ill prepared by his unqualified austerity, to conciliate the milder genius of Athens.

Draco.

A. M.
3380.
—
B. C.
624.

SOLOON.

—
FLOURISHED ABOUT A. M. 3410. B. C. 594.

Biography. THE history of Attica, after the expulsion of Draco, has preserved no name of eminence, before that of Solon, her second and more successful law-giver, who also attained a high distinction among the sages of Greece. He was born, according to the most approved computation, in the second year of the thirty-fifth Olympiad, which answers to the year 639 before the Christian era.

The name of Solon's father, according to one author, was Euphorion; but Plutarch decides in favour of the more common opinion, that he was the son of Execestides. His family was eminent among the Athenians, and is said to have been descended from their king Codrus. They must have resided in the isle of Salamis at the birth of Solon, according to Diogenes Laertius, who in one place calls him a Salaminian, and in another speaks of his native country of Salamis. His mother was related to Pisistratus, with whom Solon formed an intimate friendship, although, as will appear in the sequel, he refused to sacrifice the liberties of his country to his friend's ambition.

The father of Solon is said to have reduced his fortune by liberality, and habits of expence; so that his son inherited a small property, inadequate to the support of his rank. It must, however, be added, that Aristotle describes Solon as one of the inferior citizens, upon the authority of some work of the legislator himself. In either case it is admitted, that he entered into life, scantily supplied with the favours of fortune.

He, however, possessed wealth of another description, for he early discovered a genius for poetry; and it was the opinion of Plato, to whose time many of his pieces had no doubt been preserved, that if he had finished his compositions, and found leisure to correct them, they would have equalled the most celebrated productions of the ancients. In the occupation of this talent, his first object was amusement. He afterwards applied it to moral and political purposes; and, according to Plutarch, "he cultivated chiefly that part of moral philosophy which treats of civil obligations."

The same writer, who adopts the opinion of Solon's hereditary rank, says, that though he "might have been supported by his friends, yet, as he was of a family which had long and often assisted others, he was ashamed to accept of assistance himself; and therefore, in his younger years, applied himself to merchandize." For, as he observes, after Hesiod, "in those times no business was looked upon as a disreputable

ment, nor did any trade cause a disadvantageous distinction." Yet while Solon, in pursuit of commerce, visited other countries, he at the same time acquired that knowledge and experience which enabled him to improve the condition of his own, and placed him, deservedly, among the sages of Greece.

Of Solon's travels, before his name becomes connected with the public affairs of Athens, no particulars have been recorded; nor indeed has his biographer, Plutarch, been careful to observe any order which might guide us through his narration. Yet we learn, from anecdotes which he has related, that Solon visited Delphi, Coriinth, and Miletus. These visits, however, must be referred to a late period of his life; for, as appears from a circumstance which occurred at the latter place, he had previously married and raised a family at Athens. His first public appearance there of which any record has been preserved, was under the following circumstances:

The Athenians, who had long contended with the people of Megara for the possession of the isle of Salamis, were now become weary of the contest. They forbade any one, under pain of death, to propose, by speech or writing, a renewal of the war; thus submitting to abandon their claim to the sovereignty of that island, rather than encounter the further peril of supporting it. Solon disapproved this decree, which he considered as dishonourable. He was, perhaps, also unwilling that Salamis, the place of his birth, should be wrested from the dominion of Athens; and having observed among the youthful Athenians, in particular, a desire to recommence the war (though they feared to incur the penalty of the decree), he counterfeited madness, and sallying out to the market-place, with a cap upon his head, such as was worn only by the sick, he stood upon the *herald's stand*, and read, with a loud voice, some verses he had prepared to expose the impolicy of the decree. In this design he was successfully supported by Pisistratus, his relative; and the people repented the decree. They now immediately determined to renew the war, and invested Solon with the principal command. Of the manner in which he proceeded to gain possession of Salamis, Plutarch gives two different accounts, but describes the following as that generally received.

"He sailed with Pisistratus to Colias, and having seized the women, who, according to the custom of the country, were offering sacrifice to Ceres there, he sent

Solon.

A. M.
3410.
—
B. C.
594.

His travels.

First appearance in public.

Biography. a trusty person to Salamis, who was to pretend he was a deserter, and to advise the Megarensians, if they were inclined to seize the principal Athenian matrons, to set sail immediately for Cefæa. The Megarensians sending out a body of men, Solon discovered the ship as it put off from the island, and causing the women directly to withdraw, ordered the young men, whose faces were yet smooth, to put on the dresses of the women. Thus, with weapons concealed under their clothes they danced and played by the sea-side, till the enemy landed, and their vessel was near enough to be seized. The Megarensians, deceived by this stratagem, ran confusively on shore, striving which should first seize the supposed women; but they were all cut off, and the Athenians, proceeding immediately to Salamis, took possession of the island.

Yet the people of Megara renewed the war, until, at length, the question of right to Salamis was referred to the decision of five Lacedæmonians, who determined in favour of the people of Attica. Diogenes Laertius, who is confirmed by Plutarch, relates that Solon caused several graves to be opened at Salamis, and exposed the bodies lying with their faces towards the east, a custom peculiar to the Athenians, which proved their early possession of the island. He is said also to have availed himself, upon this occasion, of an oracle, in which the island Salamis had been styled *Ionian*; and not to have scrupled the fraud of interpolating a line to his purpose in Homer's catalogue of the ships. The Athenians, however, rejected this story, and maintained that the island had been ceded to them in a former treaty, of which Solon convinced the Lacedæmonian judges.

To the reputation he thus acquired among the Athenians, was added the praise bestowed upon his wisdom by the whole people of Greece on the following occasion: The inhabitants of Cirrha, a town in the Corinthian gulf, after repeated incursions on the territory of Delphi, attacked the capital itself. The *Amphictyons* declared war against these sacrilegious invaders; and, according to the advice of Solon, all the Grecian states united to resent their impiety. Having besieged Cirrha for some time unsuccessfully, they consulted the oracle, which answered, that the place could not be taken till the waves of the Cirrhan sea should wash the sacred shore. The Greeks were surprised, and despaired of obeying the oracle, till Solon recommended the consecration of the whole of the Cirrhen territory, which was maritime, to the Delphic Apollo. The oracle thus satisfied, the confederate army was encouraged to rely on a victory, and Cirrha in consequence was taken, and made the arsenal of Delphi.

Solon may be fairly supposed to have now obtained his station among the wise men of Greece; and to this period of his life we may refer with more propriety than to any other, his interview with the rest of the sages at Delphi, and afterwards at Corinth, on the invitation of Periander, king of that country, at whose court they were entertained. Here the question was started, Which is the most perfect popular government? That, said Bias, where the laws have no superior. That, said Thales, where the people are neither excessively rich, nor miserably poor. Anacharsis, decided for the government under which virtue is honoured and vice detested; Pittacus for the one

where dignities are conferred only on virtue; Cleobolus for that which should inspire more fear of blame than of punishment; and Chilo for that under which the laws are more regarded than the orators; but Solon's was esteemed the wisest decision. "It is," said he, "that government where an injury done to the meanest citizen is considered as an insult upon the whole community."

There is a story related of these sages which strikingly displays their modesty. A dispute arose between some Coan fishermen and several strangers from Miletus, respecting the right to a golden tripod which the former had drawn up in their nets. The Milesians claimed it, as having purchased the draught, whatever it might contain. Yet the fishermen refused to yield their prize; and the states to which the two parties belonged might have been involved in hostilities, but for the irresistible interference of Apollo. His priestess directed that the tripod should be bestowed on the wisest man who could be discovered. On this decision it was sent first to Thales; the Coans, says Plutarch, readily presenting to one of the Milesians that for which they would have made war with all his countrymen. Thales, acknowledging the superior claim of Bias, it was carried to him. He referred it to another, as wiser still. After thus travelling round to them all, it was returned to Thales; and, at length, was dedicated at Thebes to the Ismenian Apollo. It is added to the story, besides some variations usual in these anecdotes, that this tripod was thrown into the sea, in compliance with an ancient oracle, by Helen, on her return from Troy.

During Solon's entertainment at Miletus, his host practised upon him an artifice, neither creditable to his feelings nor his judgment. On his expressing surprise that Thales did not marry and raise a family, the latter made no reply; but shortly after a stranger was introduced, who, being previously instructed, pretended to have just arrived from Athens. Solon inquired what was passing there. The stranger recollected only the public funeral of a young man, the son of an honourable person abroad on his travels. What an unhappy man, exclaimed Solon, but what is his name? I have forgotten the name, replied the stranger, but his wisdom and justice are much celebrated. Solon, whose alarm was increased by every reply, tremblingly inquired if the deceased youth were the son of Solon? The stranger replying in the affirmative, he was transported into all the extravagance of sorrow. Upon which Thales, taking his hand, said, with a smile, "The dread of evils, sufficient to overwhelm the firm mind of Solon, have deterred me from marriage and the cares of a family. But be assured, my friend, that your present distress is groundless. Not a word which has been told you is true." It was either on this occasion, or on the real loss of a son, when one of his friends represented to him that his tears were unavailing, that Solon is said to have replied, "It is for that cause I weep."

On his return to Athens, Solon was soon called forward into the public service by the dissensions which prevailed among the citizens. There had always been a strong party averse to the democratic government; and especially to the annual election of the magistrates. Among these, Cylon, a man of rank, was conspicuous. He had taken advantage of the absence of the citizens

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The seven sages of Greece.

Solon at Miletus.

Return to Athens.

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at the games, and made himself master of the citadel, in the forty-fifth Olympiad. Being there besieged, and reduced to extremities, he fled, and his followers who survived took refuge in the temple of Minerva. The sanctuary was violated, and the fury of the people excited against the sacrifice. "The dispute," says Plutarch "was greater than ever, when Solon, whose authority was now highly respected, persuaded the persons called *accrabiæ*, to submit to justice, and a fair trial, before three hundred judges, selected from the nobility. They were condemned and driven into exile, and the bodies of their deceased comrades were dug up and cast out beyond the borders of Attica. Amidst these disturbances, the Megarensians renewed the war, and once more recovered Salamis."

The friendship of Solon and Epimenides.

About this time Epimenides arrived at Athens, whither he was invited on account of his skill in the forms of expiation; which the soothsayers had taught that the gods required, on account of "certain abominable crimes pointed out by the entrails of the victims." Solon formed a friendship with this philosopher, and consulted him on the projects he was now entertaining. To prepare the way for the reception of his friend's designed regulations, Epimenides, says Plutarch, "taught the Athenians to be more frugal in their religious worship, and more moderate in their mourning, by intermixing certain sacrifices with their funeral solemnities, and abolishing the barbarous customs which had generally prevailed among the women; and he made the people more observant of justice, and more inclined to union."

Plutarch observes of Solon, "that his reputation was very great before he appeared in the character of a legislator; nor is it surprising that the Athenians should rely on his counsel when they 'relapsed into their old disputes concerning the government.' His biographer adds, that 'there were as many parties among them, as there were different tracts of land. The inhabitants of the mountainous part were for a democracy; those of the plains for an oligarchy; while those of the sea coast contended for a mixed government. At the same time, the inequality between the rich and poor occasioned perpetual discord: so greatly were the poor in debt, that they were obliged either to pay a sixth part of the produce of the land, or to engage their persons to their creditors, who might seize them on failure of payment. Accordingly, some made slaves of them, and others sold them to foreigners. Some parents were forced to sell their own children, and to quit the city to avoid the severe treatment of those usurers.' Thus, 'the state was in as dangerous a situation, that there seemed to be no way to quell the seditions, or to save it from ruin, but the changing it to a monarchy.'"

Solon declines the royalty.

Solon was now indeed urged by the heads of the disagreeing parties to assume the honours of royalty which he resolutely declined, even though the oracle was employed to recommend that measure, and his friends affected to ridicule his refusal. He was, however, chosen principal archon, with special authority to settle the differences between the rich and poor. Plutarch says he was preferred "as a man least obnoxious to either party, having neither been engaged in oppressions with the rich, nor entangled in necessities with the poor;" and that "though he rejected absolute authority, he discovered a sufficient spirit, neither making concessions to the powerful, nor indulging the humour of his

constituents." The mode of his election was as singular as the occasion. The choice had been usually decided by the form of drawing lots, which the gods were supposed to over-rule, but Solon was elected by acclamation, the people not chusing, in a case of so much importance, to rely even on their divinities. The archonship of Solon is dated at about 594 years before the Christian era, when the legislator must have been at the age of forty-five. Considering the period assigned to his death, he probably employed several years in consolidating his code of jurisprudence.

Solon.

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His immediate attention was now directed to a case of peculiar urgency, the condition of the poor under engagements which they had no means of discharging. To put an end to the severities inflicted by creditors, and which had been the frequent occasion of public disorder, he employed his authority, which was indeed that of a dictator, by publishing an ordinance, entitled *Siackthia*, or the discharge. On the precise meaning of this term there are different opinions. It was probably designed to express a general remittance of debts of every description; so that no creditor in future should be permitted to take for severity the body of his debtor. Yet some have supposed that the relief consisted not in cancelling the debt, but in reducing the interest, and raising the value of money; the *missa*, for instance, from the value of 73 to that of 100 drachmas. Yet the former explanation best agrees with Solon's verses, in which he boasts of having removed the marks from mortgaged houses; alluding to a custom of placing billets on those which were held under such engagements.

This contrivance of Solon seems to have been particularly grateful to his recollection; for he boasts, in one of his poems, of having freed many of the people's minds from apprehension, and their bodies from the condition of slaves. The law was, indeed, as much to the credit of his self-denying generosity, as of his philanthropy, if we receive the account of Laertius. He says that Solon's father having "left him in money seven thousand talents, which were owing from several men, he presently remitted all those debts, and, by his example, excited others to discover the same lenity." This appears to be confirmed by Plutarch, where he mentions three of Solon's friends who, on a precious knowledge of his design to abolish the debts, and not to divide the lands, borrowed large sums of the rich, and purchased estates. This brought on him reflections, as if he were "an accomplice in the fraud. The charge, however, was soon refuted, on his being the first to comply with the law, by remitting a debt of five, or, as some say, fifteen talents."

The effect of this ordinance has been variously represented. The name *discharge* is attributed to the people's approbation of the measure. Yet Plutarch presently adds, that it "satisfied neither the poor nor the rich," the first having desired a division of lands, as at Sparta, and the latter resenting the "cancelling of their bonds." Yet he afterwards describes the people as "sensible of the utility of the decree, and offering a public sacrifice, which they called *siackthia*, or the sacrifice of the discharge." They also constituted Solon law-giver, "committing to him the regulation of the whole magistracies, assemblies, courts of judicature, and senate, leaving him to determine the qualifications, number, and time of meeting for them all, as

Laws relating to debtors.

Biography. well as to abrogate or continue the former constitutions at his pleasure.*

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Solon soon discovered that he was superior to the vanity of rejecting any thing useful, because it was the work of another. On the contrary, he preserved whatever he found commendable in the existing institutions. "Where the former establishment was tolerable," says Plutarch, "he neither applied remedies, nor used the incision-knife, lest he should put the whole in disorder, and be unable to compose it again in the temperate he might wish." Such a conduct was well calculated to secure the good opinion of the people; and, indeed, his reply to the sarcasms of Anacharsis sufficiently discovers his knowledge of mankind.

Anacharsis' friendship with Solon.

Anacharsis, the Scythian philosopher, according to Herodotus, arrived at Athens about the 47th olympiad, or 590 years before the Christian era. The story of his interview with Solon is told by Plutarch, whose account, however, of their being strangers to each other, does not exactly agree with their previous meeting at Corinth, where all the sages are said to have assembled. The philosopher sought admission to Solon, expressing a wish to cultivate his friendship. Solon answered, that friendships were made best at home. "Then," said Anacharsis, "do you, who are at home, make me your friend, and receive me into your house." Solon, pleased with the quickness of his repartee, bade him welcome. He was at this time occupied in his great work of legislation, as appears from the following story, which Plutarch has preserved, though Laertius has only mentioned the repartee.

Upon the discovery of his friend's employment, Anacharsis expressed his surprise that any one should hope to control the avarice and injustice of mankind by written laws, which resembled spiders' webs, as they only entangled the poor and defenceless, while the rich and powerful easily broke through them. Solon replied, that agreements are kept when both parties see their interest concerned in not breaking them; and his design was, to make his laws obviously beneficial to the Athenians. Plutarch immediately adds, as to the event of Solon's legislation, "that Anacharsis was nearer the truth, in his conjecture, than Solon in his hope." Yet there is a testimony highly creditable to Solon's expectation, and which shows that his laws were still held in esteem, even after his biographer was in his grave. So late as A. D. 130, on a complaint by the Athenians, that too many changes had been made in the laws of Solon, the emperor Adrian assumed to himself the office of archon, and restored the ancient law. (Butler's *Hore Juridice Subsecive*, 2 vol.)

The exact order in which Solon proceeded to execute his great work of legislation cannot now be ascertained, nor is it of much importance. Nothing can be more probable than the first act ascribed to him, of repealing the laws of Draco, which could have been but ill observed after the expulsion of that lawgiver; and, indeed, their severity had rendered them impracticable. Solon, however, now formally repealed them all, except that for the punishment of murder: he also, according to Laertius, retained the law against idleness, which, on the authority of Lyrius, the orator, he describes, as "written by Draco, but enacted by Solon," though certainly without the penalty of death.

Solon next estimated the estates, intending to leave the great offices to the rich. Such as had a yearly

income of five hundred measures of corn he placed in the first rank. The second consisted of those who could keep a horse, or whose lands produced three hundred measures. Those were in the third class who had but two hundred measures. The rest, who had no property, were not admitted to any office; they had only a right to vote in the general assembly. This right soon appeared to be highly important, for an appeal laid from the decisions of the magistrates to that assembly. Plutarch adds, that "he is said to have expressed his laws with some obscurity, on purpose to enlarge the influence of the popular tribunal. For, as disputants could not decide their differences by the letter of the law, they were obliged to resort to the whole body of citizens, who thus had all controversies brought before them."

Desiring yet further to give security and importance to the commonalty, he empowered any man to prosecute the offender, in behalf of a citizen who suffered damage or violence; and in reference to this law, on being asked "What city was best regulated?" He answered, "That in which those who are not injured, are no less ready to prosecute and punish offenders than those who are."

Plutarch, who has thus represented Solon as solicitous to give a preponderating influence to the people, presently after describes him as detracting from their importance, by subjecting them to the control of a senate. "Observing that the people, now discharged from their debts, grew insolent and imperious, he proceeded to constitute another council, or senate of four hundred, a hundred out of each tribe, by whom all affairs were to be previously considered; and he ordered that no matter, without their approbation, should be laid before the general assembly." This senate appears to have had a power like that of the *Lords of Articles* over the parliament of Scotland; for to them, according to Robertson (Hist. b. i.), "every motion for a new law was first made and approved, or rejected by them at pleasure." Yet as the members of the Athenian senate were chosen out of the people at large, and were subject to annual election, they could scarcely maintain an opposite interest. History indeed sufficiently discovers, that when Attica was not oppressed by some tyranny, the popular influence was little controlled, except by the "famous orators," whom Milton celebrates:

Those seditious, whose restless eloquence
Wielded at will that fierce democratic,
Shook th' annual and solemn crown from Greece,
To Macedon, and Antares' throne.

The senate and court of Areopagus, of which Arch-
bishop Potter (Antiq. b. i. c. 19.) has given a full and
interesting account, were rather restored and regulated,
than established by Solon. He particularly reinstated
this court in those rights which, as we have remarked,
had been taken from it by Draco and bestowed on the
Ephete. The number of the senators has been dis-
puted, whether nine, thirty-one, or fifty-one, on grounds
which are detailed by Potter. This court became pro-

Solon.
A. M.
3410.
B. C.
594.

Law design-
ing the differ-
ent ranks of the
citizens.

* Plutarch quotes, on this subject, the following verses of his
legislator:—

By me the people held their native rights,
Unhijur'd, unoppress'd: The great restrain'd
From lawless violence, and the poor from rapine,
By me, their mutual shield.

Biography.

A. M.
3410.
B. C.
594.

The court
of the
Areopagus.

verbally venerable in the ancient world, while foreigners resorted to it for counsel, or referred their differences to its decision. Nor can the name ever lose its interest, while we recollect that the Apostle of the Gentiles there first taught Christianity, at Athens, with that commanding eloquence which the rhetorician and the artist have alike laboured to describe.

"To this court of Areopagus," says Mr. Tytler, Solon "committed the guardianship of the laws, and the power of enforcing them. To this tribunal belonged also the custody of the treasures of the state, the care of religion, and a tutelar power over the youth of the republic. The number of its judges was various at different periods, and the most immaculate purity of character was essential to that high office." Potter has collected from the ancients the following particulars. "All that had undergone the office of an archon were not taken into this senate, but only such of them as had been able to give a satisfactory account of their administration, after an inquiry which was extremely severe, rigorous, and particular. To have been sitting in a tavern was a sufficient reason to deny an archon's admission into it; and though their dignity was usually continued to them as long as they lived, yet if any of the senators was convicted of any immorality, he was, without mercy or favour, presently expelled. Nor was it enough that their lives were strictly innocent and unblamable, but something more was required of them; their countenances, words, actions, and all their behaviour must be composed, serious, and grave to a degree beyond what was expected from other (the most virtuous) men. To laugh in their assembly was an unpardonable act of levity; and for any of them to write a comedy, was forbidden by a particular precept of the law."—(Antiq. c. xix.)

The powers of the principal archon, and the origin of his appointment, we have shown in the life of Draco. His duties in the civil administration of justice cannot be described more correctly than in the words of a learned writer on "the Grecian Law," Mr. Butler, whom we have already quoted:

Rights and
duties of
the archon.

"All cases respecting the rights of things belonged to the jurisdiction of the archon: he had six inferior magistrates of the same name for his assessors. The person who sought redress in a court of justice denounced the name of his adversary and the cause of his complaint to the sitting magistrate; and if the sitting magistrate thought the cause of action maintainable, he permitted the complainant to summon the defendant: if the defendant disobeyed the summons he was declared infamous; if he obeyed it, the parties were confronted, and were at liberty to interrogate one another. If the magistrate thought there was a probable cause of action, he admitted the cause into court; here the pleadings began, and were continued till the parties came to some fact, or some point of law, asserted on one side, and denied by the other: this brought them to issue: then all the pleadings and evidence in the causes were shut up in a vessel which was carried into court. The archon then assigned the judges to try the cause, and they decided not only upon the fact, but upon the law of the case." (*Hor. Jurid. ed. ii. p. 19.*)

Among the laws which regulated the conduct of the people towards the government, Plutarch describes one as the most extraordinary, which declared the man

infamous who remained neutral during a sedition. Aulus Gellius adds, that such an one was condemned to lose his estates and to be sent into exile. Plutarch applauds this law, lest a citizen might otherwise determine to consult his safety till he saw on what side victory inclined. But it is obvious that, in the case supposed, a conscientious citizen might be unable to discover the side of justice. Another regulation was likewise calculated to advance public improvement, as it imposed a heavy responsibility on a projector; for he that propounded a law contrary to the common good was to be indicted, leaving the question of good or evil to the uncertain result of a popular decision. That was a more judicious regulation which appointed an annual examination of the laws, to correct any contradictions which might be found among them:

The fragments of the Athenian laws, as they could be discovered in the writings of the ancients, were collected and first published by Samuel Petrus, in 1635, with a commentary, which has the credit of Mr. Butler's praise. Of this collection, Archbishop Potter professed to avail himself in his *Archæologia Græca*. From that work chiefly we shall select a few specimens of the manner in which the laws of Solon appear to have affected the personal and domestic condition of the Athenians.

As to their worship, the first fruits of the earth were annually offered; and in the sacrifice of animals, the offerer carried part of the oblation to his family, leaving the remainder as a fee to the priest. No strange god could be worshipped at Athens, till approved by the Areopagus; and, as appears from the Acts of the Apostles, it was on this law that St. Paul was brought before that tribunal. During the celebration of new moons or other festivals, all business unconnected with the feasts was suspended, and the too common employment of defamation was expressly forbidden. The *initiated*, who must be natives, dedicated the garments which they wore, during the ceremony, in the temples of Ceres and Proserpine; and it was a capital crime to divulge the mysteries.

As to amusements, Plutarch mentions a law of Solon Amuse-respecting entertainments at the public charge. He forbade the same person to be often found at them, and laid a penalty on those who neglected to attend when invited. Yet, from an anecdote which he relates of a conversation between Solon, in his old age, and Thespis, it appears that the legislator, though himself a poet, was no friend to theatrical exhibitions. In these the actors must be thirty years of age at least, and no archon was to be exposed in a comedy.

The public appearance of women was strictly regulated, according to Plutarch, as to their journeys, mournings, and sacrifices. He adds the following account: "They were to travel with no more than three habits, and their provisions were not to exceed the value of an *abolus*. Their basket was to be only a cubit in height, and in the night they were not to travel without a torch. At funerals (where none under sixty years of age could attend) they were forbidden to tear themselves, and no hired mourner might utter lamentations. They were not permitted to sacrifice an ox on such occasions; or to bury more than three garments with the body; or to visit any tombs beside those of their own family, except at the time of interment."

Marriage was sanctioned by a law which punished a detected adulterer with death; while an adulteress was

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Fragments
of Athenian
laws.

Amuse-
ments.

Public ap-
pearance
of women.

Biography.

A. M.
3410.
B. C.
594.

Laws, edu-
cation of
children.

forbidden to adorn herself, or to assist at the public sacrifices; or, if she appeared, she might have her garments torn and be beaten, though not so as to be killed or disabled. The violation of virgins was, at the same time, punished only by a fine.

As to children, it does not appear so clearly that Solon sanctioned their exposure, as we have seen Lycurgus to have done. Yet the custom having been always described as general in Greece, with the exception of the Thebans, and as, in the time of Aristotle, it was reckoned and defended by him as a common practice, it may be fairly considered as at least not forbidden by the laws of Solon. Respecting the education of children, Solon determined that their first instruction was to be in the art of swimming and the rudiments of literature; those whose prospects or abilities were but mean, were then to learn husbandry, manufactures, and trades; but those whose parents could afford a genteel education were to be taught the use of musical instruments, and to ride; to study philosophy, learn to hunt, and be instructed in the gymnastic exercises. He who struck his parents, or refused to provide for them, was declared infamous; though this provision was not obligatory on bastards, or those whom the parents had neglected to educate for some occupation.

The ingenious, but unfortunate, Dr. Brown, in his "Code of Education," finds fault with the Athenian government, because there was "the total want of an established education, suitable to the genius of the state;" and he extols, in contrast, the institutions of Sparta, where "no father had a right to educate his children according to the caprice of his own fancy." To this it was justly answered by Priestley, in his *Remarks* (1765), p. 163, that "while the arts of life were improving in all the neighbouring nations, Sparta deriv'd this noble prerogative from her constitution, that she continued the nearest to her pristine barbarity; and in the space of near a thousand years produced no one poet, orator, historian, or artist of any kind." He adds, "the convulsions of Athens, where life was in some measure enervated, and the faculties of body and mind had their proper exercise and gratification, are with me far preferable to the savage uniformity of Sparta."

Laws re-
specting the
slaves.

As to the slaves, who formed the great majority in Greece, though not honoured with the name of people, the laws of Solon were humane, compared to those of Lycurgus. It appears, indeed, from a work on the revenue of Athens, attributed to Xenophon, that they were branded, and sold in droves like cattle, to be employed in the silver mines of Attica. But, as to the domestic slaves especially, they appear to have enjoyed an unusual protection by the laws. Above all may be reckoned that law which suffered "any slave unable to drudge under the imperiousness of his master, to quit his service for one more gentle." By another law, a slave was allowed to buy his freedom. Slaves were permitted to appear at the temples, but were not allowed to plead, or give evidence in any court. They were also forbidden, as well as women, the practice of medicine.

Our readers who would further investigate the laws which Solon enacted, or of which he gave the hints on which his successors improved, will do well to consult the authorities we have mentioned, and to which we have here been principally indebted. We now continue the history of the legislator.

Solon decreed that his laws should remain in force for a hundred years. They were written, according to Plutarch, "upon wooden tablets, which might be turned round in the oblong cases which contained them." He adds, that some remains of them were "preserved in the Prytæum" to his time; and we have seen that they were esteemed by the people of Athens for some years after the death of Plutarch. He adds that "the *Theramistes*, or guardians of the laws, severally took an oath, in a particular form, by a stone in the market-place, that for every law they broke, each would dedicate a golden statue at Delphi of the same weight with himself."

However Solon had endeavored to conciliate the interests of all parties, in compiling his laws, he could scarcely have expected complete success. Plutarch says, he "had his visitors every day finding fault with some of them, and commending others, or advising certain additions or retrenchments. But the greater part desired a reason for the several articles, or a precise account of his design." Despairing of satisfying such various applications, he determined to leave his country for at least ten years, during which his laws might be familiarized to the people; and he employed for his purpose the pretence of traffic.

He first visited Egypt, where he conversed with the Vitis learned priests, and borrowed from them that fable of Egypt an Atlantic island, on which Plato improved. From Egypt he sailed to Cyprus, where he appears to have remained long enough to construct a city, and to regulate its institutions. His interview with Cressus, king of Lydia, is next related; but, by Plutarch's admission, it was considered, in his time, as a doubtful story. It is, however, one which will never cease to be told for its edifying moral. Undazzled by the splendour of the monarch, he referred him, among others, to "a plain, but worthy citizen of Athens" for a happier man than himself; and counselled the prince not to determine on the felicity of life till he had seen its conclusion. This advice is said to have been remembered by Cressus when he was about to be burned alive by his conqueror, (if to Cyrus such cruelty may fairly be attributed,) and became the occasion of saving his life.

During Solon's absence, which probably extended beyond the period he had proposed, the Athenians were divided among themselves, and a prey to three factious men, of whom one was Pisistratus. Solon at length returned, and found all parties united to do him honour. He, however, on account of his great age, declined the public administration of the government, but laboured in private to reconcile the factions. For a time he succeeded; but Pisistratus, by his largesses to the common people, secured their attachment, and, notwithstanding the opposition of Solon, usurped the government. The legislator, on the failure of this last effort, placed his weapons at his door, saying "I have exerted all my power to defend my country and to preserve her laws."

Solon's friends now feared for him, but Pisistratus was disposed rather to conciliate, than to destroy his relation. The old man, however, would not disgrace his illustrious life by suffering it to close in the court of a tyrant. He presently withdrew from Athens, and, according to Laertius, retired to Cyprus, where he might justly claim the rites of hospitality. There, according to the same authority, he died at the age of eighty

Solon.
A. M.
3410.
B. C.
594.

Solon again
quits
Athens.

His return.

Dis.

Biography.
A. M.
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—
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years, "with this command, that his bones should be removed to Salamis, and being burst to ashes, should be scattered over the island." This account is treated by Plutarch as fabulous, though he admits its reception, among others, by Aristotle.

Besides what has been incidentally mentioned of the honours paid to the legislation of Solon, it must not be forgotten, that about a century after his death, the Romans, according to Livy, lib. iii. c. 31, were attracted by the fame of his jurisprudence, and sent deputies to Athens to procure a copy of his code, *inclytus leges Solonis describere*. On the other hand, besides those moderns who professedly treat of laws, several writers have strongly, but not unfairly, displayed the imperfections of the Athenian as well as the Spartan code.

We may refer to Hakenill "On the Power and Providence of God," b. iv. c. 2. Leland in his "Necessity of the Christian Revelation," part ii. c. 3.; and especially to the comparison between Moses, Lycurgus, and Solon, in vol. ix. of the "Prize Dissertations," by the Society of Harlem. Yet whatever were the excellencies or defects of the Athenian sage, he was, as a lawgiver, the last of the Greeks; for, as Mr. Butler has remarked, "with the death of Solon the era of Grecian legislation finishes, and the era of her military glory begins."

Comparison
between
Solon and
Moses.

In looking back upon the Grecian lawgivers, we find that kind of coincidence between the wisest of their statutes and the institutions of Moses, upon which it is but just and philosophical to bestow a brief notice. At the close of the life of Lycurgus, we ventured to point out the great inferiority of his various provisions to those of the Jewish legislator. In the life of Draco, we had occasion to advert to the sanguinary character of his laws. These may, indeed, have been in some respects, represented inaccurately: for it is a singular circumstance, that while they are so frequently alluded to, scarcely any fragments of them have been preserved in any writer; and the general censure of them seems founded principally upon the authority of Aristotle; but the single circumstance of their punishing with death trivial offences, is sufficient to warrant the conclusions of Stagyrite, and cannot be justified on any plea of necessity, founded upon the temper of the times; although there can be little doubt that Greece was, at the period of his legislation, in a state of considerable anarchy. At the close of the life of Solon, upon a review of those laws which have been preserved to us, and to which the Grecian legislators and historians have taught us to look up with such admiration, we shall find many important cases unprovided for, and others capriciously guarded by unequal enactments. If proofs appear wanting they may be found, although it is unnecessary to produce them here in detail, in the singular contradictions and waverings in his laws respecting marriage and adultery. Nor could he carry into completion his own design. Being compelled to yield to circumstances, he confessed that his laws were not the best possible institutions, but the best which Athens could then bear. In short, as in the lives of these illustrious men, fable mixes with truth, so that it is sometimes difficult to dis-

tinguish them; darkness and light alternately appear to prevail over their legislation. In all these cases we miss that eternal stamp of consistency, which impresses so much sublimity upon the code of the Jewish legislator. His character and life appear in open day, unmingled with fable; and his principles, although bearing in their application more immediately upon the people for whom he legislated, are so pure, so true, and so comprehensive, that they have become a basis for legislators in almost all ages and countries, and must stand for ever. For can it be doubted upon an impartial inspection of the fragments that remain to us of the Grecian lawgivers, especially when these are associated with certain facts in their history, that some of their wisest institutions were borrowed from traditions of the Hebrew code? It would be too much to infer this, unless it were supported by other considerations; from the stress which they all lay upon obedience to parents, since this might be said to be a law of nature, founded upon her most powerful instincts; or the enactment that the first-fruits of the earth should be offered to the Deity; since this might be referred to the dictates of reason, prescribing to gratitude so significant an acknowledgment of the Divine bounty; and the mere circumstance of these appointments being found in the law of Moses, would not necessarily prove the origination of them there. But when we come to the specific provision made for the priests from the altar; and the injunction that the sacrificer should carry home a part of his offering, there appears to be a more visible transduction of the Grecian from the Hebrew institutions. To this we may add the singular circumstance that Solon wrote his laws from right to left, obviously the Hebrew method of writing; an imitation that would suggest the conclusion, that he was acquainted with the characters in which those laws, which he is supposed to have borrowed, were originally written. To strengthen the whole of this presumption, (if it be admitted to be nothing more) it is well-known that Solon travelled into Egypt with the design of gathering the wisdom of former ages, previous to the formation of his laws; Egypt being at that time the depository of oriental science and literature, and that Lycurgus is acknowledged to have borrowed many of his laws from Crete, with which, through the Phœnicians, the Jews had evident intercourse; and through the same channel the knowledge of their institutions reached these distinguished countries, and from them were derived to Greece. This conclusion accords again with the whole history of Grecian philosophy, the principles of which were, by the confession of Plato himself, and other eminent sages, gathered from the Socrus, another name, as employed by these writers, for the Hebrews, and one less obnoxious to their prejudices against this singular and secluded people. Those who may be desirous of seeing this subject treated at large, and proved by the most ample and erudite researches, may be gratified by consulting *Gale's Court of the Gentiles*; and the testimonies which relate more immediately to the Grecian lawgivers, collected in vol. i. b. iii. c. 9. of that work.

Solon.
A. M.
3410.
—
B. C.
594.

HISTORY.

CHAPTER IV.

CONTINUATION OF THE HISTORY OF THE JEWS,

TO THE CAPTIVITY OF THE KINGDOM OF JUDAH.

History. WE closed the narrative of the history of God's chosen people, in our last chapter, at the gloomy period of the captivity of the ten tribes.

A. M. 3278. In the meanwhile Hezekiah had ascended the throne of Judah, and was applying himself with pious zeal to the destruction of idolatry, and the reformation of his people. He opened and repaired the temple, sanctified the Levites, offered sacrifices, proclaimed a solemn passover, to which he invited the Israelites with his own people; ordered the courses of the priests and Levites; made provision for public service; appointed proper officers to superintend and apply the offerings, and restored the worship of Jehovah in its purity throughout his dominions.

A. M. 3291. The most memorable events of his reign are—the invasion of Sennacherib, king of Assyria, whose army was miraculously destroyed; the sickness of Hezekiah, from which he was miraculously recovered; fifteen years being added to his life, accompanied by an extraordinary sign in the retrogression of the shadow on the dial of Ahas, fifteen degrees; the complimentary visit of the envoys from Babylon, to whom, in the elation of his mind, he showed all his treasures, and for which he was censured, and their future capture by the Babylonians foretold; but, as these are particularized in the life of the prophet ISAAH, in the higraphical department of this work, they are slightly glanced at here; and it is only necessary to add, that after an honourable and useful career, he died in the fifty-fourth year of his age, and the twenty-ninth of his reign; and was buried with great distinction, lamented by all his people.

A. M. 3306. Manasseh, who succeeded him at the age of twelve years, was far unlike his father; his first work was to undo all that his pious ancestor had effected, and to overthrow whatever he had established. He restored idolatry, and added to it the most infamous rites; his reign was so oppressive and tyrannical, that he was said to "fill Jerusalem with blood." This career of wickedness was terminated by his being surprised and taken prisoner by the king of Assyria; who carried him into Babylon (which city he had captured about six years before, reigning sole monarch over the Assyrians and Babylonians), and cast him into a dungeon. Solitude and suffering brought reflection and repentance, and he returned to the God of his father with his whole heart, who vouchsafed him a happy emanci-

pation from his bondage. Upon his restoration to his kingdom, he cleansed it from the idolatry which he had introduced; repaired and fortified Jerusalem, and died in peace in the sixty-seventh year of his age, after a long reign of fifty-five years.

He was succeeded by his son Amon, of whom nothing is recorded, but that he adopted the evil practices of his father, without sharing his repentance. He was killed by his own servants, after having held the sceptre only two years. The conspirators were put to death by the people, who had taken no share in the rebellion; but when they had avenged the death of their murdered sovereign, placed his son Josiah, then a child of eight years old, upon the throne of his ancestors.

No sooner did this amiable monarch arrive at an age when he could think and act for himself, than he effected a complete reformation in his kingdom. In the eighth year of his reign, and sixteenth of his age, he sought the Lord; and in the twelfth year of his reign, or twentieth of his age, he began to remove the monuments of idolatry, and ceased not until he had destroyed them: a work, however, which occupied him many years fully to accomplish. In the eighteenth year of his reign, he repaired the temple; and the book of the law was found, and read to the king; who, deeply affected at its contents, sent to Huldah, the prophetess, by whom the threatened judgments were confirmed; yet, she added, that on account of the piety of Josiah, he should be exempt from sharing them, and they should not take place until after he was gathered to his fathers. The youthful monarch assembled his people, and caused the law to be read to them; appointed a passover, and restored the services of the sanctuary. He then proceeded with renovated zeal to extinguish the remains of idolatry; in the prosecution of which holy service, he came to the altar of Bethel, and fulfilled a prediction delivered centuries before, in taking the bones of Jeroboam's priests out of their sepulchres, and burning them upon it, while the ashes of the man of God who had foretold its destruction remained undisturbed. In the midst of this active zeal, Pharaoh-nechah, king of Egypt, warred against the king of Assyria; and Josiah, considering himself under some engagement to the Assyrian monarch, notwithstanding the Egyptian king endeavoured to dissuade him from meddling in the

Kingdom of Judah.

A. M. 3361.

B. C. 643.

Amon.

A. M. 3363.

B. C. 641.

Josiah.

His early piety.

A. M. 3374.

B. C. 630.

A. M. 3383.

B. C. 621.

His early piety.

A. M. 3374.

B. C. 630.

A. M. 3383.

B. C. 621.

His early piety.

A. M. 3374.

B. C. 630.

A. M. 3383.

B. C. 621.

His early piety.

A. M. 3374.

B. C. 630.

A. M. 3383.

B. C. 621.

His early piety.

History. affair, withstood Pharaoh-necho, and was so severely wounded in the battle, that he died upon his return to Jerusalem, and was buried with lamentations, in which the prophet Jeremiah bore a distinguished part.

A. M. 3383.
B. C. 621.
A. M. 3394.
B. C. 610.

Jehoiachaz. Jehoahaz succeeded him, but reigned only three months; a space sufficient, however, to show how unlike he was to his pious father. The king of Egypt, who had triumphed over Josiah, set aside Jehoahaz, and placed his brother Eliakim upon the throne; whose name he changed to Jehoia-
Jehoiachin. kim, taking the deposed monarch with him to Egypt, where he held him prisoner until he died. The monarchy of Judah was now fast hastening to extinction. Jehoia-
Jehoiachin. kim held his crown of Pharaoh-necho at a heavy tribute: but a new and illustrious opponent appeared in the person of Nebuchadnezzar, who also rendered him tributary for three years, after which he rebelled, and in his resistance originated those calamities which terminated in the captivity of the Jews. After a reign of eleven years of misery and violence he died, leaving the sceptre in the hands of his son Jehoia-
Jehoiachin. chin, who held it only three months, during which he discovered the same evil tendencies with his father, and at the close of which he was displaced, and carried captive into Babylon by Nebuchadnezzar, who made Zedekiah, the brother of the deposed monarch, king of Judah. Even the terrible calamities he had witnessed had no influence upon the new sovereign, who followed the same evil course with his immediate predecessors. At length he also rebelled against the king of Babylon, to whom he had sworn allegiance, and who now sent and destroyed Jerusalem, slew the princes of the royal house in sight of their miserable father, whose eyes he afterwards put out, and thus finally overthrew the Jewish monarchy, which terminated in Zedekiah, whom he imprisoned in Babylon, where he died.

Such was the captivity of Judah, of which the following is a brief review, rendered necessary to bring together events which were drawn out through three reigns. It was commenced by Nebuchadnezzar, and completed by his general Nebuzar-adan. The interval between the first devastation of Jerusalem by the king of Babylon, and its total overthrow by his servants, was about twenty-two years. It was begun in the reign of Jehoia-
Jehoiachin. kim, 606 years before Christ. Nebuchadnezzar took the city on the 12th day of the 9th month, called *Chesef*, which answers to our *November*, and is still observed by the Jews as an annual fast, in remembrance of this event. Among the captives of this first invasion were DANIEL, Hananiah, Mishael, and Amariah; called in Babylon, Belteshazzar, Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed-nego. The interval between the commencement and the consummation of the destruction of Jerusalem is crowded with important transactions; some of which are recorded by Jeremiah, and others by Daniel. The reading of the roll of Jeremiah pronouncing these judgments before Jehoia-
Jehoiachin. kim, who was not rendered sensible of his wickedness by the first desolation of his country, excited the most infuriate emotions, and, having first cut it in pieces with his own hand, he threw it into the fire. The Jews kept also the 29th day of *Chesef* a fast, in memory of the impiety of the monarch by whom this important writing was destroyed.

A. M. 3405.
B. C. 599.

Jehoiachin.
Rebels against the king of Babylon.

A. M. 3411.
B. C. 593.
A. M. 3416.
B. C. 588.

Captivity of Judah.

explained the first vision of the king of Babylon, which elevated him to the highest dignities of the empire.

The other events recorded in the book of Daniel, of the expulsion of Nebuchadnezzar from society, follow in the order in which they are there narrated; and conduct us to the total overthrow of Jerusalem by Nebuzar-adan, in the reign of Zedekiah; which was accompanied with the most horrible circumstances of rigour and cruelty. The temple was spoiled of all its riches and furniture, and was burned, together with the royal palace. The slaughter was dreadful: the city was totally dismantled; and the whole of its inhabitants, who escaped the sword, were led into captivity, or reduced to slavery. This event took place in the year of the world 3416, five hundred and eighty-eight years before Christ, and one hundred and thirty-four years after the destruction of the kingdom of Israel, and the captivity of the ten tribes.

While Providence was thus pursuing its solemn and irresistible march to punish a people so distinguished by its favours, so notorious for ingratitude, and who were hastening to fill up the measure of their iniquities, many eminent prophets arose, as the ministers of mercy to the penitent, or the heralds of impending ruin to the obstinately rebellious. This is a feature in the moral government of God too prominent, and the messengers were themselves too eminent, to be passed by unnoticed. The first circumstance is stated, with the most touching simplicity and pathos, by the sacred historian: "The Lord God of their fathers sent to them by his messengers, rising up betimes, and sending; because he had compassion on his people, and on his dwelling-place." The last will appear, when it is recollected that amongst those who were employed as prophets, during that eventful period, to the Israelites and other nations, the names of Jonah, Amos, Hosea, Micah, Nahum, Joel, Zephaniah, and Habakkuk, are conspicuous; and may here, therefore, with propriety precede those of their more illustrious contemporaries or successors Isaiah and Jeremiah.

JONAH, the son of Amittai, was a Galilean, of Gath-hepher, in the tribe of Zebulun, and lived in the reigns of Jona-
Jonah. h and Jeroboam (that is, the second Jeroboam), kings of Israel. Some have conjectured that he was the nameless prophet sent to by Elisha, to anoint Jehu: it is unnecessary to add, that this can be only conjecture, and of conjecture there is no end. We have never felt ourselves justified in indulging it, or we could amuse our readers with various plausible hypotheses respecting this prophet, of whom so little is known, some of which are destroyed by facts, and all of which must be necessarily uncertain.

The only history upon which any dependance can be placed, is that found in the book which bears his name, among the minor prophets; so called, not because they were later, for some of them were still earlier than their more distinguished competers: not because they were less inspired, for their predictions received the full confirmation of Providence; but because their prophecies were less numerous than those of others.

We first become acquainted with Jonah, in the opening of his commission against Nineveh, whose destruction he was commanded to foretell; when more jealous of his own honour, than concerned for the glory of God, or the salvation of the people to whom his commission related, he was only anxious to

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Succession of events.

The poss. place of this era.

Jonah.

Scat to Nineveh.

History.

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—
B. C.
588.Embarks
for Tar-
shish.

relinquish, or escape his arduous and difficult office. He adopted a singular method to effect this purpose; in taking ship to Tarshish, "to flee from the presence of the Lord." The superstitious and irrational notions of the age in which he lived, which fancied gods of the mountains and of the valleys, the woods and the plains, the sea and the dry land; might almost induce us to suppose that he was willing to believe Jehovah to be a local deity; or did he imagine that, if he could shift the commission for a season, or evade it, by travelling abroad, it would be altogether relinquished, and so reluctant a messenger be exchanged for one more prompt to the service?

He had no sooner embarked, however, than a tempest arose, and he was in imminent danger of shipwreck. In vain the mariners implored their idols to pity and save them; the storm increased every moment. After casting overboard whatever might tend to lighten the ship, and employing all possible means to save themselves, the captain, having missed one of his passengers, found Jonah asleep in the body of the vessel, apparently unconscious of the hurricane; and being, with all the seamen, satisfied that an extraordinary judgment had overtaken them, they resolved to decide the question by the prevailing custom of the day, in every doubtful case, and particularly if it were a religious one; they cast lots, to ascertain on whose account this calamity had befallen them, and the lot fell upon Jonah. Closely interrogated on the subject, he now confessed his fault and folly; and, impelled by the spirit of inspiration, assured them, that their only safety consisted in consigning him to the waves. Unwilling to proceed to such an extremity, they laboured to subdue their difficulties and escape their peril; but, finding all human effort unavailing, and the fury of the tempest augmenting, at length they yielded to their sad circumstances, and threw their dangerous and offending passenger overboard.

It was then that a miracle was wrought which has amused infidelity, and employed its criticisms, in all ages.

Swallowed
by the fish.

"Now Jehovah had prepared a great fish to swallow up Jonah; and Jonah was in the belly of the fish three days and three nights." We cannot admit that any vessel is intended by the term *ἰχθυος* in the Hebrew, or *εὐρος*, which is employed by our Lord; because, although such a deduction is possible from mere verbal criticism, the result is at variance with the context in both cases, and can only be deduced by doing violence to the natural import of the expressions. The terms *ἰχθυος* and *εὐρος*, signify alike a *great fish*, without determining the species; although our translators have rendered the latter, in the New Testament, a *whale*. This fact removes the objection arising from the narrow passage of the throat of the whale, in comparison with his size, which, it is said, renders it impossible for him to swallow a man. The fish, if of any natural species, might be of the *shark* kind, of whose voracity and ability to swallow so considerable a bulk as the human body we have other instances: but what is not affirmed in the narrative, we are not called upon to decide. It is further expressly said, that "Jehovah prepared a great fish;" it is evident, therefore, upon every possible interpretation, that a miracle was wrought in this case; and when once the ordinary limits of nature are exceeded, it rests not with man to fix the bounds of the operation. As if to an-

ticipate the evils of scepticism upon a history so brief, so simply narrated, and so replete with miracle, our Lord pledges his own character to its veracity, by two appeals to its circumstances (not to mention other, and constant allusions to it, throughout the subsequent scriptures); the one, the repentance of the Ninevites, as a condemnation of the age and generation in which he lived—the other, the miraculous event just recited, as a sign of his own death and resurrection—precisely agreeing with the time he should occupy the tomb. It is not to be imagined that he would refer an event of such infinite moment that all Christianity rested upon it, as well in its principles as in its prospects, to any fact disputable in itself, or doubted by his countrymen; or that a Teacher of Truth (and such even his adversaries have allowed him to be), a man of unimpeachable veracity and integrity, should adopt a mere legend, or give any countenance to a fable. Yet the matter so stands, that the authenticity of the history of Jonah must be admitted in all its miraculous features, or the judgment, integrity, and authority of Jesus Christ impeached. It is further remarkable, that among the few fragments of antiquity remaining to us, this little history should receive from them larger confirmation than some others of greater extent and magnitude. The heathens have preserved the fact, but applied it to Hercules;

Ἡρώδης ἑρμῆς, ἐν ὧν ἰσχυρὸς
ἦν ἡρώδης ἑρμῆς ἑρμῆς ἑρμῆς.

LTCORANOS.

"That fam'd three-nighted lion, whom of old,
"Triton's carcharias" dog, with horrid jaws
"Devour'd."

Æneas Gæzæus, recording the same event, which also he refers to Hercules, employs the very term *εὐρος*, adopted by the LXX. and by St. Matthew. *Ἐπεὶ καὶ Ἡρώδης ἑρμῆς, ἐπιβήσας τῆς νύκτος, ἐρ' ἡς ἐπὶ τοῦ νῆο ΚΗΤΟΥΣ καταβῆναι καὶ εἰσελθεῖν.* "As Hercules is also reported, when he was shipwrecked, to have been swallowed by a (*εὐρος*) whale (or *great fish*); and yet to have been saved.—(*Æneas Gæzæus Theophrastus*). That Hercules should have been substituted for Jonah can excite no just astonishment; since Tacitus himself acknowledges, that to advance the fame of this distinguished favourite, they do not hesitate to ascribe to him whatever is extraordinary or noble in history, to whomsoever the real praise is due. They plunder every other celebrated character, of whatever country, of all his merit, to adorn their fabled hero with the spoils stolen from truth, and honestly belonging to others.

Jonah was emancipated from his terrific and miraculous prison; and thus admonished, upon the repetition of the original command, advanced to Nineveh; to compass which required three days journey, it being, according to Diodorus Siculus, twenty-five leagues in circumference, and contained 120,000 persons "who could not discern between their right hand and their left," by which we may presume children to be especially intended; and as these are usually estimated at not more than one-fifth of the whole population, the result will be, that Nineveh contained 600,000 inhabitants—"and also much cattle." This is the compassionate argument used by the Father of mankind for sparing his creatures; and in his expostulation with the angry prophet, he showed that he "cared for oxen."

* The *εὐρος* *corvus* is the *shark*.

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the facts.Pherocles of
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At the awful message of Jonah, the Ninevites fasted and repented; and the threatening, being conditional, was repealed. This example of humiliation was set by the sovereign, who descended from his throne, clothed himself with sackcloth, and deprecated the Divine vengeance. Calmet supposes this king to have been the father of Sardanapalus, known in profane authors by the name of Amasyndaraxa, or Anabaxanis; and called Phul in the scriptures. That he might have been the Phul of the Bible is not improbable; but, whether known by his scripture or his heathen name, he was the father of Sardanapalus, must remain a question, while it is even doubtful whether such a man as Sardanapalus ever lived; two persons of the most opposite qualities being called by that name, and both of those, perhaps, fictitious.

Jonah, having fulfilled his commission, retired to the environs of the city, resolved to wait the result, and seems rather to have chosen the destruction of the place than that his prediction should appear to fail. The climate of Nineveh was most trying—scorchingly hot by day, and intensely cold at night. He made a booth as a temporary shelter; and a guard, a plant of the country of remarkably rapid growth (*likajen*), sprung up over his retreat, and afforded him a deeper shadow by day, and a better covering at night. As it was said to be "prepared," it was probably distinguished from ordinary plants, as well by the completeness of its umbrage, as by the rapidity of its production. Jonah rejoiced in its shadow: but a worm was also "prepared;" an insect devoured the root, and it perished in a night, so suddenly, so unexpectedly, that the prophet, finding himself exposed to the united action of a scorching sun and a piercing east wind, was moved with anger and impatience. It was then that the noble reproof was given, already adverted to, which placed in so striking a point of view the selfishness of the man, and the compassion of the Deity. After this Jonah disappears. We read of him in another portion of the scriptures, and on another occasion; when he foretold the second Jeroboam, that he should "restore the coast of Israel from the entering of Hamath, unto the sea of the plain" (2 Kings xiv. 25.); but whether this prediction were uttered before or after the events which we have recited, it is impossible to determine; and nothing further respecting him is known from any authentic record.

Amos.

Amos also flourished about this time. His birth-place is unknown. He tells us himself that he was not educated among the sons of the prophets, nor was he the descendant of a prophet, but a man of no pretensions, and occupying a humble station in life. "I was a herdsman, and a dresser of sycomore fruit; and the Lord took me as I followed the flock, and said unto me, Go, prophesy unto my people of Israel." He began to prophesy in the reign of Uzziah, two years before the earthquake. He was charged with a conspiracy against Jeroboam the Second, because of the sharpness with which he reproved the sins of his people; and was severely threatened by Amaziah, the high-priest of Bethel—with how little effect, the fidelity of his plain, but pointed predictions will testify. He retired, however, into the kingdom of Judah, and dwelt at Tekoa. He foretold the invasions of Phul and Tiglath-pileser: and reproved the Israelites in language as distinguished for its energy as for its

sublimity. The time and manner of his death cannot be ascertained. He lived only in his prophetic testimony—and this shall outlive the world.

Hosea, whose predictions, from their extent and variety occupy a larger space among the minor prophets, does not appear more conspicuous than Amos on the page of history. He lived in the kingdom of Samaria, and his prophecies principally regard that state, then fast verging towards its ruin. He is said to have prophesied under the reigns of Uzziah, Jotham, Ahaz, and Hezekiah; and must have been, therefore, contemporary with Isaiah, and not inferior to him in length of life. The most singular circumstance attending the prophecies of Hosea, is not that they are very pathetic and energetic, for his style is rather concise, sententious, and abrupt, nor that they were enforced by symbols, for this mode was also prescribed to, and practised by Ezekiel; but that he was permitted, as enjoined, to adopt a type which appears to the present age to involve an immoral connection. "Go, take unto thee a wife of whoredoms, and children of whoredoms; for the land hath committed great whoredom, departing from the Lord." And it appears, from the whole account given, that this cannot be understood figuratively, but must signify a real transaction. The Baron de Tott illustrates this circumstance in the account which he gives of those temporary marriages, unknown to us, but common in the east. He says, "There is also another kind of marriage, which, stipulating the return to be made, fixes likewise the time when the divorce is to take place. This contract is called *casus*; and, properly speaking, is only an agreement made between the parties to live together, for such a price, during such a time." Such a contract is probably that mentioned by Hosea. Mr. Hurmer observes, respecting contracts for temporary wives, from Sir John Chardin, and which are made before the *cadis*, that "there is always the formality of a measure of corn mentioned, over and above the sum of money that is stipulated." These circumstances will serve to explain the whole transaction, and to prove, that however singular in itself that transaction was, it accorded with the customs of the country and of the age. "So I bought her to me for fifteen pieces of silver, and for an homer of barley, and an half homer of barley. And I said unto her, thou shalt abide for me many days; thou shalt not play the harlot, and thou shalt not be for another man; so will I also be for thee." That this transaction was intended to expose the idolatry and the iniquity of the Israelites, is fully shown by the prophet himself.

MICAH, the Morasthite, prophesied in the reigns of Jotham, Ahaz, and Hezekiah, kings of Judah. Morassa, or Marassa, of which place he is named, was a village in the south of Judah, in the vicinity of Eleutheropolis. His predictions relate to his native country, and to the kingdom which separated from it; since he expressly terms them "a vision concerning Jerusalem and Samaria." Some parts of them were evidently, therefore, written before the captivity of the ten tribes; and it is supposed that he prophesied longer than Hosea. His style possesses great energy, copiousness, pathos, and sublimity; not without singular beauty and elegance. There are distinct predictions in the book bearing his name, not inferior in grandeur and eloquence to the most illustrious of the prophets, and which will bear a

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comparison, without injury, even with Isaiah himself. The substance of his prophecies agrees with those of his contemporaries: the iniquities of Israel and of Judah, which are reproof with sharpness and fidelity; the impending ruin of these monarchies, and by what nations it should be effected; the future restoration of them, according to the divine promise; and all turning upon that glorious centre of providence and grace, to which all prophecy hastened, and in which it terminated—the reign of the Messiah. Micah is distinguished also for having fixed the birth of the Messiah expressly at Beth-lehem (Ephrathah), in language too distinct to be misunderstood, and allowed by the Jews themselves. (Mic. v. 2.) There is an interesting circumstance respecting a prophecy of Micah, Jer. xxvi. 11–24, which was the means of saving the life of the latter prophet, while the fearful Urijah was slain. The time of Micah's death is uncertain, and his sepulchre unknown; although it is conjectured that he was buried at Morasha.

Nahum.

NAHUM, the Elkoshite, so called from a little village of Galilee, occupies a small, but splendid space among the predictions of those times. Josephus supposes him to have flourished in the reign of Jotham; and says that his prophecies were accomplished one hundred and fifteen years after they were delivered. But the best and most accurate chronologists place him in the reign of Hezekiah, and conclude that his predictions were delivered soon after the destruction of Samaria by Shalmaneser. Accordingly his book opens with a sublime exhibition of the power and goodness, the justice and compassion of Deity. He represents "whirlwind and storm" encompassing him; "clouds, scattered "as the dust of his feet"; the "sea" shrinking, and the "rivers" failing at his "rebuke." Then this storm subsides instantly into a calm; every attribute of terror is laid aside, as he turns to his people; and all his majesty and power are combined for the security of those "that trust in him." After this sublime exordium, he directs his prophecies chiefly against Nineveh, and foretells the destruction of the Assyrian empire. The time of the death of this prophet is unknown.

Joel.

JOEL, the son of Pethuel, prophesied before the subversion of Judah, but when that event was fast approaching, in the reign, as some think, of Manasseh or, according to others, of Josiah; we cannot determine from his predictions themselves precisely the time or reign in which they were delivered. He is said to have been of the city of Betharan, in the tribe of Reuben. He is distinguished for the fervour, elegance, and sublimity of his style, and his short, but sublime work exhibits all those characters of energy for which the most illustrious prophets were celebrated; combined with a richness of imagery, seldom rivalled, and never surpassed. His description of the army of locusts, in the second chapter, and of the effusion of the Spirit in the third, have no equal. The substance of his predictions relate to the impending ruin of his country, and the final restoration of his people by the Messiah. We have no certain information further respecting the prophet himself.

Zephaniah.

ZEPHANIAH, the son of Cushi, was supposed by Epiphanius to have been of the tribe of Simeon. He fixes himself the date of his prophecies in the reign of Josiah, and from some of their contents we must conclude, that he flourished in the early part of that

reign. His censures on the disorders of Judah would induce the conclusion, that their formation by that pious prince, in the eighteenth year of his reign, had not then been effected: and he predicts the destruction of Nineveh, which probably took place about the sixteenth year of Josiah. Judah is first mentioned, and then the enemies of Israel successively—the Philistines, the Moabites, Ammonites, Cushites, Phœnicians, and Assyrians. The predictions terminate, as usual, in the glory of the latter day, as connected with the restoration of the Jews. The circumstances and time of the death of Zephaniah are no where recorded.

HABAKKUK is supposed to have been also of the

tribe of Simeon, and to have lived in the reign of Jotham. That he prophesied *after* the taking of Nineveh is inferred from his silence respecting the Assyrians, while he predicts the terrible judgments which threatened his country from the Chaldeans, whom he calls "a bitter and haughty nation;" and describes their ferocious character and unsparring cruelty with all the force and grandeur of oriental imagery. "Their horses also are swifter than the leopards, and are more fierce than the cunning wolves; and their horsemen shall spread themselves, and their horsemen shall come from far; they shall fly as the eagle that hasteth to eat." The Chaldeans are threatened in their turn; and the book closes with a magnificent description of the majesty of God, which exceeds, perhaps, in sublimity every other similar delineation even in the scriptures themselves. (Hab. iii.) The only genuine works of this prophet are those predictions contained in the book which goes under his name. Some singular incidents respecting him are recorded in the Apocrypha, but which being extremely doubtful, to say the least, if not absolutely fabulous, we do not recapitulate. So far as any probable history of his life can be at all collected, it is given in few words by Calmet, from Epiphanius, et Dorotheus de Vita et Morte Prophetarum, who says, "Observing that Nebuchadnezzar advanced towards Jerusalem, and foreseeing he would take it, Habakkuk escaped to Ostracine, in Arabia, near the lake Sirbonis, where he lived for some time; but the Chaldeans having taken Jerusalem, and returned to Chaldea, Habakkuk returned to Judea; while the Jews who escaped from being carried to Babylon, after the death of Gedaliah, fled into Egypt."

These were the illustrious men who lived in the age to which this chapter of history relates, and who foretold the destruction that hung over their country. And although men were the instruments in producing the fearful scenes which they predicted, God was the adversary. Jeremiah unveils the cause of the calamities of Israel and Judah—those calamities which have now been seen reaching their climax. "The Lord was as an enemy: He hath swallowed up Israel, he hath swallowed up all her palaces: he hath destroyed his strong holds, and hath increased in the daughter of Judah mourning and lamentation. And he hath violently taken away his tabernacle, as if it were of a garden, he hath destroyed his places of assembly: the Lord hath caused the solemn feasts and sabbaths to be forgotten in Sion, and hath despised in the indignation of his anger the king and the priest." (Lam. ii. 5, 6.) A similar sentiment, expressed in language less sublime, will be recollected by the classical reader in Virgil, *Æn. l. ii. v. 609–619.*

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BIOGRAPHY.

ISAIAH,

AND THE HISTORICAL EVENTS CONNECTED WITH HIS PROPHECIES.

FROM A. M. 3244, B. C. 760, TO A. M. 3306, B. C. 698.

Biography.

From
A. M.
3244.
B. C.
760.
to
A. M.
3306.
B. C.
698.

RESPECTING this distinguished prophet little is known with any degree of certainty; but to supply the deficiency of genuine history with rabbinical tradition would afford little pleasure, and no instruction; and would be inconsistent with the plan of a scientific work, the object of which is to present truth always, and truth only. Under these circumstances, we must be satisfied to gather up the remaining fragments of his personal history, to state whatever is doubtful fairly as it stands, and to leave undetermined questions upon which we can collect no certain information. The most important particulars of the life of such a man become interesting, from their connection with his writings; while the most magnificent circumstances that ever distinguished a mortal career (had they been certainly attached to him) could add nothing to the glory which surrounds ISAIAH as a prophet, and to a fame which is imperishable. He stands, perhaps, at the head of that celebrated class of ancient writers, the prophets of the Bible; and, in this view of his character, appears to us to belong to this period of our progress in the history of the world.

Isaiah's family.

Our perplexities begin even with his birth. He is generally held to have been of the seed royal; his father being understood to be that Amoz who was son to Joash, and brother to Amaziah, kings of Judah. This opinion seems to have obtained upon good ground; and supposing it to be justly founded, Isaiah presents a wonderful and affecting spectacle of the close union sometimes subsisting between high distinction and severe affliction, and a memorable example of the reverses of human life: since he is seen as the grandson of one monarch, the nephew of another, and the martyr of a third.

Length of his ministry.

He prophesied, as we learn from his own writings, during four reigns—in the days of Uzziah, Jotham, Ahaz, and Hezekiah, kings of Judah. It is also supposed that his predictions extended to the reign of Manasseh, the son of Hezekiah, to whom St. Jerome says the prophet gave his daughter in marriage; while it is more generally thought that he was put to death by that prince, a death also of the most cruel kind, being “sawn asunder.” For this there is only traditional evidence, and a supposed allusion of the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews; but, in reality, his death, like his birth and his life, is involved in much obscurity.

Calmet concludes that he did not enter upon his prophetic office until the beginning of the reign of Jotham, and that he died in the first year of that of Manasseh. The first position appears to us to impugn his own declaration, that his visions opened in the days of Uzziah; but in the last he agrees with many other writers. And if it be conjoined with the general tradition of his death, it exhibits the unworthy son of Hezekiah as hastening to destroy, with an eager indecency, in the prophet whose admonitions he abhorred, his father's bosom friend; a circumstance which but too well comports with his blood-thirsty character. It is evident that Isaiah prophesied a long time; some writers have suggested a period of eighty-five years, while the representation of Calmet, which is the most moderate, allows to his public career but threescore years.

It is sometimes difficult in prophetic writings to ascertain with accuracy when the prophet speaks in his own person, and when he personifies another: this is particularly the case in predictions which refer to the Messiah, where the transition from one event to another, and from one person to another, is sometimes very abrupt, and at others almost imperceptible. We are disposed to think, from an expression in the first verse of the forty-ninth chapter of the book of Isaiah, notwithstanding the tenor of the argument evidently relates to the Saviour of the world, that an intimation is given of the separation of the prophet himself, from his earliest infancy, to the station which he afterwards filled with such pre-eminent majesty and fidelity. However this may be, it is very evident that he commenced his prophetic career very early; and continued it, with indefatigable assiduity and energy, to a remote period of life; that while he soared as on an eagle's pinion, like the eagle he appeared to renovate his vigour in his old age; and that his fine description of a servant of Jehovah most aptly applied to himself—“he ran without weariness, and walked without fainting.”

His predictions may be arranged in the following order:—He has himself named four reigns under which he prophesied. Five chapters of the beginning of his majestic work relate to the reign of Uzziah. The sixth, containing the description of a magnificent vision, which occurred to him in the year of the death of that monarch, must be therefore referred to the reign of

Isaiah.

Opinions of Calmet.
From
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3244.
B. C.
760.
to
A. M.
3306.
B. C.
698.

Separated from his infancy.

Division of his prophecies.

Biography.

From
A. M.
3244.
—
B. C.
760.
to
A. M.
3306.
—
B. C.
698.

The Evangelical Prophet.

His two children.

His wife.

His father.

Confederacy of Israel and Syria.

Jotham, his successor. Those which remain are divided between Ahas and Hezekiah; nor is it easy to draw precisely the line between these monarchs, as to their share in the several predictions, from the prophecies themselves, until we arrive at the thirty-sixth chapter, when we find ourselves in the fourteenth year of the reign of Hezekiah. It should be noted, that the difficulty of distinguishing the predictions appropriated to the respective reigns of these four sovereigns, arises from the interposition of prophecies relative to the Messiah, which bore alike upon all, with those which were local, and arose out of circumstances peculiar to the times. Chronology alone can settle the division; and by its aid it may be done with tolerable precision. According to the general opinion as to the order in which this prophet delivered his predictions, the book of Isaiah may be thus classed. The first five chapters are assigned to Uziah's reign; the sixth to that of Jotham, thence to the fifteenth the reign of Ahas seems to be included, and all that remains must be referred to that of Hezekiah; perhaps extending into the opening of the tyranny of Manasseh. According to the chronology of Usher, which we have usually followed, Isaiah begins to prophesy A. M. 3244. B. C. 760; and his last predictions were delivered A. M. 3306. A. C. 698; thus allowing space for the exercise of his arduous office of sixty-two years. The predictions relative to the Messiah occupy the largest proportion of his writings; and they possess a character of such precision as well as grandeur, that he has been styled, with one consent, in all ages, the Evangelical Prophet.

The predictions themselves conduct us to some important events in the Jewish history during the life of Isaiah, with which he was intimately connected. He appears to have had but two children; whose names were given as signs of certain prophecies which he had delivered. *Shear-jashub—the remnant shall return*—alluding to the restoration from the captivity of Babylon, which event had occupied a considerable place in the prophet's writings; and *Maher-shalal-hash-baz, making speed to the spoil, he hasteneth to the slaughter*—an appellation which too surely announced the approaching desolation of the kingdoms of Israel and Syria. His wife is called a prophetess; whether, according to the opinion of the Rabbins, that a spirit of prophecy rested upon her, or, as others have concluded, only because of her connection with Isaiah, cannot be easily determined. Some have also imagined that the father of Isaiah was a prophet, from the circumstance that his name is coupled with that of his son; and it has been said that the father of a seer was never mentioned, except he had been himself a partaker of the same inspiration; but it does not appear that such a sentiment can be borne out by facts. These are the only particulars suggested relative to Isaiah himself; and henceforward we learn his history only as it is associated with the public events of the times in which he lived.

The historical facts distinctly adverted to in his prophecies are four: The confederacy against Judah, by Rezin, king of Syria, and by Pekah, king of Israel, in the days of Ahas; the invasion of the same country, in the fourteenth year of Hezekiah, by Sennacherib, king of Assyria; the alarming sickness of Hezekiah, and his miraculous recovery; and the complimentary visit, consequent upon it, of the ambassadors of Me-

rodach-baladan, king of Babylon. These events gave rise to distinct prophecies, relating partly to the destiny of the Jews, and principally to the reign of the Messiah; and it will be discovered, by an accurate examination of the predictions of Isaiah, relative to other countries, which will be hereafter classed and enumerated, that they principally sprang from some historical facts, recorded in the chronicles of the empire, but not distinctly named by the prophet.

It must have been unexpressedly more grievous to the king of Judah, that Israel should have been linked with Syria against him, than if two of the mightiest potentates of the age had been leagued for his destruction. But little more than two centuries had passed since they were one kingdom, under the glorious sceptre of Solomon. No political changes could erase from the bosom of each that they were brethren, descended from one grand ancestor, speaking the same language, originally heirs of the same promise, and embracing a common faith; the interposing rock had divided those streams, which were once one current, but the fountain of both continued the same. In private life, when animosities arise among brethren, there is an unusual bitterness attached to them. The affections being engaged in the first instance, when they become repressed and violated, alter their whole character; and there is no hatred so deep and irreconcilable as that which arises from wounded love and insulted friendship. It is usually found that this principle acts with tenfold force upon nations in this situation, who add political fervour to outraged affection and original union; and this was manifested in the most marked manner in the war carried on between Israel and Judah. We lose almost the part which the Syrians took in it in the memory of Israel. The unnatural hostility of the Israelites; and while Judah felt most deeply the assault from the sea tribes, they, on the other hand, having obtained certain advantages, set no bounds to their oppression; and it became necessary that the prophet Obed should be sent to them, to require them to be satisfied with the spoils which they had taken, and remanding the prisoners to their country; or the lump of David had, at that time, been wholly quenched; and, to increase the calamity, would have been extinguished by the hand of a brother. These circumstances, not mentioned by Isaiah, constituted a part of that war to which he distinctly alludes, and which gave occasion to his predictions immediately before us. They were subsequent to this period, and were provoked by the idolatry of Ahas, after he had been delivered from his immediate apprehensions.

In the year 742 before Christ, this iniquitous league took place; a confederacy which joined the armies of Israel, the professed servants of the only and true God, with the host of Syria, a people distinguished, from time immemorial, for their idolatrous inventions; for an ingenuity in multiplying divinities, and improving upon the superstitions of other nations; and this, against the house of David, and the sceptre to which they had originally yielded obedience, proud of its greatness, and sheltered under its protection. Ahas was justly alarmed. The alliance against him was formidable in itself, and he had forfeited the only security which can deserve to be so called—the divine favour—by his idolatrous practices and infamous life. The apprehensions of the monarch, and of his people, are beautifully described. "And it was told the house

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We lose the memory of Israel.

Isaiah, hy. of David, saying, Syria is confederate with Ephraim: and his heart was moved, and the heart of his people, as the trees of the wood are moved with the wind! This little circumstance would be unworthy of notice, were it not that in this short sentence, which is also poetic and historical, we have the figurative and commanding features of that style, which distinguished the prophetic writings, and to which our attention must be directed, before we close this article. The Being who had been insulted with the impieties of an apostate monarch, and an ungrateful nation, was not forgetful of his people on this occasion. Isaiah was commanded to approach Ahaz, taking with him his son, Shear-jashub, then an infant; and to mark the precision of the fact, in connection with the prophecy, as one of those little, but irresistible circumstances, incompatible with falsehood, because so minute that mere invention would not think of them; the place of meeting is prescribed and mentioned: it took place "at the end of the conduit of the upper pool, in the highway of the fuller's field." The alarm of Ahaz appears to have been two-fold. He was afraid of the immediate consequences of this joint assault; and he apprehended that the dissolution of the Jewish monarchy was at hand. The prediction is therefore double; and it is necessary to observe this, in order to afford a solution of it, at once consistent with the existing circumstances, and the future aspect which it bore upon the Messiah. For want of this attention, commentators have plunged themselves into difficulties, which, as it appears to us, would not have existed, had they kept these simple facts in view. His immediate fears are allayed, by a time being fixed for the destruction of those invading monarchs, who were not so to prevail against him as to dispossess him of his throne; while they were themselves exposed to ruin which they did not anticipate; and it was revealed to him, that the throne of David should stand, until a greater than David came, whose miraculous birth is predicted, and in whose spiritual kingdom the temporal sovereignty of his house should be absorbed; in other words, to repeat the expressions of dying Jacob, "the sceptre was not to depart from Judah until Shiloh came." As a sign of the sudden destruction of the confederate monarchs, Isaiah presented his own child. Ahaz having refused to ask a sign, God deigned to give him a double one, relative both to the monarchy and to his pressing dangers. "Before the child" (properly, before *this* child) "shall know to refuse the evil, and choose the good, the land that thou abhorrest shall be forsaken of both her kings." There could be no possible reason for Shear-jashub to accompany his father, except for this purpose, to be a sign in the prediction. His immediate fears allayed, he was instructed as to the termination of the dynasty of David, as a temporal monarchy, and encouraged in the prospect that this extinction of worldly glory was only that absorption of a lesser light which must always take place in the presence of a greater; that, in truth, it was to be absorbed in the splendour of a spiritual and eternal kingdom. "Behold a virgin shall conceive, and bear a son, and shall call his name Immanuel; butter and honey shall he eat, that he may know to refuse the evil and choose the good." The application of this sign to the Messiah by St. Matthew, removes all doubt upon the subject of the propriety of this reference. The butter of the East

The double prediction.

Butter and honey.

was a sort of thick cream, and, mingled with honey, was considered a luxury of the first order. Such an image represents the actual prosperity of a dominion which had no external marks of grandeur, and refers to better blessings than this world could give, under a figure perfectly familiar to those to whom it was addressed. It was further considered a nutritious diet for children, which, by strengthening the body, would be likely to contribute to the soundness of the judgment; vigour of mind often depending much upon physical causes; and this fact forms an easy solution of the closing remark of the prophet. Although we have altered the order of the prediction, to render the argument clearer, it will be seen that such a transposition cannot affect the interpretation; which will be equally valid, whether the promise of the Messiah, or that of the overthrow of the kings of Syria and of Israel, stand first in the arrangement of a prophecy, which, evidently relating to two events, and embracing two signs (viz. that of the prophet's son, and that of the miraculous conception), must necessarily be divided into two parts.

The next event of importance, in the life of Isaiah, the Jews connected with his prophecies, is the invasion of Judea by Sennacherib, king of Assyria. The monarchy of Israel had perished under the conquering forces of Shalmaneser, about ten years before this period. Hezekiah having failed to pay the tribute exacted by the kings of Assyria from the monarchs of Israel, the incensed and unprincipled tyrant invaded and subdued the defenceless cities of Judah. He was appeased, for a time, by the submission of Hezekiah, and the payment of a very heavy annual sum. But after three years, inflated with the successes which he had obtained over several surrounding nations, once distinguished for their valour and consequence, without any pretext, but the mere impulse of wanton and arbitrary power, he sent Rabshakeh, his cup-bearer, from Lachish, which he was then besieging, to Jerusalem, with instructions to employ the most insulting language to Hezekiah; and to listen to no terms which did not include the most abject submission, without any correspondent guarantee, even for the life of the outraged monarch. The threat was immediately followed by an immense army, quite equal, in the opinion of the Assyrian monarch, to the execution of his unprincipled purpose. The pious king of Judah spread his case before Jehovah. In this national emergency the prophet Isaiah again appears—and again in all that dignity and energy which always distinguished him. With Jewish characteristic force and beauty, he personified "the daughter of Zion, as laughing" her invader "to scorn;" he showed, with singular ability and propriety, the causes of the weakness of those nations whom Sennacherib had enervated, in their idolatry; and he promised a miraculous and speedy overthrow of the large army which this imperious invader had sent against Jerusalem. Accordingly, it is said, "the angel of the Lord went forth, and smote in the camp of the Assyrians, 185,000 men," in a single night. Whether this destruction were effected by a spiritual, or by a natural instrument, it is still miraculous: since the prediction of such a fact, and the timing of it, argue, beyond question, a divine and immediate agency. We dare not say, that this slaughter was not effected by an angel; more especially as we have learned always to respect

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The Jews connected with his prophecies, is the invasion of Judea by Sennacherib, king of Assyria.

With Jewish characteristic force and beauty, he personified "the daughter of Zion, as laughing" her invader "to scorn."

the angel of the Lord went forth, and smote in the camp of the Assyrians, 185,000 men, in a single night.

Biography. the language of revelation; and never to depart from its simple import, excepting in cases in which the expressions are evidently figurative, and accord with the common forms of oriental metaphor. The most likely opinion, on the part of those who understand by the term "angel of the Lord," only a delegated natural cause, is, that it was the smooch, or fiery blast of the desert, which surprised them; which often extends to the width of half a mile, which is peculiarly fatal to persons sleeping, and which affects those who survive with a languor and depression of spirits, that render them incapable of exertions, and overwhelm them with cowardice and despondency. The result was, that the army of Sennacherib was so diminished, that he was compelled to retreat; and, after his return to his kingdom, he was slain in the house of his idol, by two of his own sons.

Sickness of Hezekiah. The alarming sickness of Hezekiah happened so near this time, that it is not easy to determine absolutely, whether it occurred during the investment of Jerusalem by the army of Sennacherib, or after his defeat. The language of the prophet seems to decide in favour of the former; since, in promising the pious monarch an addition of fifteen years to his life, he adds, "and I will deliver thee and this city out of the hand of the king of Assyria; and I will defend this city." Such an indisposition, at such a moment, must have added to the distress occasioned by the invasion in an inconceivable degree. The whole history is very singular; the first announcement of approaching death; then the rescinding the sentence at the supplication of the dying monarch; the addition of fifteen years to his life: the number of years being precisely specified; and finally, the miraculous sign by which this prolongation of his days was accompanied. We can add nothing to these facts, beyond the authority of the sacred writings, and the assurance that these things were well known at the time, as is evident from the embassy of congratulation from Babylon. But it is doubtful whether the dial of Ahaz were any thing more than a flight of steps in his palace, so constructed that the rays of the sun fell upon them during the day, throwing the shadow in different directions, which was noted in the different stages of its progress, and divided into spaces, sufficiently accurate to determine the larger Jewish divisions of time—since we read nothing of dials, constructed as such, in an age so remote as that of Hezekiah. As to the method of the performance of the miracle, there is no necessity to imagine a retrogression of the earth's motion (which is, however, held by no less a man than Archbishop Usher), since the inflection of the solar rays would produce all the results of this phenomenon. We held a different opinion relative to the miracle of Joshua, principally, because such a solution did not appear to us reconcilable with the scripture narrative; also, that it seemed inadequate as a cause to the effect stated: in this instance, no contradiction of the sacred history is involved—the explanation is adequate to the phenomenon, and while it is unnecessary to multiply difficulties in the discussion of miracles, as to their mode, the event itself is no less miraculous for this interpretation, if we consider the occasion on which it was wrought, and the time at which it took place; on the recovery of Hezekiah, and as a confirmation of God's word, by the mouth of his servant,

Dial of Ahaz. The mission of the Babylonians to inquire after the circumstances of the king's recovery, seems to indicate

Retrospection of the shadow. that they had only reached this people by report, and that their attention was not called to them by any astronomical observations, for the knowledge of which they were celebrated. It is merely said, that Merodach-baladan had heard that Hezekiah had been sick. Had there been a suspension of the earth's motion, the effect must have been universal, and could not have escaped the notice of such accurate students of astronomy as were the Chaldeans. Two things are, however, evident; and these are sufficient to the history and the occasion; it was a sign perfectly demonstrative of the divine mission of the prophet, and it was, on every hypothesis, a miracle wrought by the immediate interposition of God. We should not, however, omit to state, that some writers have thought that the astronomical effect of the miracle in question contributed to bring the Babylonian embassy to Jerusalem, to inquire more fully into the circumstances of the case.

Fantasy of the Babylonians. This complimentary embassy from the king of Babylon became a snare to Hezekiah, and furnished an occasion for a prediction of the after ruin of his kingdom, which was then approaching; while it afforded, in the issue, a remarkable example of his resignation to the Divine will.

About this time ISAIAH received directions to walk naked and barefoot, three years, as a type of the approaching degradation of Egypt and Ethiopia, by the hand of the king of Assyria. This circumstance illustrates a singular fact connected with prophecy. The prophets accompanied their predictions, by divine direction, with certain signs attached to persons, or things, and chiefly to themselves, which were as strikingly expressive of the events signified, as their ordinary language was bold in figure, and accurate in description. Isaiah, who abounded in majesty of diction, sublimity of thought, and richness of imagery, seems, in this solitary instance, to have taken the typical mode of conveying his predictions; while Ezekiel employs chiefly this method of instruction. Both acted unquestionably under the direction of the same Spirit: it was the language of symbols, where that of words failed; and it is highly interesting thus to observe it used by some of the first writers of antiquity.

We ventured to say, that the predictions of Isaiah would be found, upon close inspection, to bear respect to certain historical facts, connected with the age in which he lived, which were not, however, specified by himself. His prophecies principally related to Tyre, Tyre, Edom, Babylon, Egypt, and the Messiah. This last and most numerous class of his predictions, must be considered as common property—the Saviour, like the air which we breathe, and the sun which shines upon us, is not the right exclusively of any nation, but, as he was declared to be, the wealth of the world—"a light to lighten the gentiles, and the glory of his people Israel." With each of the other subjects the Jews had a peculiar relation, which was especially intimate at this part of their history. Tyre had furnished them with workmen to consummate that temple which was the wonder of the world; and Solomon had brought them into an alliance with that enterprising state, although the peculiar habits of the Jews restrained their intercourse with other nations. This bond of friendship was soon to be broken. "Who hath taken this counsel against Tyre? the crowning city, whose merchants are princes, whose traffickers are the honourable of the earth?"

Isaiah. From A. M. 3244. B. C. 760. A. M. 3306. B. C. 698.

Prophecies of Isaiah. From A. M. 3244. B. C. 760. A. M. 3306. B. C. 698.

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Edom.

Egypt.

Personification.

The Lord of Hosts hath purposed it, to stain the pride of all glory, and to bring into contempt all the honourable of the earth."—Edom, the possession of Esau, who ought to have felt sympathy with the posterity of Jacob, had exulted, with the most cruel malignity, in their misfortunes; and was not forgotten in the day of retribution. As the glory of Israel and Judah waned, this unnatural people aided in their oppressions. At this part, therefore, of the history of the Jews, we may judge of the force and effect of the prophet's denunciations against the Edomites.

Egypt had been always the resort of the Jews, when she was not their tyrant. An undue confidence had been placed in this power. It seems as though the impression of her strength and superiority, derived from the bondage of their ancestors, had remained from age to age; and this feeling was certainly strengthened by the rank which Egypt held, as well for literature as for military glory, among the nations. But her sun had touched the meridian; and that orb, which had illumined the world, was now visibly on the decline, to have no future rising. His countrymen were to be warned of the folly of trusting in this powerful state, and the prophet cried, "Woe to them that go down to Egypt for help! Babylon was then rising into distinction, as Egypt was veiling her glory. She was the morning, as Egypt was the evening star. Babylon was already seen by Isaiah in all the splendour of her victories, as she appeared under the sway of Nebuchadnezzar; although more than a century was to elapse before this scourge of his country should invade Judea, and strike the tabernacle of David. But while he foretold the captivity of his people, and announced the proud pre-eminence of Babylon, he foresaw the transient character of her empire, and predicted her utter ruin. It was then that the patriot mingled with the prophet, and, while he gave scope to the inspiration within him, all the grand faculties of a powerful mind were called into action; and the fall of the king of Babylon, recorded in one chapter with a precision that would almost induce the conclusion, that the prophet was an eye-witness to the scenes which he predicted, is anticipated

in another with that boldness of personification, that force of description, that sublimity of conception, that torrent of eloquence, which find no parallel in all antiquity; and have ever stood, as they ever must stand, unrivalled in grandeur—the admiration of all ages, and the constant example of every writer on rhetoric, who intends to illustrate his subject or to charm his readers. The passage, in which the king of Babylon is introduced in his glory and his ruin, is too long to transcribe, but it is full of splendour. (Is. xiv.) The cruelty of his oppression precedes his fall, in the delineation, to manifest its justice. In the peace which succeeds his tumultuous reign, and in which the whole earth participates, we share with oppressed nations their gratification at the defeat of his ambition—it is the stillness of nature after a hurricane. Not satisfied with making the inanimate creation exult with the intelligent, in this signal overthrow—the very cedars of Lebanon rejoicing because the axe no longer threatens their destruction; he draws the veil of eternity aside, and shows us the impression which such an event makes upon the invisible world. He represents the dwelling-place of separate spirits as agitated at his approach; he shews the solemn, yet shadowy state of departed monarchs, still retaining the semblance of majesty amidst utter

weakness, and exhibiting a gratification in his humiliation to whom they once were tributary. The contrast between what he was, and what he is—the loss of empire, wealth, flattery, pleasure—the nakedness of the dispossessed and disembodied spirit—is very striking. This contrast is heightened by the repetition of his vain boasting, and visionary purposes. The threatening, that even death shall not terminate his degradation—that his body shall be denied the rights of sepulture—that his children shall never inherit the empire—that with him the dynasty shall cease—terminates the majesty and terror of the delineation. Such are the leading predictions of the book of Isaiah, relative to the destiny of different empires; and it will be at once apparent to every reflecting mind, how closely allied these were with the events of his day, and the interests of his country, although certainly not influenced by them.

It remains to give a brief, but comprehensive view of the substance of his prophecies. As to the order, it is of little consequence to disturb the form in which they are presented, since it differs chronologically, in no important particular, from the course of the predictions. They shall, however, be stated in their actual succession, which will require an inconsiderable transposition of the chapters. The prophecies open in the year 760 B. C. with an affecting representation of the rebellions of Judah against God; a dignified remonstrance against their hypocritical forms of worship, while the power of religion was absent, and a lively contrast between the national ruin which impended, and their future restoration, together with the universal beneficence which should characterize the reign of the Messiah. These prophecies occupy five chapters, in the course of which he furnishes some curious illustrations of the dress and manners of oriental nations, in his description of the female ornaments which were to be taken away; and exhibits the care of the Duty and the ingratitude of the Jews, under the beautiful parable of an unfruitful vineyard.

About two years subsequently he had the vision which is recorded in the 6th chapter, and the sublimity of which induced Saurin and his Commentators to give it the pre-eminence in his critical and theological discourses on the Bible; making it the centre around which all the remarks upon Isaiah and his prophecies revolved, in that laborious work. It is, indeed, an object of primary moment, whether we consider it as containing the credentials of the mission of this prophet to his countrymen, or whether we contemplate it as the point upon which the Evangelist fixed; thus ratifying its transcendent majesty, when he said of the Messiah, that "Esaiah beheld his glory." And it may not be amiss to remark here, that visions and dreams, in prophetic communications, were perfectly distinguishable—the circumstances of the two being essentially and entirely different, and the impressions of the former being greatly superior to those produced by the latter. Dreams were inspirations imparted when the prophet was asleep, the character and congruity of which distinguished them from the romantic and heterogeneous combinations of the fancy. Visions surprised the prophet when he was awake, and without suspending the ordinary functions of the senses or the understanding, absorbed them wholly in visionary scenes, inaccessible to others, but so powerfully operating upon the mind of the prophet, as to abstract him from all surrounding objects. This was sometimes ac-

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Judah.Isaiah's
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Prophecies
against
Syria,
Israel, and
the Assy-
rians.

Tyre,
Ethiopia,
and Egypt.

Against
Babylon.

The Edom-
ites, &c.

companied by an actual transportation of his person from one place to another, by rapid and almost momentary transitions. The description given by Ezekiel of his vision, in the 8th chapter of his prophecies, will fully illustrate the character of a vision, as distinguished from a dream; and the fears expressed by Obadiah to Elijah will confirm what we have advanced respecting the participation of the body in the impressions made upon the mind. "It shall come to pass, as soon as I am gone from thee, that the Spirit of the Lord shall carry thee whither I know not; and so when I come and tell Ahab, and he cannot find thee, he shall say me." For the same reason the sons of the prophets instituted a search of three days for Elijah, after his translation, supposing that "the Spirit of the Lord had taken him up, and cast him upon some mountain, or into some valley."

The three succeeding chapters, including also the 17th are a series of predictions relative to Syria, Israel, and the Assyrians; and embrace a space of time extending from the 742d to the 738th year a. c. These are occupied with the apprehensions of Ahaz respecting the league of Israel and Syria against him. Moab is next threatened, conjointly with Ephraim, in the 15th, 16th, and 28th chapters of the prophecy, delivered in two succeeding years, the 736th and 725th a. c. Within three years from this period, Moab was to be so consumed as to leave a very "feeble remnant," while the hope of Ephraim, extinguished as to political existence, revived, never to be quenched, in the glories of the kingdom of Christ. Ten years afterwards, Tyre and Sidon were threatened, in the 23d chapter. The year succeeding, the sentence went forth against Ethiopia, Egypt, Babylon, Israel, and Assyria, including a train of prophecy, from the 18th to the 21st chapters. It is in this first denunciation against Babylon that all the events of that dreadful and memorable night in which she was taken are so minutely detailed. The scene of festivity turned into terror at the apparition of the hand-writing on the wall—the cry of the watchmen upon the towers of the city—the approach of the combined armies of the Medes and Persians, symbolized by the vision of a chariot, to which asses and camels, the distinctive animals employed by the two nations, were yoked—these circumstances are all described with the most astonishing precision. In the two years which followed, 713th and 712th a. c. the prophecy against Babylon is resumed, and associated with predictions against Assyria, Palestine, Judea, and Egypt, occupying the book from the 10th to the 14th chapter; the 22d again, from the 24th to the 27th, and from the 29th to the 56th. Predictions relative to the Messiah are interspersed with these several denunciations; but from the 40th to the 56th chapters they relate almost entirely to him, with sudden transitions to the capture of Babylon by Cyrus. We are then brought down to the 698th year before Christ, during which the Jews are severely reprovred, and the Edomites included in the censure; and the miseries of mankind are seen terminating in the distant, but true perspective, of the reign of Christ. The book is thus occupied from the 57th chapter to the end.

In reviewing these predictions, it cannot have escaped the observation of the most superficial readers that the prophecies which relate to the Messiah have the pre-eminence. It is in these that the fullness of

the genius and inspiration of the prophet manifest themselves; and we are at a loss which most to admire, the sublimity of his language, or the transcendent character of his conceptions. Isaiah has been considered a prophet of difficult interpretation; and if we consider the extent and variety of his communications, the conclusion is just; they relate to subjects which pass the limit of the finite, and lose themselves in the infinite; but if we regard them as relating simply to facts, detailed in prophecy and afterwards established by actual events, our astonishment springs from another quarter—and that the striking agreement between the representation and the thing represented. Whatever might be the immediate object of the prophet, whether the prosperity or the destruction of a state, he did not fail so to connect it with the moral government of God, as to merge it in the infinite blessings which should characterize the reign of the Messiah. He, therefore, enlarges, with singular satisfaction, upon such the features of that dominion, which, while it shall ultimately absorb all others, shall educe from partial evil universal good. Thus referring all events to his government, "whose right it is to reign, and who must reign for ever and ever," he reduced the inexplicable politics of this world to a simple standard; and passing over the decrees of monarchs who lived but for a season, showed their subservience to his purpose who lives for ever. The prophet, in this point of view, had no equal, no rival. All men were absorbed in their present concerns and interests. But he, ascending the Eastern mountains, stood upon their lofty summit, as a point of light, illuminated by the glory of the yet unborn sun: "darkness covered the earth, and gross darkness the people;" the plains and the valleys were enveloped in the gloom of midnight; but when the nations looked towards Jerusalem, he appeared as the harbinger of day, and scattered abroad that radiance which he alone had received. How insignificant, in comparison with his high destiny, do the achievements of conquerors appear! And he has a key to the cabinet of princes of which they have no suspicion; he is admitted, by the intelligence from which nothing is concealed, into their most secret councils; and not only declares things present, but points out consequences of which the wisdom of this world had no conception, and declares what should be the policy of nations yet unborn. This lends us to the great question of prophecy. So many attempts had been made, in the heathen world, to prejudge futurity, and so miserable were the shifts of oracles, by a perplexed and involved answer, to suit any circumstances which might possibly arise, that it behoved prophecy to have its credentials clear, in order to establish its claims. Accordingly, in the prophet before us, there are many striking appeals to the heathen world, not only as to the superiority, but as to the distinguishing characteristics of inspiration over the efforts of superstition. "I have not spoken in secret—from dark places in the earth"—is a testimony which sets heathen oracles at defiance, as to their structure. But when we consider the substance of prophecy, as compared, or rather contrasted with these, it is no longer a question of rivalry. The one presents only double meanings, uncertain conclusions, unauthorized presumptions; the other a cool, perspicuous, detailed representation of things not seen as yet. It should

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the hea-
thens.

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Clearness of
Isaiah's prop-
hecies.

Example.

also be remembered, that the results stated by the prophets were the most unlikely, in the ordinary process of human events, that could well be imagined. For instance, the desolation of Egypt, never to be retrieved, at a time when she was the mistress of the world in arms, and the admiration of the world in literature. A train of political events may lead to a certain conclusion; and the political foresight of a man who has been accustomed to weigh consequences, and to connect effects with their causes, may enable him to arrive, with no small measure of conviction, at the fixed operation of given principles; but what shall we say when the conclusion is against all human calculations, all reasonable inferences?—when a train of prosperity is shown to issue in ruin, when unpromising beginnings are encouraged to anticipate a glorious termination, and when the prediction of the prophet bears equally against probability, against his country, against his prejudices national and individual, and against his personal interest?—These are conclusions to which nothing could lead but inspiration, and which nothing could compel the man to deduce but a sense of duty.

Upon this high ground stands Isaiah, the prince of prophets, as well for the clearness of his revelations as for the sublimity of his conceptions and language. It is difficult to select instances in a book full of evidence upon this important question. Shall we take the grand feature of his prophecies—his constant allusion to the Messiah? The 53d chapter of his unequalled work at once surprises and convinces us. Let any one look at that chapter, and say, whether it be possible to alienate it from its object? A man may look at a portrait, and say, such and such features agree with those of this person or the other; he may, if he please, exercise his ingenuity in finding remote resemblances, and transfer that which is the actual likeness of one, to fifty, who in some particular feature may be allowed to answer to the comparison; but the question is, whose is the entire image? and if it be a faithful delineation, only one answer can be given to it. Such is the case with Isaiah. He was no inconsiderable portrait painter; nor were his likenesses doubtful. None could mistake the resemblance of the portrait to the original; and when Jesus came to "his own," it was not that they did not know him, but that, for reasons suggested by their prejudices, and not by their understanding, they would not receive him. The Jews have acted the unworthy part of attempting to distort the fair and marked features of the Messiah, and to apply them to others than Jesus of Nazareth. They have fixed upon single and insulated resemblances, and have satisfied themselves to apply the predictions of this interesting chapter to Hezekiah, and to other distinguished characters. It is unnecessary to add, that this has been done with little success. The object was, not to discover the original of the portrait, but, if possible, to turn the eyes of the world from the original, that they might not perceive the likeness. But we have to do with facts, and to compare facts with prophecy; and in instituting this comparison, we shall find hardly any part of the Saviour's personal character, circumstances, or office, left undisturbed. When the Jews set themselves, with an inveterate obstinacy, against the Messiahship of Jesus of Nazareth, they were not aware that, by this very hostility, they were establish-

ing his pretensions. The evangelical prophet opens his wonderful discourses with this very circumstance, and complains, "Who hath believed our report? and to whom hath the arm of the Lord been revealed?" If they would overthrow the claims of the son of Mary, they ought to have met him with distinction, and surrounded him with prosperity; and he had been no longer Isaiah's Messiah. His unpretending character, his deep poverty, his unequalled injuries, the object of his sufferings, as an atonement for sin; the necessity of this sacrifice, as originating in human apostasy; the submission with which he bowed to his cruel oppressions; the violence of the procedure against him, defying all justice, and outraging even its forms, while it pretended to exercise them; the circumstances of his death, and his burial; numbered with malefactors, yet occupying a distinguished tomb with Joseph of Arimathea; the perfect innocence, which submitted to all this injury; the reference of the whole to a plan of Deity, as unsearchable as himself, and subordinating all things to its benevolent intentions; the glorious effects of this sacrifice, extending themselves over the whole earth; looking to future ages yet for their development, and expecting their consummation in eternity: all these things, taken as a whole, demonstrate what each regarded separately must suppose; the sole and irrefragable reference of the prophecy to Jesus Christ.

But in questions of Theology we may be supposed to be biased, and to lean to the convictions of our creed; for we are really old-fashioned enough to confess that we *love a creed*. We will, then, place the argument upon other grounds, and bring the predictions into contact with facts, which are simply the subject of history, and with which Theology has nothing to do. Take, for example, the prophecy relative to the destruction of Babylon. We say nothing of the memorable description of the night of dissipation and ruin, so powerfully presented in the 21st chapter, lest it should be imagined that the advantage of being able to compare the history with the prediction should have induced a fanciful interpretation; but what shall we say of the prophecy which calls *Cyrus* by his name, a century before he was born? which speaks of opening the gates of Iram, before we are quite certain of their existence? It is well known that, in Isaiah's days, Babylon was a rising state; it is even uncertain whether the river was then walled, as the prophecy supposes it must be; it is indisputable that Niborsia, the queen, mother of Belshazzar, added greatly to its majesty; and that Nebuchadnezzar, who was, when the prophet wrote, unknown, if not unborn, so strengthened and embellished this wonderful city, that he arrogated to himself its creation, and said, "Is not this great Babylon that I have built?" But even supposing Babylon were what we are very sure it was not, and what it appeared a century afterwards, the circumstance that it was foretold that a deliverer of Israel should arise, whose name should be *Cyrus*, one hundred years before the birth of such a person, demonstrates the truth of Cyrus, ancient prophecy; which, as an argument in favour of revelation, does not depend upon the number of facts detailed, but upon the authenticity of them; and if it can be proved, in any one unquestionable instance, that any thing has been decidedly predicted, the argument is as conclusive, as to any application of it, as

Isaiah.

From

A. M.

3244.

—

B. C.

760.

to

A. M.

3306.

—

B. C.

698.

Delineation of
the Messiah.Destruction
of Babylon.

Biography. though we could produce ten thousand examples. But as it is very possible we might be deceived in any single instance, although the argument is conclusive from one only, the repetition of the case renders the principle indisputable, and the inference proportionally irrefragable. Accordingly, what has been stated relative to Babylon obtains in reference to the other states whose destiny is pronounced by the prophet. In short, such is the variety of prophecy, as in its forms and its subjects, its principles, and its application, that it is capable of being tried upon the largest possible scale; and Isaiah furnishes a just exhibition of his contemporaries and successors; while, representing all, he is inferior to none.

Evidence arising from prophecy. The investigation of this important topic cannot fail to convince every inquiring mind, that prophecy is not the conclusion of a penetrating and thinking intellect, calculating results from existing circumstances; far less, that it is the bold guess of a daring spirit which plunges into futurity at a venture, presuming that time may shape its conjectures, and give them a resemblance, if it cannot attach to them certainty: least of all can it be supposed to be a design to practise upon the credulity of mankind, by professing a knowledge not really possessed, and working upon the hopes and fears of the multitude, to bend them in any purpose, political or religious, which may be supposed to be in the contemplation of the prophet. Nothing of all this appears, or can be maintained, even with plausibility: but the prophetic pages are flooded with light; as though heaven would write its own truth only with its own sun-beams.

Style of Isaiah. Our article must not be closed without adverting to the style which distinguishes this prophet. His language is as magnificent as his sentiments are elevated. It is such language as inspiration might be supposed to suggest; and leaves at an immeasurable distance all compositions merely human. It combines with argumentative force the loftiest flights of poetry; and while some critics, ancient and modern, have amused themselves in calling him the Demosthenes and the Homer of the Hebrews, we think every comparison instituted, where there is no actual equality, an injury offered to a man, the grandeur of whose expressions as far transcended the most illustrious poets and orators that ever lived, as the majesty of his thoughts surpassed their noblest conceptions. His style is evidently poetical; and while it has its own peculiar characteristics of sublimity, it participates all the singularities of Hebrew poetry. No one has been able to do full justice to this subject; but the writer who has most excelled in treating it is Bishop Lowth. The difficulty lies at the very threshold of every disquisition relative to it: since all men are not exactly agreed as to what is poetry; and every nation has its own forms of poetical composition, to which another nation, accustomed to other forms, can apply no correct standard. A marked difference subsists between the ancient poetry of Greece and of Rome, and the poetry of modern nations. The difference between the Hebrew and all other poetry is still greater. But if sublimity of conception, loftiness of style, richness and fullness of imagery and measured cadences, constitute poetry, these cannot be denied to Isaiah.

Hebrew poetry. On the question of Hebrew poetry at large, besides its general cadences, its claims are rendered evident, by artificial arrangements, adapted to poetry, but altogether unsuitable to prose. Such are the alphabetical divi-

sions so frequent in the Psalms, and apparent in various parts of the prophetic writings. The visible difference between the style and form of Isaiah's usual compositions, and the few chapters in his book which record historical occurrences, seems to decide the question with respect to his prophecies. And here it must be remarked, that while inspiration allowed every man to retain his own characteristic style, that peculiarity is no where to be traced more distinctly than in the compositions of the different Hebrew poets. There is not a greater distinction between Isaiah and Ezekiel, as prophets, than subsists between them also as poets. When God made the prophet, he did not unmake the man. Hebrew poetry consists of every possible species of poetical composition, and these are all carried to the loftiest pitch of excellence. It is elegiac, and the lamentation of David over Saul and Jonathan, stands unrivalled in this kind; it is didactic, and the Proverbs excel as much in this mode; it is pastoral, of which the Song of Solomon is a splendid specimen; it is devotional, of which the Psalms reach the highest elevation, while they furnish fine examples of the ode, in all its varieties; nor must it be omitted, that the book of Job, as well as the Canticles, if not strictly speaking regular dramas, have evidently a dramatic form. But that which characterized the Hebrew poetry, and which the sages of Greece and Rome borrowed for their philosophy, was its parabolic form; as conspicuous in these compositions, as it is peculiar in the general style of the orientalists. The poetry of the Hebrews is founded upon their habits, and the features of their country. Arising from the former, it is chiefly pastoral, and borrowing from the latter, it surrounds us with the

most awful features of grandeur. In every species of poetical composition, Isaiah excels, and specimens of almost the whole might be adduced from his prophecies. Encircled by the most sublime objects in nature, he transfigures their spirit and character into his own powerful style; sometimes rushing like his own mountain-torrent, when he pours his tide of eloquence against the sins of his people; and at others, when assailed by the hatred of an increased multitude, standing himself as immovable as the rocks which surrounded Jerusalem. Majestic as the towering Lebanon; he is fertile as his own vallies by the river-side; as awful as the thunder-storm which desolated his native forests, and splintered the pinnacles of his mountainous country; as irresistible as the whirlwind of the desert, which sometimes swept over its surface. But, as though the sensible forms of being were all too mean to clothe his conceptions, and the boundaries of the creation too limited for his faculties, he passes beyond all space, penetrates into the invisible world, and embodies the most awful forms of spiritual being. We follow him, with astonishment, through unexplored regions; beyond the margin of created nature, and the lines drawn by the eternal Architect around the material universe; until losing sight of sun, moon, and stars, other light breaks in upon the soul, and like him, we see Jehovah upon his throne. But we must no longer indulge in these delightful contemplations, or expatiate on a theme so full of grandeur; we shall be gratified if we have done any thing like justice to a character which surpasses all eulogy; and especially if our cursory remarks shall induce our readers to consult his matchless compositions for themselves.

Isaiah.
From A. M. 3244.
B. C. 760.
to A. M. 3306.
B. C. 698.

Isaiah's
pastoral excellence.

Conclusion.

NEBUCHADNEZZAR.

FLORISHED ABOUT A. M. 3399, B. C. 605, TO A. M. 3442, B. C. 562.

Biography.

From
A. M.
3399.
B. C.
605.
to
A. M.
3442.
B. C.
562.

Origin of
the Baby-
lonian and
Assyrian
monarchies.

Greek his-
torians
nearly fa-
bulous.

Fidelity of
Herodotus.

Ancient
records.

THE important name with which we have inscribed this page associates with it almost every thing that has been thought great in human destiny, and much that is obscure. This prince, in strict propriety of language, is the first of the Babylonish empire; the existence of which, although possibly more remote than that of most others, seems blended, until this time, with the destinies of the Assyrian monarchy, to which it was decidedly subordinate. The foundation of the Babylonian kingdom was laid, so far as can be ascertained, at Babel—the plain of Shinar, the land of Chaldaea, being the ancient site of Nimrod's dominion; but, after his death, it is lost amidst mightier states, and the first great monarchy, the Assyrian, occupies, for ages exclusively, the attention of the world. And here the obscurity begins. The Assyrian monarchy is so completely involved in fable, as to perplex the historian in reference to each of its dependencies. All the records of these early nations, with themselves, have perished; and the Grecian writers, into whose hands some portions of them must have fallen, from an unaccountable indifference, or more criminal pride, neglected to avail themselves of them; preferring to supply their own scanty knowledge from the imagination, rather than to derive authentic information from any other people, all of whom they regarded as barbarians, whatever were their power, distinction, and science. The very few fragments which remain of these early historians, preserved to us in later works, establish a sentiment which we have distinctly avowed, and upon which we have unhesitatingly acted, that the scriptures afford the only records of these remote periods that can be depended upon; for in none of the Greek writers, with the exception of Herodotus, can we venture to repose any confidence. This latter historian, however, we think, has been treated with as little justice, in some respects, as other Greek writers have been unduly estimated; and certain points of ancient history, which appeared most questionable in his narrative, have been rendered so far clear by subsequent researches, as to afford ground to conclude that he was influenced by a spirit of candour, to which his countrymen were generally strangers, and which induced him to avail himself, in many important instances, of that foreign intelligence which they despised. It is the more to be regretted that the Greeks should have been infected with the childish vanity of being supposed the first of people, and have either slighted or destroyed the literary monuments of other nations; since to them we owe (with the exception of the Bible) almost all that can now be collected of ancient history. The Chaldean records have perished; and those of Persia were destroyed by the Greeks, when they conquered that empire: the Egyptians alone seem to have excited their reverence; and they, in return, were very sparing in their communications.

Diodorus Siculus prefers speculating himself, or adopting the fables of others, to using the information he might have acquired from Manetho and Berosus; and Ctesias, of all writers the least to be accredited, and the most palpably fictitious, seems to be the fountain whence the Greek historians generally derived their monstrous accounts. A few fragments of the ancient historians of other nations are preserved by Josephus, and some others; but these only serve to make us regret the treasures which we have lost, which Greece not only neglected, but of which, in certain instances, she was guilty of despoiling the world. We owe to Ctesias the fable of Semiramis; to whom are imputed many works and achievements utterly impossible to any individual, whatever resources were at her control, whatever enterprise was in her disposition, or however constant the prosperity which might attend her movements. We have admitted this celebrated name into our Biography, because it seems scarcely possible wholly to deny her existence; or, at least, it has been so long admitted, that we could not be justified in wholly discarding her from the ancient list of heroines, however little credit we attach to her exploits. We have been obliged to give her history, as it came to our hands, from the Grecian historians; but we have not hesitated to state our doubts as to most of the events handed down to us as facts; and we repeat our conviction, that the majority of them are palpable fictions. There is a remark by the judicious Mr. Bryant, Bryant, in the second volume of his *Ancient Mythology*, which appears to us to throw considerable light upon this obscure subject, and to furnish the only probable solution of certain incontestable facts, which, when confined to the reigns of Ninus and Semiramis, assume the character of fable, because impossible to have been effected by them. His observations are of the greater moment, as they accord better with the account given of those transactions by Herodotus; and as they are perfectly reducible within the space which must be assigned to them, if they took place at all, in conformity with the scripture list of Assyrian kings, which has been already given under the article SEMIRAMIS. Mr. Bryant says, “the whole of those histories, in their common acceptation, is to the last degree absurd and improbable; but if we make use of an expedient, which I have often recommended, and for a *person*, substitute a *people*, we shall find, when it is stripped of its false colouring, that there is much truth in the narration.” Upon this principle, he proceeds to strike out the names of the earliest supposed founders of states, and to transfer from individuals, whom he accounts fabulous, historical exploits to an entire nation; and he thus explains and justifies himself: “It was a common mode of expression, to call a tribe, or family, by the name of its founder, and a nation by the head of the line. People are often spoken of col-

Nebuchad-
nezzar.

From
A. M.
3399.
B. C.
605.
to
A. M.
3442.
B. C.
562.

Diodorus
Siculus.
Ctesias.
Semiramis.

Biography. lectively in the singular, under such a patronimic. Hence we read in scripture, that *Israel* abode in tents; that *Judah* was put to the worst in battle; that *Dan* abode in ships, and *Isaiah* remained on the sea-coast. The same manner of speaking undoubtedly prevailed both in Egypt and in other countries; and *Cusus* must have been often put for the Cuthites, or Cusans; *Amor* for the Amorians; and *Assur*, or the *Assyrian*, for the people of Assyria. Hence, when it was said, that the Ninevite performed any great action, it has been ascribed to a person, *Ninus*, the supposed founder of Nineveh. And as none of the Assyrian conquests were antecedent to Pul and Assur-Adon, writers have been guilty of unpardonable anticipation, in ascribing those conquests to the first king of the country. A like anticipation, amounting to a great many centuries, is to be found in the annals of the Babylonians. Every thing that was done in later times has been attributed to Belus, Semiramis, and other imaginary princes, who are represented as the founders of the kingdom. We may, I think, be assured, that under the character of Ninus, and Ninias, we are to understand the Ninevites; as by Semiramis, is meant a people called Samarina; and the great actions of these two nations are in the histories of those personages recorded. But writers have rendered the account inconsistent, by limiting what was an historical series of many ages to the life of a single person. The Ninevites and Samarins *did* perform all that is attributed to Semiramis and Ninus. They did conquer the Medes and Bactrians, and extended their dominion westward as far as Phrygia and the river Tanaïs; and to the southward as far as Arabia and Egypt. But these events were many ages after the foundation of the two kingdoms. They began under Pul, of Nineveh, and were carried on by Assur-Adon, Salmannassar, Sennacherib, and others of his successors.* This learned writer here conducts us to safe ground, and the authentic records of these monarchs; at least so much of them as remains in the scriptures, and are there preserved, from the connection of their conquests with the political and religious interests of the Jewish nation. He goes on—"Nineveh was at last ruined, and the kingdom of Assyria was united with that of Babylon." This is the reason that we find these kingdoms so often confounded, and the Babylonians continually spoken of as Assyrians, and sometimes as Persians. (Βαβυλωνίαι Ἀσσυρίων καὶ Περσῶν, Steph. Byz.) This is probably alluded to in the supposed marriage of Semiramis and Ninus. Then it was that the Samaritan performed the great works attributed to them. For, exclusive of what was performed at Babylon, there are, says Strabo, almost over the face of the whole earth, vast mounds of earth (these mounds were high altars, upon which they sacrificed to the sun. By Ctesias they are supposed to have been the tombs of her lovers whom she buried alive—Symecellus, p. 64), and walls and ramparts, attributed to Semiramis, and in those are subterraneous passages of communication, and tanks for water, with staircases of stone. There are also vast conduits to direct the course of rivers, and lakes to receive them, together with highways and bridges of a wonderful structure. (Strabo, l. xvi. p. 1071.) They built the famous terraces at Babylon, and those beautiful gardens at Egbatana, after that city had fallen into their hands. They built Babylon itself; which, by Eusebius, was said to have been the work of Belus and the giants." (Euseb. Prep.

l. ix. c. 17. p. 418. Quant. Curt. lib. v. c. 1. Abydenus, Nebuchadnezzar. apud Euseb. Prep. l. ix. c. 15. Symecellus, p. 44.) He proceeds to establish his position by further facts, and supports his inferences by a quotation from Clemens Alex. Strom. lib. i. p. 364, and thus concludes—"The Samaritan of Egypt and Babylonians were of the same family, the sons of Chus. They came and settled among the Mizraim, under the name of shepherds. The reason of their being called Samaritan, and Samarim," having been already adduced under the article of Semiramis, from this writer, need not be here repeated. Upon the whole, we see an reason, after the most careful revision of the subject, to depart from the opinions expressed in that article; and without going all the lengths of this distinguished writer, and supposing that there were no such persons as Ninus, Ninias, or Semiramis, we are disposed to adopt in general his principle, that the heroic achievements ascribed to those personages were, in fact, the exploits of a people named after them, or connected with them; and which are, demonstrably, the works not of a reign but of ages.

Nothing can be more difficult than to attempt to fix the precise bounds of any ancient empire topographically, as may be seen by any one who will try to define the boundaries of Syria and the Holy Land; and politically, as appears in the mixture of state with state, and the influence of one domination over another: the empire of the Assyrians is particularly difficult to ascertain, as it becomes, in some measure, confounded with the Syrians and blended with the Babylonians. Rejecting as fabulous the list of monarchs inserted by Ctesias, some of whose names, from their very construction, are not of Assyrian origin, we look to the celebrated canon of Ptolemy as supplying Ptolemy's the next best information to that of the scriptures; canon. and the first name of eminence upon this authority is that of Nabonassar, probably a descendant of the first Assyrian monarch mentioned in the Bible, Pul. This prince has been thought, with a high degree of probability, to have been afterwards overslipped by the Babylonians, who were well content to be considered as of Assyrian origin, under the name Bel, or Belus.* We make no pretence to fix the date of the Assyrian monarchy; but, taking Pul as the earliest sovereign of eminence of whom we have any certain information, we shall find his first appearance in the formidable character of an invader, in the second year of the reign of Menahem, amidst the treasons, tumults, and usurpations which, in that age, oppressed the kingdom of Israel, about A. M. 3231, B. C. 773. Having now found land on which to set our foot, are we being tossed upon an ocean of conjecture, we shall be able to trace rapidly, yet distinctly, the Assyrian succession, until it merges in the distinguished and united sovereignty of Nebuchadnezzar. To Pul succeeded Tiglath-pileser, who was contemporary with Tiglath-Ahaz, king of Judah (whether he were the son of Pul or not, is a point which historians cannot determine), and archbishop Isher, who is in most cases to be relied upon, has fallen into the mistake of supposing him to have been Sardanapalus, in which he is followed by Prideaux and Holles, but ably refuted by the writers of the Ancient Universal History; who justly observe, that Pul being, upon the most authentic records, supposed

* The more common opinion is, that Nimrod was Belus, so we have formerly stated.

From
A. M.
3399.
B. C.
605.
to
A. M.
3442.
B. C.
562.

Tiglat-
pileser.

Biography.

From
A. M.
3399.
—
B. C.
605.
to
A. M.
3442.
—
B. C.
562.

Aligned
with Aha-
Shulma-
neser.

Sennacherib.

Esar-
haddon.

to be the founder of the Assyrian empire, as to its greatness, and Sardanapalus being generally admitted to have been the last of the Assyrian monarchs, it would, to adopt the learned primæ's opinion, lead to the supposition, that this mighty monarchy began and ended at nearly the same time; nor could there be any space for the known reigns of sovereigns succeeding Pul, whose existence and exploits are by no means problematical. The alliance of this prince with the king of Judah, and the fatal consequences of it to that unhappy monarch, as it conducted still more to those idolatrous propensities with which he was already but too much infatuated, have appeared in their proper places in the history of Israel and Judah.

To Tiglath-pileser succeeded Shulmaneser, whose existence and power are not only to be gathered from indisputable ancient records, but must be considered as established beyond all doubt by the circumstance that to him the Israelites yielded their long-defended sovereignty; a blow from which they never afterwards fully recovered.

Sennacherib was the successor of Shulmaneser. Hitherto, from the days of Pul, Assyria, in the zenith of her glory, is evidently the mistress of surrounding nations, and of Babylon and the Medes among the rest, the last of whom seemed to have been the most important of the yoke, and the earliest disposed to shake it off. Upon these principles we may account for the haughty and insulting menaces of Sennacherib to Hezekiah, and his boast of having subdued the gods of all the neighbouring countries. The miraculous defeat of his army has its proper record in another place, under the article ISRAEL; but his political influence was dreadfully weakened by this unexpected blow, and he himself soon after suffered assassination from the hand of two of his own children, who fleeing to escape the consequences of the murder which they had perpetrated, left the throne to be occupied by another of his sons, Esar-haddon.

This prince, whose name is also written Assarhaddon, and variously by some of the Jewish prophets, and by the LXX. succeeded indeed to the throne, but not to the power of his insolent and unfortunate predecessor. The Assyrian monarchy had long existed in obscurity, and amidst fluctuating circumstances, scarcely distinguished from surrounding nations, and divided into petty sovereignties. It had risen to eminence, under a succession of enterprising conquerors; Pul standing at the head of them; had assumed the most extensive domination over other states; and had spread its line of territory beyond its own power of control. Dominion acquired by violence, and by rapid conquests especially, must always be subject to fearful reverses; and what one adventurer can win, another excited by his exploits, may recover. The glory of Assyria was now waning, and the Medes, revelling from the sceptre of Sennacherib, could not be reduced by that of Esar-haddon. By some circumstances auspicious to his situation, but which are not distinctly explained in any quarter, he ascended the throne of Babylon, and soon found himself able to assume, like his predecessors, the attitude of a conqueror. He subdued both Egypt and Ethiopia, and having recovered to his crown its ancient lustre, he expired after a long reign, which became most distinguished as it drew nearer its termination.

With this monarch the light of sacred history is

awhile withdrawn from us, and other lights but feebly serve to dispense the gloom. There is a chasm in the records of the Bible from Esar-haddon to Nebuchadnezzar; respecting which it will be sufficient to remember that the history of the Israelites is the object of the sacred historians, and that other nations occupy their pages only incidentally, and as they are, by events affecting the Jewish monarchy, brought into contact with that people. Hence appear the names of the Assyrian conquerors, from Pul to Esar-haddon, on those records; and, after a blank occasioned by the separation of the Assyrian interests from those of Judah, the mighty sovereign of Babylon, by whom the house of David was led captive and his throne overturned, arises, as it were, at once in the plenitude of power, and adding to his many crowns the sacred diadem of the Jews. The links of the intermediate narrative are supplied by parts of the Apocryphal books, by Herodotus and Ptolemy's canon; for which, unitedly, we gather that Esar-haddon was succeeded by his son Saoduchimus; by whom it has been conjectured Manasseh, king of Judah, was set at liberty, and during whose reign of twenty years Egypt resumed her independence. His son and successor was Clytus, supposed to be the Nabuchodonosor of the book of Judith, to whose reign, therefore, those events recorded in that book, so far as they happened at all, must be referred. It appears, in general, that the Medes had acquired independency, and having conquered the Persians, were strong enough to threaten even the Assyrian empire; that in this emergency the Assyrian monarch called together his tributary provinces, some of whom refused to obey the summons. He mustered, however, an army of considerable strength, and marching against the Medes, defeated them, seized upon their capital, and slew their monarch. After his victory, the Assyrian monarch resolved to turn his arms against the nations who had refused to assist him in his war with the Medes, and setting no limits to his wrath, included the Jews among other objects of his vengeance. The tale of their deliverance, and the defeat of his general Holofernes, by the hand of Judith, is too long to insert here, especially as we are doubtful as to its authenticity in respect of the heroine, although the general facts themselves receive confirmation from other ancient historians. It will be sufficient to remark, that the expedition was unsuccessful, and the Assyrian empire considerably weakened.

Sarac is said to have succeeded him; and his character and fate seem to accord with the Sardanapalus of Ctesias, as Esar-haddon has been supposed by the writers of the Ancient Universal History to have been the heroic Sardanapalus of other profane historians: it being evident, from Suidas, that there were two persons of that name, said to have been kings of Assyria, the one as brave as the last (supposed to be Sarac) was effeminate. Nabopolassar having the command of his Chaldean forces, seized upon the throne of Babylon; and to strengthen his usurpation by a powerful alliance, he demanded and obtained for his son, Nebuchadnezzar, the hand of the daughter of Astyages, who was governor of Media. The Medes and Babylonians thus united, subordinated the ancient dynasties of Assyria to the rising empire of Babylon.

Thus are we introduced to the illustrious object of this article; but before we enter upon his life, so far as we can gather its particulars, it is necessary still fur-

Nebuchad-
nezzar.

From
A. M.
3399.
—
B. C.
605.
to
A. M.
3442.
—
B. C.
562.

Subsequent
silence of
scripture
accounted
for.

Saoduchimi-
mus.

Clytus,
probably
Nabuchado-
nosor.

Holofernes
and Judith.

Sarac,
probably
Sardanapa-
lus.

Nabopo-
lassar.

Biography.

From
A. M.
3399.
B. C.
605.
to
A. M.
3442.
B. C.
562.

Nabonassar, prob-
ably Ninus.

Nadins, prob-
ably Ninus.

Chinzirus, Porus,
Jugrus.
Mardoc-enpud, or Merodach-
baladan.

Arkiannos, Belibus, Apronadius,
Regibelus, Mesessimordacus.

Nabocollas-
sar, or Ne-
buchadnezzar.

Berosus.

Uncertain-
ties.

ther to remark, that Babylon was long in subjection to Assyria; and that the Babylonians and Assyrians were two ramifications of the same family. It seems pretty evident that Nabonassar, who was the first king, or ruler, of Babylon, was a younger son, whose elder brother, Tiglath-pileser, was king of Assyria, residing at Nineveh, the ancient capital of that empire. Some writers have hence conjectured that Nabonassar was the Ninus of Ctesias, and that Semiramis (supposing her ever to have existed) was his wife; who, holding the reins of government for a short time after her husband's death, bestowed much attention to the beauty or strength of the rising city of Babylon. Nadins (not improbably the Ninus of Ctesias) succeeded, and reigned two years. Chinzirus, Porus, Jugrus, are undistinguished names that now appear in the line of succession. Mardoc-enpud, the Merodach-baladan of the scriptures, acquires some notice as the monarch who congratulated Hzekiah upon his recovery; and the first who held any intercourse with the kings of Judah. He had possibly some sinister intention to draw Hzekiah into a secret alliance with him, favourable to his ambitious designs against Assyria, whose yoke, although perhaps one of consanguinity, was not always light. Arkiannos, Belibus, Apronadius, Regibelus, Mesessimordacus, in rapid and not regular succession, made way, after an interregnum of eight years, for Esar-haddon to the throne of Babylon. Then followed the princes of Assyria and Babylon, unitedly, as we have stated, until Nabopolassar rent Babylon from Assyria, seized the crown of the former, and, allied with the Medes, finally overthrew that ancient monarchy in its distinct form, merging it in the empire of Babylon, and transmitting its condensed authority to his son, Nabocollassar, the Nebuchadnezzar of scripture.

Important as is the character of this conqueror to different nations, it is far from being evident what was the nature of his exploits before he appears to us in the pages of the Bible; and even of those which are known, it is not possible to fix the date. On the authority of Berosus, he is said to have conquered Egypt, and to have been called thence, or from Judea, to the throne, upon the death of his father; a statement, which, however, neither accords with general probability, with the history of Egypt, nor with the necessities of the Babylonish empire, then beginning to establish itself in its independence. That Nebuchadnezzar in the event subjugated Egypt is an indisputable fact, repeatedly foretold by the Jewish prophets; but it was not at the time assigned by Berosus for the transaction. Egypt was, before the death of Nabopolassar, a more powerful state than Babylon. The father of Nebuchadnezzar required all the mighty genius of his son, combined with his own, to seat him firmly upon a throne which had recently asserted its independence. And whether Nebuchadnezzar were really ever associated with his father in the empire, or whether, as age and infirmity fell upon him, Nabopolassar resigned the reins of government to his son, does not distinctly appear. It can only be our business, in conveying the best information upon the different subjects of this work which we can collect, to refer to all the remaining sources whence the most ample and authentic intelligence may be derived; and perhaps an Encyclopedia of reference alone would be found a desideratum in

the literary world: but we may be permitted, in justice to our predecessors in these intricate paths, to observe, that on the very obscure topics, which we have introduced in this article as necessarily associated with the name of Nebuchadnezzar, more patient research, more learned criticism, and more impartial statements, are not any where to be found than in the pages of the Ancient Universal History, relative to the Assyrian and Babylonian monarchies.

We first hear of him with certainty after the death of his father; whose extensive projects he made it his business to complete. This was done by so reducing the Assyrian monarchy as to subordinate it to the Babylonian, and finally to blend both, as one sovereignty, in his own person. In conjunction with Cyaxares, the Mede, he crossed the Euphrates, rescued Carchemish from the usurpation of Egypt, over-ran Syria, and some years afterwards subjugated Egypt itself. His first appears in the Bible in the reign of Jehoiakim, king of Judah, as invading that country; and although he did not wholly ravage it, but upon certain conditions restored the Jewish prince to his throne, he plundered the temple, carrying its spoils to the temple of Belus, and, at the same time, among other captives distinguished for their beauty and illustrious for their rank, he took with him Daniel, and his three companions, Hananiah, Mishael, and Azariah. It was at this period also that, having established and extended his empire, he applied himself to fortify and ornament his capital, and that Babylon first began to acquire that magnitude and splendour for which it has been celebrated in all ages.

In the second year of his reign the king was exceedingly distressed, on account of a dream, which appeared to him to involve in it some important intimations, and which yet passed entirely from his memory. Of the terrified Chaldeans, who were the priests and the astrologers of the country, he made the extraordinary requisition, that they should not only give an interpretation of the vision, but recall its vanished circumstances to his mind; enforcing this arbitrary demand by threatening the destruction of themselves and families, in case of their non-compliance. There can be no doubt that these menaces would have been too surely executed, had not the insignificant captive, Daniel, undertaken, in reliance upon the God of heaven, to accomplish that which lay not within the compass of human ability. His faith did not deceive him; the sanguinary decree was suspended; the purport and circumstances of the monarch's dream were revealed to the prophet in a vision of the night; and by detailing the fact, and explaining the first, he obtained, with the remission of the punishment threatened against the Chaldeans, the highest distinctions of the empire, under its absolute and impetuous master. As hasty in his gratitude as in his wrath, the tribute now paid by Nebuchadnezzar to the wisdom of this extraordinary young man was not less extravagant than his former displeasure against the sages who had forfeited his confidence. He prostrated himself before him; commanded that they should offer an oblation to him, "with sweet odours;" promoted his three friends, Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego, to distinguished offices in the state; and made him chief of the wise men of Babylon. The vision itself is too important to be wholly passed over in silence, both

Nebuchadnezzar.

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Ancient
Universal
History.
Succeeds his father.

Joins
Cyaxares,
Carchemish.

Invades
Judea.

Detains
Daniel and
his compa-
nions.

Fortifies
Babylon.

Interprets
his vision.

Receives
the crown.

Builds
the temple.

Receives
the crown.

Receives
the crown.

Receives
the crown.

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Receives
the crown.

Biography.

From
A. M.
3399.
B. C.
605.
to
A. M.
3442.
B. C.
562.

The image
and its sig-
nification.

on account of the great events which it foretold, and because it establishes certain facts connected with this biographical sketch. It presented to him a gigantic image, of excellent brightness and appalling majesty, singularly composed of four metals. His "head was of fine gold, his breast and his arms of silver, his belly and his thighs of brass, his legs of iron, his feet part of iron and part of clay." While the attention of Nebuchadnezzar was fastened upon this object, from an unseen quarter a stone was launched at the image, and having smitten the incongruous materials of which it was composed, and crumbled them into dust, the stone itself increased, and became a great mountain, which appeared to fill the whole earth. Such was the dream; and the interpretation was as momentous as the vision was in itself extraordinary. It referred to the successive monarchies of the Babylonians, signified by the richest metal; the Persians, who next rose, typified by the silver; the Grecians, to whom these again were subjected in the days of Alexander, prefigured by the brass; and the Romans, by whom these last were subdued, symbolized by the iron; these in their turn losing their power, and having their dominion broken into various fragments by the incursions of the northern barbarians, represented by the debased and incoherent mixture of iron and clay, forming the feet of the image. The stone is explained by the prophet himself also to refer to the spiritual kingdom of the Messiah, set up under the Roman domination, which alone can neither know change nor end, and which is to be as universal in its influence as eternal in its character. We observed, that Nebuchadnezzar might be considered as the first monarch of the Babylonish empire; since under him its ascendancy over that of Assyria was so complete as to immerge the latter in itself; and this fact is distinctly established by the address of Daniel to the king,—"Thou art this head of gold."

Rebellion of
Jehoiakim.

While Nebuchadnezzar was thus occupied at Babylon, Jehoiakim, the king of Judah, rebelled the second time; on which occasion the various nations tributary to Nebuchadnezzar's crown were instructed to invade Judea; and Jerusalem was shortly after again plundered by the king in person. Yet the final blow was not struck; for after laying the country waste, he placed its harren sceptre in the hand of Zedekiah.

Egypt's
decline.

By one of those incidental, but important remarks, so frequently to be met with in the brief and simple narratives of the Bible, we learn the declining and diminished state of Egypt at this time. "And the king of Egypt came not again any more out of his land: for the king of Babylon had taken from the river of Egypt unto the river Euphrates, all that pertained to the king of Egypt."

Zedekiah's
rebellion.

Nine years after this event, the infatuated Zedekiah rebelled against his conqueror, encouraged by Pharaoh-hophra, king of Egypt; and at the same time other nations began to show symptoms of impatience under his yoke. Nebuchadnezzar, with the promptitude and energy which characterized him, determined to march against all these revellers; but, perplexed as to the quarter against which he should first direct his irresistible forces, he seems, from a singular passage in the prophecies of Ezekiel,* to have had recourse to a practice

common in that day, of divination by arrows; a mode not confined to the Babylonians, but practised by the Greeks, and by the Arabs down to the very days of Mohammed. He determined to march against the Jews; and having rapidly taken their chief cities, he sat down before Jerusalem. In the mean while the king of Egypt attempted a diversion in their favour, but retreated upon the advancement of Nebuchadnezzar against him. The siege of Jerusalem occupied so long a time, that the monarch himself withdrew from it, leaving its conduct to his generals, by whom it was at length assaulted, and taken by night. The last king of Judah was deprived of sight, and sent to Babylon, and the city entirely dismantled; but the progress of this dreadful transaction will be noticed more particularly in its proper place. After this complete victory, he returned home enriched with the spoils of tributary nations, and more especially by the plunder of Jerusalem, to execute another absurd project of unlimited power, affording a fresh example of that intoxication of reason and justice almost inseparable from its possession.

"Nebuchadnezzar the king made an image of gold, whose height was threescore cubits, and the breadth thereof six cubits: he set it up in the plain of Dura, in the province of Babylon." Grotius supposes that he has discovered the site of this idolatrous transaction, on the banks of the Euphrates, on a spot called Duraba by Ptolemy. St. Jerome notices a small difference as to the reading of this name among various writers, and remarks that the term *Dura* is rendered by the LXX. by a word which signifies an enclosure. An enclosed plain appears consonant with the structure of Persian temples, which consisted simply of a large court, surrounded by walls, but uncovered by any roof, in the midst of which the perpetual fire burned upon an altar. Supposing an enclosure at all, less compass than is implied by the term a *plain* could not admit the countless throngs who, impelled by the severe decree of the king, crowded to pay homage to the idol; and if it were set upon an open country, known by the name of Dura, the place will appear to be still better adapted to the innumerable worshippers than any imaginable enclosure.

The image may either be supposed to have been consecrated to Belus, the principal idol of the Babylonians, or to the memory of his father, it being no unusual thing to deify a deceased monarch: or it might be a representation of himself—an excess of pride, folly, and impiety, not without its parallel in the records of human presumption. To determine this point is very immaterial, and must be to us absolutely impossible. The proportions of the image have greatly surprised and puzzled all writers upon the subject. A statue ninety feet in height, and only nine in breadth, is in altitude ten times its thickness; whereas, in the proportion of the human figure, a man's height does not exceed six times his breadth. To reduce the figure to a due proportion, and ascribe the remainder to the pedestal, as is done by Dr. Prideaux, would be to make the pedestal exceed by ten feet the height of the figure; a violation of proportion not to be imagined, even in the rudest state of the arts. The ingenious editor of Calmet has proposed a much more probable solution in the fragments attached to the Dictionary of the Bible; and which fully agree with the known forms of the statues of the same age. Although the speci-

Nebuchad-

nezzar.
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Divination
by arrows.

Retreat of
Pharaoh-
hophra,
Jerusalem
taken.

Golden
image.

Plain of
Dura.

Discussions
of the
image.

* Ezek. xxi. 23.

Biography.

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A. M.
3399.
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605.
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562.
Egyptian
idols.

mens of that country have all perished, we have Egyptian examples of sculpture of an equal antiquity; and it is probable, from the high scientific renown of Egypt, as well as from the circumstance that he had despoiled Egypt of several of her cities, and was no doubt well acquainted with her public monuments of all kinds, that Nebuchadnezzar would prefer to form his idol after the pattern of her images. We may, at least, fairly presume, in the absence of other specimens of sculpture of equal date, that those which remain of Egypt may be considered as representing the taste of that age, and the proportions and attitudes then preferred. The idols of Egypt, of a date so remote as the age of Nebuchadnezzar, were uniformly carved in a sitting posture, and with a lofty ornament on the head, considered, by the Egyptians, as a mark of some divine attribute.

Let us suppose, therefore, the height of the figure to be described by Daniel, not as it was while sitting, but as it would have been if erect—that is, *proportionally*, not *perpendicularly*—and to this conjecture let the beard-ornament, inseparable from statues of the gods of that age, and the pedestal upon which the image was placed, be taken also into the account, and the alleged disproportion will vanish. The original word (*רָחֵב*), rendered *breadth*, may be translated either *depth* or *thickness*, as will best comport with the preservation of the due proportion of the figure.

Riches of
Babylon.

As we have already (under the article *SIMIRAMIS*) adverted to the immense wealth treasured up in the temple of Babylon, the image thus raised agrees with the testimony of ancient writers in general, both as to the inexhaustible riches of the Babylonish monarchs, and their appropriation to purposes of idolatry. Incredible as these may appear at first sight, it must be recollected, that we are very inadequate judges of the actual mines of the oriental world; and that it is indisputable that the overflowing affluence of the Persian monarchy was subsequently drawn from the spoils of the Babylonian empire; while it is equally evident that Nebuchadnezzar derived the immense resources which enabled him to effect this, and similar works of magnificence, from the plunder of subjected nations, among whom Judea was not the least, and from the treasures of their respective monarchs, whom he either rendered tributary, or reduced to a state of captivity.

It was one of the strongest tokens of submission which he could demand from the conquered nations, to require of them to worship his God. And while the remotest provinces of his empire were expected to present this homage, in the persons of their governors and representatives, the varieties of language among them rendered it necessary that a signal should be given, which all would comprehend. This was now made by all the then known instruments of music, some of which are now unknown to us; and when these were heard, all the people prostrated themselves before the idol.

Shadrach,
Meshach,
and Abed-
nego.

There were three men, and only three among these multitudes, who had fortitude to resist the imperial decree, at least, so far as their personal homage was concerned, and who dared to be singular in order to be good. These were Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed-nego, the illustrious companions of Daniel; who, from what else were unequivocally determines his character, him-

self must have been absent at the time on the public business, or have been tolerated in his voluntary withdrawal, since he is not named on this memorable occasion. When the king heard of this refusal, his rage was unbounded, and he commanded them to be brought before him; but whether he felt some "compunctious visitations of nature," which rendered him unwilling to inflict so cruel a punishment as he had threatened upon any man; or whether he recollected, with any emotions of respect and gratitude, the services of men who had faithfully promoted the interests of his empire, in wonderful inconsistency, both with his general impetuosity of temper, and his excessive wrath at their presumption, he condescended to expostulate with them, to suspend their punishment, and to give them an opportunity of securing its remission, by affording another chance of obedience. But when their firm but respectful reply, absolutely refusing to worship his idol, met his ear, and they dared to justify, in the royal presence, conduct dictated by their consciences, and demanded of them by their God, his suppressed indignation broke forth in augmented and uncontrollable fury, and with an impotence of malice which defeated its own purpose, he ordered the furnace to be heated (the death to which the disobedient were doomed) seven times hotter than usual. They were then led forth to execution, and the fierceness of the fire was such, that the flames rushing upon the soldiers who were employed to cast them into the furnace, consumed them. The monarch himself was present to feast his eyes upon this cruel sacrifice to his superstition and tyranny, when a decisive miracle was wrought to preserve his victims. The fire appeared to have no power to harm the men, who fell down into the midst of it; but rising from their bonds (these only being consumed), they walked unhurt amidst the flames, accompanied by a fourth personage, then first seen, of so glorious and majestic an aspect, that Nebuchadnezzar had no hesitation in deeming him a divine person. Struck with this miraculous deliverance, he now called them forth, and, in the presence of the whole court, it appeared that a hair of their head was not singed, their garments were not changed, nor was there even the smell of fire about them. With a temper as impetuous as before, Nebuchadnezzar now decreed that the God of Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed-nego, should not be subjected to any indignity among his numerous subjects, on the penalty of the utter extermination of the offending individual and his property.

The furnace into which these celebrated sufferers were cast is not to be identified with the structures so called in modern times. No certain form of building can be absolutely determined from the word (*כּוּר*) employed. The ancient furnace was probably an open enclosure for fire; such we know to have been the broad, but enclosed layer of fire, through which the superstitious passed in honour of Moloch; and this is sanctioned by the Apocryphal writer, who says, that the angel of the Lord descended, and smote the flame of the furnace by a current of air.* Now, admitting the wind to have been the instrument in producing, or in assist-

Nebuchad-
nezzar.
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Miraculous
deliverance.

* Song of the Three Children, ver. 20-27.

ing, this miraculous deliverance, it is evident, on the supposition of a furnace so constructed, that the very blast, which had sufficient power to abate the fury of the element within the enclosure, by driving it beyond its limits, would also, by that very act, urge it upon the soldiers of Nebuchadnezzar, and cause it to scorch and to devour them. Calmet places this event at the close of the scriptural account of Nebuchadnezzar, and after his restoration from the insanity which seized him (of which we are to speak hereafter), but upon what authority it does not appear. It is placed in the order in which we have considered it, not only in the book of Daniel, but according to the chronology of Archbishop Usher, adopted in the margin of our bibles, and by most other writers. Having followed this chronological arrangement hitherto, we have met with no arguments sufficiently conclusive to induce us to depart from it on the present occasion.

Three years after the destruction of Jerusalem, the most considerable of the neighbouring nations confederated against the king of Babylon, whose power was too formidable, and his empire too extended, to allow him to continue in repose, so long as any possibility of resistance to his authority remained to the conquered provinces. It is not impossible that they might have been stirred up with indignation against him, from the imposition of homage to his deities, which we have just noticed, and which was exacted in such rigorous terms, from all over whom his domination extended. A higher indignity could not be offered to any vanquished nation, as we have observed, than to oblige them to abandon their own deities, and receive those of their conqueror. Tyre and Egypt had been long threatened in the sacred prophecies with the Babylonish yoke; and the time was now come when Nebuchadnezzar was to be the unconscious instrument of carrying into effect these menaces of heaven. The arms of this mighty warrior were first turned against Tyre; but he found the city so strongly fortified, that its siege occupied no less than thirteen years; and when, eventually, he made himself master of the city, there were but few inhabitants, and no spoil. The wretched remnant he put to the sword; and razed the city to the ground. The Tyrians, anticipating the result, and being fully acquainted with the persevering character of the man with whom they had to deal; hopeless also of finally repelling, although they were able so long to keep him in check; gradually removed their effects, and the population of the old city, to an island belonging to them, about half a mile from the shore; upon which they founded a new state, and left the disappointed and exasperated victor to vent his fury upon the deserted houses, and the miserable beings who could not escape.

The prophet Ezekiel distinctly enumerates the difficulties and circumstances of this siege: the final success of the invader; the little profit accruing from his victory; and the recompence for his warlike toils awaiting him in Egypt—"Son of man, Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, caused his army to serve a great service against Tyre; every head was made bald, and every shoulder was peeled; yet had he no wages, nor his army, for Tyre, for the service that he had served against it. Therefore, thus saith Jehovah, Behold, I will give the land of Egypt unto Nebuchad-

rezar, king of Babylon; and he shall take her multitude, and take her spoil, and take her prey; and it shall be the wages for his army.* Accordingly, the Babylonish monarch, who was not idle during this long investment of Tyre, nor confined his operations to that object (for he had punished by the hand of his general, Nebazardan, the remnant of the Jews who had been left in their native land, and who had assassinated Gedaliah, their governor; and chastised the Sidonians, Moubites, Ammonites, and Idumeans), at length directed his energies against Egypt, already weakened by his former retrenchment of his empire, and now still more enervated by intestine dissensions. A civil war was at this time carried on, with the animosity usual to such contentions, between Apis and Amasis, each striving for the sole sovereignty, and mutually laying open their devoted country as a spoil to the advancing destroyer. He succeeded in the subjugation of this renowned kingdom, and returned again to Babylon a victor, enriched with spoil. What arrangements he made in Egypt is not so certain as his success. The name of Amasis, however, is so considerable in the history of that people, as to induce a probable conclusion that he confirmed to him the crown in subordination to himself. Once more settled quietly in his dominions, Nebuchadnezzar set himself to perfect those works which we have already adverted to as commenced in an earlier part of his reign, for the embellishment and fortification of the astonishing city which was the boast of his empire. Into a detail of these it is unnecessary that we should enter further than has already been done, under the article SEMIRAMIS, with whom they were fabled to originate. We venture to say fabled, because, even admitting her existence, and that she, or Belus, commenced the work, and drew the mighty outline, no more can be pretended, with any colour of probability, than that she laid the foundation of its future magnificence: that outline swelling under the enterprising genius of Nebuchadnezzar, until it reached an extent beyond human ability to fill it up; and although he accomplished his design in part, and was succeeded in his labour by his daughter-in-law, the Queen Nitocris, and the city thus actually reared was the admiration of the world—the Babylonish monarchy did not exist long enough to suffer the magnificent design to be carried into completion. With the circumstances of the destruction of this city, we have not at present any thing to do; they are connected with the overthrow of the monarchy itself. To Nebuchadnezzar we must assign whatever was most esteemed in Babylon; the fortifications, bridge, gardens, lake, and canals for draining the river—so confidently ascribed to Semiramis; and with this assumption agrees his own vaunt, as he looked down upon the city from the terraces of his palace:—"Is not this great Babylon that I have built for the house of the kingdoms, by the might of my power, and for the honour of my majesty?" And before we pronounce, upon the almost incredible extent of these labours, a final sentence of doubt, if not of absolute denial, let us recollect that the vestiges of antiquity yet remaining of different nations, convey an irresistible evidence of the stupendous operations of the ancients; and that the materials of which the for-

Nebuchadnezzar.

From A. M. 3399.

B. C. 605.

to A. M. 3442.

B. C. 562.

Nebuchadnezzar and the Sidonians, Moubites, Ammonites, and Idumeans.

Egypt invaded.

Civil war.

Apis and Amasis.

Egypt subdued.

Amasis still considerable.

Nitocris.

Babylon owes its splendour to Nebuchadnezzar.

Tyre, Egypt.

Siege of Tyre.

The city taken.

B. C. 572.

Ezekiel's prophecy.

* Ezech. xlii. 16, 19.

Biography.

From
A. M.
3399.
—
B. C.
605.
to
A. M.
3442.
—
B. C.
562.
His second
vision.

Related.

Interpreted.

tifications of Babylon were built, being of unburnt bricks, clay baked only in the sun, would render the monuments of its greatness most liable to the injuries of the seasons and the ravages of time.

We are now approaching the last scene of this monarch's life, of which we have any authentic record. Elated by conquest, and inflated with personal vanity, a signal punishment awaited his pride and presumption.

It was declared to him in a vision of the night, and Daniel, as usual, was called in to interpret it. The whole is told with so much grandeur and simplicity in the scripture narrative, that it is impossible to equal, and it would be injury to imitate, the language of the sacred historian. That heart must be made of singular materials, that is not affected by it; and we confess, that we never read the solemn, and even awful terms of the denunciation, conveyed through the medium of the most beautiful imagery, and connected with the event thus predicted, without feeling an unusual and indescribable awe stealing upon our spirits. It is thus related by the king himself. "I saw, and behold a tree in the midst of the earth, and the height thereof was great. The tree grew, and was strong, and the height thereof reached unto heaven, and the sight thereof to the end of all the earth. The leaves thereof were fair, and the fruit thereof much, and in it was meat for all: the beasts of the field had shadow under it, and the fowls of the heaven dwelt in the boughs thereof, and all flesh was fed of it. I saw in the visions of my head, upon my bed, and behold, a watcher, and an holy one, came down from heaven. He cried aloud, and said thus—

Hew down the tree, and cut off his branches, shake off his leaves, and scatter his fruit; let the beasts get away from under it, and the fowls from his branches. Nevertheless leave the stump of his roots in the earth, even with a band of iron and brass in the tender grass of the field, and let it be wet with the dew of heaven, and let his portion be with the beasts in the grass of the earth. Let his heart be changed from man's, and let a beast's heart be given unto him; and let seven times pass over him. This matter is by the decree of the watchers, and the demand by the word of the holy ones: to the intent 'that the living may know' that the Most High ruleth in the kingdom of men, and giveth it to whomsoever he will, and setteth up over it the basest of men." The prophet had no sooner heard this, than perceiving its import, he was filled with astonishment and dismay: "not fearing the wrath of the king," but anxious to impart to him so afflicting a message in the gentlest terms; and actuated, as it should seem, by the sincerest feelings of regard to the sovereign, Daniel "answered and said, My lord, the dream be to them that hate thee, and the interpretation thereof to thine enemies. The tree that thou sawest, which grew and was strong, whose height reached unto the heaven, and the sight thereof to all the earth; whose leaves were fair, and the fruit thereof much, and in it was meat for all; under which the beasts of the field dwelt, and upon whose branches the fowls of the heaven had their habitation: It is thou, O king, that art grown and become strong; for thy greatness is grown, and reacheth unto heaven, and thy dominion to the end of the earth. And whereas, the king saw a watcher, and an holy one, coming down from heaven, and saying, Hew the tree down,

and destroy it, yet leave the stump of the roots thereof in the earth, even with a band of iron and brass, in the tender grass of the field; and let it be wet with the dew of heaven, and let his portion be with the beasts of the field, till seven times pass over him: This is the interpretation, O king, and this is the decree of the Most High, which is come upon my lord the king: that they shall drive thee from men, and thy dwelling shall be with the beasts of the field, and they shall make thee to eat grass as oxen; and they shall wet thee with the dew of heaven; and seven times shall pass over thee till thou know that the Most High ruleth in the kingdom of men, and giveth it to whomsoever he will. And whereas they commanded to leave the stump of the tree roots; thy kingdom shall be sure unto thee, after that thou shalt have known that the heavens do rule. Wherefore, O king, let my counsel be acceptable unto thee, and break off thy sins by righteousness, and thine iniquities by shewing mercy to the poor, if it may be a lengthening of thy tranquillity."

Astonished as the king must have been by this interpretation, and affected by the singularity of the dream itself, no lasting impression appears to have been made upon his mind. The habits of such a man as Nebuchadnezzar, so flattered, so surrounded, and so absolute, were not likely to be permanently influenced by the most evident indications of Divine Providence. We have a singular demonstration of this in connection with these very transactions. Although he had proved more than once the inability of the Chaldeans and astrologers to make good their pretensions to read futurity, and interpret mysteries, yet from mere habit, or prejudice, and contrary to those convictions which one might have supposed him to have received, and which ought certainly to have arisen from his own observation and experience, he consulted them, and received another mortifying evidence of their insufficiency, before he sent for Daniel. But, as in the former instance, "the dream was certain, and the interpretation thereof sure;" and the purposes of heaven were not to be turned aside by human opposition or indifference; the mighty king of Babylon was to learn that he was subject to a mightier than himself, and as he gathered no wisdom from the menace, it was quickly put in execution. "All this came upon the king Nebuchadnezzar. At the end of twelve months he walked in the palace of the kingdom of Babylon. The king spake, and said, Is not this great Babel that I have built for the house of the kingdom, by the might of my power, and for the honour of my majesty? While the word was in the king's mouth, there fell a voice from heaven, saying, O king Nebuchadnezzar, to thee it is spoken: the kingdom is departed from thee."—"The same hour was the thing fulfilled upon Nebuchadnezzar; and he was driven from men, and did eat grass as oxen, and his body was wet with the dew of heaven, till his hairs were grown like eagles' feathers, and his nails like birds' claws."

It is by no means agreed in what this extraordinary change consisted, or how long it continued. The most probable interpretation of the matter is, that the king was seized with a species of insanity, not wholly unknown in the present day, under the term *lycanthropy* (Aλκαςτροφία); when, under the influence of a black *thymus*, melancholy, he imagined himself to be an ox, broke

Nebuchadnezzar

From
A. M.
3399.
—
B. C.
605.
to
A. M.
3442.
—
B. C.
562.

Chaldeans
and astrologers.B. C.
570.
Fulfilled.

Biography. from the restraints of his guard, and, assuming the manners and habits of the beast he supposed himself, was suffered at length, as the only method of appeasing him, to roam in the park of his palace, in the circumstances stated by the sacred historian. As to the time during which this delirium raged, some have held it was no more than seven months; others, from the circumstance that the Persians divide their year into two seasons, winter and summer, conclude that three years and a half is the time specified. Others have supplied arguments from their imaginations. The scripture phrase is "seven times;" and the most natural, consistent, and usual signification attached to this expression is, seven years. It is not stated how this inter-regnum was filled. It has been assumed, that his son Evil-Merodach, who afterwards succeeded him, was regent, and acquitted himself so ill, as to incur the severe displeasure of his father, on the return of his reason and his restoration to his kingdom. Nor are the circumstances of the death of Nebuchadnezzar recorded; which, however, has been thought to have taken place the same year with his restoration, or about twelve months afterwards. He lived long enough to issue a decree, in which he gives God the glory of his recovery, and acknowledges with edifying humility, the sovereignty of the Eternal;—a decree, the spirit of which but ill agrees with the opinion of those, who suppose he set up the golden image in the plains of Durn, after this contrite confession. Abydenus * represents the king to have fallen into an ecstasy, and to have foretold the destruction of his empire by the Medes and Persians; and adds, "immediately after uttering this prophecy, he disappeared." The import of this expression is very doubtful. He might intend to convey by it an insinuation that the monarch was snatched away in a miraculous manner—a fable not unfrequent in antiquity among most nations,

Restoration, decree, and death.

Time of his deposition.
Inter-regnum.

who preferred having it supposed that their favourite sovereigns were rather translated than that they died; an example of which we have seen in the story of the death of Romulus. Or, as Scaliger seems more judiciously to conclude, it may darkly intimate the disappearance of the monarch from his kingly authority and office, by reason of his disease. This event, however, is related by Josephus, and was never disputed or arraigned by any of his numerous opponents. In Ptolemy's canon, Nebuchadnezzar is said to have reigned forty-three years, eight of which are passed over in silence. It may be not unfairly inferred, that this chasm in the record of a life so active, and so public, was occasioned by his deposition from the throne, on the grounds stated by the sacred writer.

But apart from all conjecture, it is not credible, it is not even possible, that Daniel, who wrote at the time when those events took place, should have endeavoured to impose upon the world any circumstances not founded in fact, relative to such a man as Nebuchadnezzar. The conqueror is a character too well known to history; and, hated and feared as he is, he is in still known. The very scale of the mischiefs he inflicts, and the interest which all men unavoidably, however unwillingly, take in his movements, will not suffer any material occurrence respecting him to remain a secret; and for these reasons such circumstances cannot be fabricated on the one hand, or greatly misrepresented on the other. Of all the things which Daniel records also, he professes to be an eye-witness. If, therefore, he mistakes them, the deception practised could not originate in mistake, it must be wilful. And to this we must add, that throughout the life of this monarch we have found the sacred history the only record upon which we could place any reasonable dependence. In so far as we have arrived at any certainty, it is this clue which has hitherto guided us through the labyrinth of antiquity.

Nebuchadnezzar.

From A. M. 3399. B. C. 605. to A. M. 3442. B. C. 562.

Prophets' canon.

Confirma- tion.

* Euseb. Prep. Evng. lib. ix. cap. 41.

DANIEL.

FLOURISHED FROM ABOUT A. M. 3398. B. C. 606. TO A. M. 3470. B. C. 534.

Biography. DURING the captivity of the Jews in Chaldæa, Daniel was raised up by providence to exhibit and to uphold the true religion; and it cannot surely fail of striking the attentive observer that whatever may have been the depression of truth, even in the worst of times, when his light had almost suffered extinction, God has never been without a witness; but, however deplorable the state of his cause, in the very crisis of its fate, he has interposed for its revival. The present history records such a period and such a manifestation, and while it is of so extraordinary a nature as to assume, in its principal circumstances, the appearance of fiction and the characteristic exaggerations of romance, it is nevertheless a tale of reality, and fraught with the most valuable instruction.

Daniel was no ordinary man; no ordinary prophet;

it might even be added, that he was no insignificant confessor and martyr to the truth. The opportunities which occurred for the development and exhibition of the qualities of his mind were, moreover, no less rare and singular than those qualities themselves: his gifts and graces were not destined to be hid in a corner, but stood forth, in all their brilliancy and prominence, in one of the most conspicuous theatres of human action.

The birth-place of this eminent person is said to have been Upper Bethoron, in the territory of Ephraim, and his descent from the illustrious family of David. Epiphanius and others have indeed represented him as born at Batheber, in the vicinity of Jerusalem, which has, however, been deemed an improbable tradition. He was the relative, as well as intimate associate of Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed-nego; and, like them,

Daniel.

A. M. 3398. B. C. 606.

Birth and captivity.

Biography.

A. M.
3398.
B. C.
606.

Accomplishments.

was transported as a captive to Babylon, at an early period of life, in the fourth year of the reign of Jehoiakim, king of Judah, about the year of the world 3398. He is thought at this time to have attained about the age of eighteen, or at the utmost twenty; a period when it required a peculiar elevation of character and force of mind, to obtain the distinguishing notice which he was attracted, to sustain those complicated trials, which he was so soon appointed to endure, and to merit those commanding and honourable stations which he was soon afterwards enabled to occupy.

His superior wisdom and great accomplishments of mind commended him, with three others of his nation, to the attention of Nebuchadnezzar, before whom he was called to occupy a conspicuous station, even in the days of his captivity. The persons alluded to have been already mentioned. In conformity with the established custom of the times and of the people by whom they had been transported from their native land, each of them received a new name. This was the constant practice of conquerors, especially when their captives were designed to fill any office about the court, or to be in personal attendance on the sovereign. Daniel was henceforth named Belteshazzar, and of his companions in tribulation, Hananiah was called Shadrach; Mishael, Meshach; and Azariah, Abed-nego. It has been justly noticed as remarkable, that the former names of these individuals related to the true God, and that all the new names which were at this time imposed upon the four Jewish captives, had some reference to Babylonish idols. Daniel, in Hebrew, signifies "God is my guide;" in Chaldee, Belteshazzar means, "the treasure of Babel." Hananiah is, in Hebrew, "well pleasing to God;" Shadrach, in Chaldee, "the inspiration of the sun." In Hebrew, Mishael denotes "proceeding from God;" in Chaldee, Meshach is "belonging to the goddess Sheshach." Azariah is, in Hebrew, "God is my help;" Abed-nego, in Chaldee, "the servant of Nago," that is, the sun, or the morning star, which were Babylonian divinities. It is still the practice of the Mogul, derived from the ancient usages of eastern nations, to distinguish his favourites, by conferring new names upon them when they are advanced to more elevated or honourable stations.

Refuses royal meat.

At this early period of his history we have a very remarkable indication of that greatness of character for which Daniel was distinguished, and which now began to appear. During three years, he and his companions already mentioned, were carefully and fully instructed in all the learning of the Chaldeans, which consisted of natural philosophy, astrology, divination, the science of auguries, the worship of the gods, and other mysteries, and from the proficiency in these departments of knowledge which Daniel ultimately discovered, it is obvious that he prosecuted his studies with the most laborious attention. What, however, particularly claims our notice is, his conduct, at the time in question, with regard to the food with which he and his companions were supplied from the palace. It appears that they had a daily allowance of meat and wine from the royal table; but as this provision often consisted of the flesh of unclean creatures, as it was, perhaps, bestowed not merely as an expression of the king's munificent favour and patronage, but for the insidious purpose of alienating their minds from their own country, and inducing them to transfer their affections to

the land of their captivity; as, moreover, it was incompatible with the temperance, approaching to abstemiousness, which these Jewish worthies deemed most suitable, both to their circumstances and their religion, and as it was first, according to their custom, blessed in the name of their idol Bel, Daniel solicited the principal eunuch that they might be excused from eating it; and this he did both with a firmness and respectfulness of manner that won upon the chief officers' regard. Two objections, however, were mentioned; the one that the king might take offence, and being an absolute monarch, his own head would most likely be endangered by his compliance; the other, that the abstemiousness proposed, in only partaking of pulse to eat and water to drink, would produce a bad effect upon their appearance, and this was of material consequence, because the eastern monarchs were uniformly desirous of having beautiful and healthy looking persons in immediate attendance upon them. They imagined that nothing but a sordid and corrupt soul could reside in a meagre and disagreeable body. Daniel then made the same proposal to Melzar, who seems to have been next in rank, who was appointed to superintend the Hebrew youths, desiring him to make an experiment for ten days, which would be a sufficient time for determining whether the alteration of their diet produced any change of appearance. This being accordingly done, they were permitted to adhere to their own scrupulous abstemiousness. Thus happily, in this instance, were the sacred rights of conscience pleaded with success. At the expiration of the period of three years allotted to their studies, Daniel had become remarkable for his "understanding in all visions and dreams," and he had soon an opportunity of displaying his characteristic superiority. Being brought before the king at the expiration of their studies, he and his companions were examined with regard to their attainments, and the skill they displayed induced Nebuchadnezzar instantly to place them in the situation for which they had been preparing. He could not avoid discovering how much they excelled all the magicians and astrologers of the empire, nor did he suffer any prejudices that might have existed against their country to disparage their eminent qualifications.

An opportunity occurred, after the advancement of Daniel, of putting his powers to the test, and the result, as we have already seen, was such as not only to fulfil the early promise of his character, but to demonstrate that he was honoured with an inspiration infinitely exceeding all the attainments of mere human science. With a piety truly characteristic of this eminent man, he prefaced the disclosure of Nebuchadnezzar's first dream, which had passed from his memory, by the declaration that it was the God of heaven from whom he had received the secret which the astrologers, magicians, and soothsayers, in vain attempted to discover, and that, consequently, it was not to be imputed to any superior sagacity of his own, nor was the circumstance of his being entrusted with it in preference to others to be imputed to him as a merit, it being communicated solely, he said, "for their sakes that shall make known the interpretation to the king, and that thou mightest know the thoughts of thy heart." Josephus imputes to Daniel the following speech on this critical occasion, which, to say the least, is certainly in unison

Daniel.

A. M.
3398.
B. C.
606.

Advancement.

Interpretation of the king's dream.

A. M.
3401.
B. C.
603.

Biography. with his character, as represented in the inspired page.

"It is not any high conceit of my own wisdom, as if I understand more than the Chaldeans do, or any designed reproach upon them for not being able to resolve a question which I am able to unriddle, that I engage in this matter; for I am not a person that pretends to more skill and knowledge than my neighbours; but it is purely the work of God, in pity to the miserable, and in mercy to my prayers for the life and safety of myself and my friends, that has now laid open this dream to me, and explained the meaning of it. Nor have I been so sollicitous for the safety of myself and my companions under your displeasure, as for your honour and glory, lest you should tarnish them by putting to death, contrary to all right and justice, so many worthy men, merely because they were not able to do a thing that is impossible for flesh and blood to perform."

The exact coincidence between his forgotten dream and Daniel's representation, and the authoritative manner in which the predictions of future times were delivered, filled Nebuchadnezzar with the utmost astonishment and admiration. He was ready to pay him divine honours as a god, commanding an oblation and sweet odours to be presented to him, which the pious Jew no doubt declined as a piece of insufferable idolatry; but he did not refuse the presents of great value which the king gave him, nor the station of high dignity and honour to which he was immediately advanced.

Daniel's advancement.

Daniel was accordingly made ruler over the whole province of Babylon, and superintendant over all the wise men, or magicians of the empire. While exalted to distinction himself, he did not forget the interests of his three friends, Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed-nego, who, at his request, were placed under him, in stations of distinguished importance and trust, probably as deputy-governors. De Dien is of opinion, from the use of the term in the Chaldee language, and from the corresponding word in the Arabic, that these men had the superintendence of agriculture, and of the revenue arising out of it.

It has been already observed, that the name of Daniel is not introduced in the account of the remarkable preservation of Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed-nego. That he was out in spirit with the three worthies who sacrificed (in purpose, at least) life to the claims of duty and of God, cannot for a moment be doubted; and that both his firmness and the king's displeasure would have been equally manifest as in the instance recorded, is unquestionable. How then does it arise that he is wholly overlooked in the affair? The chasm of information here cannot easily be filled up; we must be satisfied with conjectural probability, and perhaps shall not materially err in supposing that he was absent on some important affair of state, in a remote province of the empire; the peculiar vacancy which he had already displayed, and the confidence reposed in him, rendering it natural that he should have been so employed.

Daniel again becomes prominent in the inspired story, on the occasion of another dream of the king, which, although Nebuchadnezzar could distinctly remember, he was unable to interpret. As in the former instance, the astrologers and magicians of every class who were regarded as constituting the learned body of the empire, were again summoned into the royal pre-

sence; but they were utterly confounded; when recourse was had to Daniel. This faithful servant of the living God was so struck with awe and terror at the judgment indicated by the dream, that he stood in silence for an hour; but upon being encouraged to expound its meaning, he at length explained it as we have already detailed; and, having given the interpretation, he dismissed the character of the mere expounder of mysterious prognostications, and assumed that of the counsellor and the friend. With a faithfulness which may well excite our astonishment, while it cannot fail of securing our approbation, he proceeded to admonish the king to abandon his iniquitous courses, to practise a holy life, and especially to manifest compassion to the poor; of which, probably, he had been notoriously negligent; and thus to secure prosperity and peace. After the delay of a year, which, it may be supposed, was given as a space for repentance, the ambition and vanity of this monarch occasioned the infliction of the threatened chastisement of seven years' deposition from his imperial dignity, and from the exercise of his reason; after which, at his restoration, he published a decree, expressive of the reverence he felt for the God of heaven, and the just sense with which adversity had inspired him of his own insignificance and guilt.

The death of Nebuchadnezzar occurred soon after his restoration, and he was succeeded in his dominions by his son Evil-Merodach, whose reign was marked with wickedness, and was of short duration. Neriglassar, who was the head of the conspiracy by which Evil-Merodach died, took the vacant throne. This latter perished in battle against Cyrus, nephew to Cyaxares, the king of Media, who came out of Persia with 30,000 men, to afford assistance to his uncle. Labrosorarched, the son of Neriglassar, sat upon the throne only nine months; his odious character having excited a conspiracy against him; when Belshazzar, probably the grandson of Nebuchadnezzar, took the reins of government, which again introduces us to the story of Daniel. With regard, however, to the succession in question, it may be proper previously to state the sentiments of the intelligent chronologist Dr. Hales, which occur in the second volume of his Analysis. This writer does not admit that Evil-Merodach was cut off in a conspiracy, but slain in battle by Cyrus, when commanding the armies of Cyaxares, whose territories he had prepared to attack. He was succeeded by his son Neriglassar, the Belshazzar of Daniel, and grandson of Nebuchadnezzar; and it was Belshazzar, or Neriglassar, the cruelty of whose government was so insupportable to his subjects, as to provoke them to a conspiracy, in which he was slain. The inquiry may be pursued by consulting Dr. Hales, already mentioned, and Prideaux's Connection, anno 553.

It was in the reign of Belshazzar, whoever he was, that Daniel, who still continued to occupy his extraordinary rank, had his two celebrated visions of the four beasts; and the ram, and the he-goat; the one in the first year of his reign, and the other in the third. By the former was signified the Assyrian, Persian, Grecian, and Roman empires; and in the latter, Darius Codomanus, the last of the successors of Cyrus, by the emblem of the ram; and Alexander the Great, by that of the he-goat.

Cyrus, the founder of the Persian monarchy, had frequent engagements with the armies of Belshazzar,

Daniel.

A. M.
3434.
—
B. C.
570.

Daniel interprets a second dream.

A. M.
3443.
—
B. C.
561.

A. M.
3424.
—
B. C.
580.

Biography. and at length succeeded in shutting him up in the city of Babylon, against which he commenced a regular siege. While in this situation, so inappropriate to merriment, a great festival was celebrated, which, since, according to Xenophon and Herodotus, it was foreknown by Cyrus, was, most likely, an anniversary feast; either, perhaps, in commemoration of the king's birth-day, or in honour of his gods. The Sackean feast, or one celebrated in honour of the god Shach, is more than once alluded to by the prophets, and might possibly be the very festival in question, as, during its observance, the utmost licentiousness was practised: every one, in short, did as he pleased.

The courtiers, and principal persons of the empire, to the number of a thousand, were, it appears, present upon this occasion; and Belshazzar, in the excess of his revelry and impiety, commanded the vessels of gold and silver which his grandfather had taken out of the temple at Jerusalem, to be brought into the hall of festivity, in order that he, his nobles, and his concubines might drink out of them. This seems to have been intended as a profane defiance of the God of Israel, and to throw contempt upon the religious services of the Jews; it was therefore probably accompanied with many blasphemous jests, and certainly with praises of the different gods of silver and gold, of brass, wood, and stone, whom they were addicted to worship. But the delirium of intoxication was soon at an end; and by a very remarkable, and yet simple interposition of his power, the God of heaven, whom these inebriated sensualists ventured to ridicule, changed their merriment into sadness; a sadness which was the prelude of a tremendous calamity. The fingers of a man's hand were distinctly perceived upon the wall, writing upon the plaster a brief sentence of condemnation. The characters, however, were foreign and unintelligible, and the king, in the utmost trepidation, immediately summoned together his astrologers and soothsayers, to furnish him with an interpretation of the mysterious sentence. The excessive terror of his mind, and which, as he was unable to read the writing, nothing but the power of conscience could have occasioned, is apparent in the great promises he made to any interpreter of this sentence, declaring that he should be clothed with scarlet, and have a chain of gold about his neck, and be the third ruler in the kingdom. None of the wise men, however, could read the inscription, or comprehend its purpose; and the king continued in a state of extreme agitation.

In this dilemma, the queen-mother entered, and after pronouncing the highest eulogium upon the sagacity of Daniel, to whose former interpretation of Nebuchadnezzar's dream she particularly adverted, recommended him to be called for upon this difficult and distressing occasion; to which the king eagerly consented. Belshazzar now offered to bestow upon Daniel the distinguished rewards which he had promised in vain to his own magicians, in case of his giving the interpretation he required. The latter disclaimed any views so much marks of royal favour, saying, "Let thy gifts be to thyself, and give thy rewards to another;" but assured him of his readiness to explain the mysterious inscription, which had produced so much uneasiness. But to do so was no easy task, since it materially affected the king himself, and contained a most awful denunciation. Daniel, however, was unmoved

by any sense of personal danger, in discharging his duty to God and man, and having introduced his interpretation, by reproving the king for his ingratitude and profanity, he added, "This is the writing that was written; Mene, Mene, Tekel, Upharsin. This is the interpretation of the thing: *Mene*; God hath numbered thy kingdom, and finished it. *Tekel*; thou art weighed in the balances, and art found wanting. *Peres*; thy kingdom is divided, and given to the Medes and Persians." It seems not a little remarkable, that notwithstanding the terrible aspect of this statement, and the pointed appeal against the king's conduct, with which it was introduced, Daniel should immediately receive all the promised tokens of distinction that awaited the successful interpreter. Yet such was the case, the apparel and the proclamation of his advancement but at once, and without hesitation, bestowed.

Every circumstance of the prediction was soon verified. The city, which had been so long besieged, was taken. When Cyrus was informed of the approach of the great Babylonish festival, he determined upon a measure of surprise, and having ordered a body of troops to the point where the river ran into the city, and another to the place where it issued out, they were to attempt the passage as soon as they should perceive the river fordable; in the mean time others were employed to turn the stream into another direction. This was accordingly done, and the gates being open, no doubt, in consequence of the careless superintendence by the excessive festivity of the time, Cyrus marched his army into Babylon, and took possession. Belshazzar was slain, and the kingdom transferred to Cyrus, denominated in scripture, Darius the Mede. Xenophon, in the *Cyropædia* (lib. vi.), states, that the king was slain in the following manner: two deserters named Gadates and Gobryas, having assisted some of the Persian army to kill the guards, and seize upon the palace, they entered into the room where the king was, whom they found standing up in a posture of defence, but they soon dispatched him, and these that were with him.

According to the usual policy of the Medes and Persians, with regard to conquered nations, it appears from Berosus, that the victorious Mede appointed a Babylonian nobleman, of the name of Nabonadus, as viceroy of Babylon, and a hundred and twenty princes as superintendants of the different provinces of the empire. Over these were placed three presidents, of whom Daniel, for obvious reasons a favourite of the conqueror, was the principal. He was naturally supposed to have contributed to the success which he had predicted, and the reputation he had acquired by his sagacity and discretion, together with his long acquaintance with the affairs of the government, pointed him out as a proper person to occupy the very highest station of trust and influence.

Ordinary minds easily admit and cherish curious sentiments, and cannot endure the good fortune of others, even when it is most merited. The favourites of great princes are indeed certain of incurring considerable obloquy, either in the discharge of their official duties, or on account of some private peculiarity. So it happened to Daniel, whose character, however, shines with the more glory and brightness in consequence of the infamous machinations of his adversaries. No sooner did he come into power, than every engine was set at

Daniel
A. M.
3467.
B. C.
538.

Daniel inter-
prets the
writing on
the wall.

A. M.
3467.
B. C.
537.

Daniel
A. M.
3467.
B. C.
537.

Engraving.

A. M.
3467.
A. C.
537.

work to degrade him, and by those who hoped to acquire the ascendancy on his removal. He appears to have been accused long before they were able to fix upon him any charge which seemed likely to accomplish their purpose. In his administration of public affairs he was unimpeachable: his capacity and integrity were alike conspicuous, and the utmost vigilance which malice was able to exercise could not discover any thing upon which to found an indictment that should operate his ruin. After conferring with each other, therefore, upon the subject, the presidents and princes determined that the only method of proceeding against "this Daniel" was, to impeach him for his religion, which he maintained with great scrupulousness, notwithstanding the very peculiar circumstances in which he was placed, and the innumerable temptations to idolatrous compliances with which he must constantly have been surrounded. Having laid the snare, they resolved upon a plan to lead him into it, and their arrangement was certainly not destitute of political sagacity. A solemn deputation was sent to the king, in the name of all the presidents of the kingdom, the governors and the princes, the counsellors and the captains, to solicit the establishment of a royal statute, by which it was to be enacted, that whoever should ask any petition either of a god or of man during the period of thirty days, excepting of the king himself, should be cast into the den of lions. The Persian monarchs were extremely renacious of their honour, and the people universally held their persons in the same degree of veneration as they cherished for their gods. Darius, conceiving this application as intended to do him honour upon his accession to the sovereignty, most readily granted their request, taking no time to reflect upon its absurdity.

Cast into
the den of
lions.

Daniel was perfectly aware of the stratagem which the princes had adopted to effect his destruction; the vigilance of his administration being such that it must have been scarcely possible for so daring a conspiracy to elude detection. But infinitely more concerned for the glory of his religion, and the honour of God, than distressed at the apprehension of personal suffering, he did not, even for a moment, desist from those devotional exercises to which he had conscientiously addicted himself through all the period of his captivity, and by which he maintained a total separation, both of spirit and practice, from the heathen impieties of Chaldeas. As soon as he was informed of the royal signature being given to the decree, he retired into his house, and, according to his usual custom—a custom, too, which was always observed by the Jews in any distant situation—he prayed with his face turned towards Jerusalem. This he continued, as usual, three times a day, with his chamber window open in the direction of the Jewish capital. This was not a mere caprice or formality; it was founded upon the consideration of the blessings which were connected with such a proceeding, and which were pleaded distinctly by Solomon at the dedication of the temple: "If thy people sin against thee (for there is no man that sinneth not), and thou be angry with them, and deliver them to the enemy, so that they carry them away captives into the land of the enemy, far or near; yet if they shall be-think themselves in the land whither they were carried captives, and repent, and make supplication unto thee in the land of them that carried them captives, saying,

We have sinned and have done perversely, we have committed wickedness; and so return unto thee with all their heart and with all their soul, in the land of their enemies, which led them away captive, and pray unto thee toward their land which thou gavest unto their fathers, the city which thou hast chosen, and the house which I have built for thy name: then hear thou their prayer and their supplication in heaven, thy dwelling-place, and maintain their cause." 1 Kings, vii. 46—49.

The enemies of Daniel soon discovering that their plot had succeeded, and that he was, as they had reason to expect, a resolute adherent of the divine religion of his country, hastened to Darius to acquaint him with the disobedience of his subject, and to demand the enforcement of his decree. They endeavoured to aggravate his conduct by misrepresentation, intimating that Daniel was guilty of disaffection to the royal person; for, said they, "He regarded not *thee*, O king, nor the decree which *thou* hast signed." The king now found himself in an extreme difficulty, and, dismissing the accusers for a time, devoted several hours to devise some expedient, if possible, to evade the execution of a law which affected the life of a favourite and most meritorious servant. He felt excessively grieved at his own folly in so suddenly adopting a suggestion which drew in its train such fatal consequences; and, as the sacred historian records, "laboured till the going down of the sun to deliver him." His courtiers, however, were determined, representing to him, that the law of the Medes and Persians, when once passed, was absolutely unalterable; and to this urgency he felt himself at last obliged most reluctantly to yield. The object of their malignant persecution was accordingly delivered up to them, and with all the impatience that characterises successful guilt, they issued instant orders to seize and convey him to the den of lions. A stone was rolled against the mouth of the den to prevent escape, which was sealed both with the king's own signet, and that of the different nobles and princes: upon which Darius withdrew to his palace in a very disconsolate state of mind, probably having perceived the manoeuvre of his courtiers; but finding himself incapable of resisting their will, he had sacrificed a favourite servant to their baseness, and one whose public character had excited a confidence proportioned to its merit—a character against which the tongue of calumny dared not to utter a sentence. The night was spent in fasting and sleeplessness; and all the instruments of music were discarded. Whether the king, however, at the moment of executing his decree, had any presentiment of his deliverance, we cannot tell; it appears that he said to him, "Thy God, whom thou servest continually, he will deliver thee." If this were the conviction of his mind, it no doubt originated in his knowledge of the innocence and integrity of Daniel, and from an impression of his piety and peculiar intercourse with heaven, arising out of the prophetic character he had displayed on more than one occasion. It might, indeed, have been only an ardent desire for this purpose, dictated by his partiality for the sufferer; and is, indeed, susceptible of the rendering, "May thy God deliver thee."

However this may be, the king's anxiety brought him to the mouth of the den of lions at an early hour in the morning, where he inquired, in a doleful and depending tone of voice, whether he was possibly alive:

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ties of those amongst whom he was educated. The history has already recorded his objections against the meat which was accustomed to be dispensed from the king's table; and the same scrupulousness, founded in principle, which induced him to refuse such sustenance, would unquestionably influence his conduct on still more important occasions. He and his companions might be permitted to follow such studies as were most congenial to their taste, most consonant to their religion, or most adapted to qualify them for official situations in the state;—as, the niceties of language, the arts of war, the plans of civil policy.

In further illustration of this topic, we may be permitted to introduce the judicious remarks of Dr. Gleig, in the notes to his edition of Stackhouse's History of the Bible. "That he (Daniel) was taught, even by the astrologers, much useful knowledge, can hardly be doubted; for those men could not have pretended to foretell future events from the conjunctions or oppositions of the stars or planets, without acquiring great knowledge in the useful and sublime science of astronomy, which the agricultural life of the Jews, and the perfection of their law, deprived them of almost every inducement to study. No Chaldean astrologer can have employed himself in more frivolous pursuits than were those of the alchemists, in the dark ages of modern Europe, in quest of the philosopher's stone; and yet to the alchemists we are in a great measure indebted for the origin of the science of chemistry, which has, within these thirty years, been carried to such perfection, and contributed so much to the comfort and elegance of civil society.

Even in the interpretation of dreams something might be learned from the Chaldean wise men. Neither the gods of Babylon, indeed, nor the conjunctions of the stars, could reveal any thing to the astrologers or soothsayers; but no man, who admits the divine origin of any part of the scriptures, can doubt but that the true God occasionally revealed his will to the prophets in dreams and visions: and when he did so, he must have made use of such symbols, or such language, as were generally employed to denote the thing intended. The narrowness of original languages, and the practice of hieroglyphical writing, which seems to have prevailed in most nations, especially in the east, during some period of their existence, rendered it almost necessary to express occasionally one thing by another to which it was supposed to have some resemblance or analogy. In visions or dreams, whether sent by God or not, some symbols or language must have been employed; and the business of the oneirocritic, or interpreter, was to ascertain the import of such symbols. The interpreter, who practised by art, could only guess at that import, and in nine instances out of ten was likely to guess erroneously; but he who interpreted by inspiration was in no danger of falling into error, though each symbol, or word, taken by itself, must have had some meaning generally understood by those among whom such symbols and words were in general use, as well as by the prophet.

"The early interpreters of dreams," says Bishop Warburton, "were not juggling impostors; but, like the early judicial astrologers, more superstitious than their neighbours, and so the first that fell into their own delusions. However, suppose them to have been as arrant cheats as any of their successors, yet, at their first

setting up, they must have had materials proper for their trade; which could never be the wild workings of each man's private fancy. Their customers would look to find a known analogy, become venerable by long application to mysterious wisdom, for the groundwork of their deciphering; and the decipherers themselves would as naturally fly to some confessed authority, to support their pretended science. But what ground or authority could this be, if not the mysterious learning of *symbolical characters*? The Egyptian priests, the first interpreters of dreams, took their rules for this species of DIVINATION from their *symbolic* riddling, in which they were so deeply read; a ground of interpretation which would give the strongest credit to the art, and equally satisfy the diviner and the consulter; for it being generally believed that their gods had given them *hieroglyphic writing*, nothing was more natural than to imagine that those gods, who, in their opinion, gave dreams likewise, had employed the same mode of writing in both revelations." Div. Leg. b. iv.

"When the true God gave revelations by dreams, he, of course, made use of the symbols that were most likely to arrest the dreamer's attention, and, at the same time, were generally understood; and in different countries he would make use of different symbols, according to the practice of the people for whose information the dream was sent. Thus, in Pharaoh's two dreams, the symbols made use of were, in one, *seven kine*; and in the other, *seven ears of corn*. In the hieroglyphics of Egypt the ears of corn denoted its fertility; and the kine, its great tutelary patroness, *Isis*. Thus far Pharaoh seems to have understood the dream without an interpreter; and hence arose his anxiety to understand the rest, as a matter that concerned the public. Accordingly, when Joseph comes to decipher the dream, he does not tell the king that the two *sevens* denoted seven years in Egypt, but simply *seven years*; the *scene* of the famine needing no deciphering. In Nebuchadnezzar's second dream he saw a *four and high tree*, of which the height reached to heaven; and this being the symbol of majesty in general, very naturally made the proud monarch anxious to know what particular monarch it signified; and therefore the prophet Daniel begins his interpretation with saying—"The tree that thou sawest is thou, O king." But if Daniel was intended by God, as he certainly was, to be an interpreter of the dreams sent by him to the king of Babylon—the scourge by whom he chastised sinful nations—it is obvious that a knowledge of the symbols by which events were supposed to be represented in Chaldaea, was a species of preparatory knowledge absolutely necessary to him. The symbols employed for this purpose by the Chaldean might have been different from those in use amongst the priests of Egypt; but whether they were or not, it seems evident that *hieroglyphical writing*, and all kinds of *symbolical representations of God and his attributes*, were absolutely prohibited by the Mosaic law. Daniel, therefore, must have been taught the import of the Chaldean symbols, to fit him for an important part of the office he was destined to fill; and as God appears not on any occasion to work miracles for an object which can be attained by natural means, it is to be hoped that the deist will permit Christians to believe that Daniel might, without sin, be taught the meaning of the mysterious symbols of Chaldaea, by those wise men of that empire,

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among whom they were best understood. The sciences of *astronomy* and *chemistry* furnish many illustrious proofs of the power, wisdom, and goodness of the Creator and Governor of the world; these sciences have been successfully cultivated by philosophers in France, who seem not to acknowledge the moral attributes of the GREAT FIRST CAUSE—if, indeed, they allow any cause to be *first*; but surely an intelligent Christian clergyman, of a mind tolerably firm, might take lessons in astronomy and chemistry from such men, not only without incurring guilt and danger, but with great advantage to himself." Hist. of Bible, vol. ii. p. 504—506.

His character as a man and saint.

As a man, and as "an Israelite, indeed," Daniel was truly pre-eminent: so much so, that on one occasion he was addressed by a celestial messenger in those extraordinary terms of affection, "O man! greatly beloved, fear not." Dan. x. 19. At an early period of his life we have seen him manifest a conscientious scrupulousness, and subsequently, an inflexible adherence to his religion, amidst circumstances of extreme danger and powerful temptation, which have conferred upon him immortal renown. It was by no idolatrous compliances, no creeping meanness, that, during the various changes which occurred in the government, he retained, nevertheless, his elevated situation. His worst enemies, too, acknowledged the integrity and singular wisdom with which he conducted the affairs of the kingdom entrusted to his management, and devised a method of bringing him into trouble, which, from proving successful, as they had probably anticipated, was itself a memorable testimony to his worth as a man, and his piety as a saint. In effacing and rubbing the gold, they only furnished it into greater brightness, and exhibited more conspicuously its substantial value.

Daniel has been compared to Joseph, perhaps with some propriety, as there are unquestionably points of resemblance, and a coincidence of circumstances to be traced in these two illustrious individuals. Each of them was removed at an early period from his native country into a land of strangers; the one sold as a slave, the other seized upon and borne away as a captive. Each was elevated by a marvellous train of events to similar stations of dignity and influence in a foreign court; by means, indeed, which demonstrated, in either case, the interference of a particular providence in their behalf. Each preserved his fidelity to God, amidst the most embarrassing circumstances; and notwithstanding the corruption of manners and of religion with which they were encompassed; and it is by no means easy, without being placed in somewhat of a similar situation, to estimate, properly, the strength of principle, the heroic fortitude of character required to sustain, not only the outward attacks of adversaries, but the nameless and numberless efforts of a more insidious, more secret, and more constant kind, which, in such cases, are employed to shake fortitude and re-firigate zeal. The conduct both of Daniel and his three companions furnish a very fine specimen of religious firmness. It may be asked, indeed, whether, instead of incurring so much danger by their inflexibility, they might not have evaded the decrees which threatened their destruction: whether, for instance, Daniel could not have desisted for a month from the usual exercises of his religion, without any material departure from his principles; and whether life was not

too precious, and his influence too important, to be risked upon a mere scruple of conscience? Might he not have closed his windows, and have been more private in his devotions; or might he not have availed himself of some business of state, to have withdrawn into some remote and secluded part of the empire? It is true, this might have been done; and thousands, and tens of thousands, would have adopted such an expedient; but Daniel justly appreciated the entire circumstances of the case, and no sooner saw the consequences which would result from any thing like evasion or artifice, than he determined, at every hazard, to maintain his integrity, and do honour to his religion and his God. It was not an affair of trivial moment; it was no part of his character to sacrifice conscience to convenience or personal safety; and he plainly foresaw that such a conduct would be pleaded hereafter as a disparagement to religion; that evasion, in such circumstances, would in reality be tantamount to renunciation; and that he should be justly exposed to be censured as cowardly and hypocritical.

The true cause of his boldness must be traced to an origin which illustrates another very remarkable trait in his character. He was a man of *ardent devotion*, and, no question, the flame of his piety, vigorous as it was, and bright as it appeared, was kindled from above, and perpetually recruited from the altar of heaven. Nothing can be more interesting than his humility and unreserved intercourse with God, amidst the weighty cares of state, and in defiance of all the machinations of wickedness. That his sedulous attention to secret duties, prepared him for public action, is obvious, and worthy of imitation: for, whoever derives his support from the same quarter; whoever derives his means and motives to conflict from the same armoury, will, by consequence, be able to encounter similar difficulties, and come off victorious from the same field.

The book which passes under the name of Daniel, in the inspired record, was certainly of his composition, although some Jewish writers maintain that prophecies were never committed to writing out of the limits of Judea, and that the book in question was composed by men of the great synagogue. In many passages, however, he represents himself as the author, in the most express and unequivocal terms. This composition was admitted into the Hebrew canon as his, and its authenticity, as such, is confirmed by the references of the New Testament. (Comp. Mat. xxiv. 15. Mark xiii. 14.) Josephus, moreover, affirms, that Daniel himself committed his prophecies to writing. (Antiq. l. x. c. 22.)

The style of Daniel is not in general so remarkable for its poetical and figurative cast, as that of most of the other Jewish prophets, but possesses more of the simplicity and ease of historical narration; though the visions which he records are in themselves highly figurative and emblematical. The whole book comprises a detail of regular history and remarkable prophecy; and this intermixture gives it a very novel and interesting complexion. The first six chapters are principally historical, with the exception of the second chapter, which contains the interpretation of Nebuchadnezzar's prophetic dream, respecting the successive establishment and decay of the chief kingdoms of the world, till the introduction of that which was finally

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to obtain unrivalled power and universality. There is such an air of truth, and such a justness of colouring in the different accounts of the miraculous deliverance of Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed-nego, from the fiery furnace, to which they were consigned by the persecuting intolerance of Nebuchadnezzar; in the unhallowed and sacrilegious festivity of Belshazzar, with the awful consequences that ensued; in the story of Daniel's commitment and deliverance from the lions' den; and in all the minute details of these transactions, that the reader is transported to the very spot, and has his passions infallibly engaged in every scene. The alternations of terror and of delight agitate the bosom, while sentiments of the sublimest nature are incidentally communicated. It is, indeed, a tale of wonder, divested of all fictitious adornments; but a tale of great political and moral importance, and of most evident practical utility. The events of the sixth chapter belong to the time of Darius the Mede; in the seventh and eighth the reader is carried back to a previous period, namely, to the first three years of the reign of Belshazzar. The last six chapters consist of prophecies, which, though manifestly connected, were delivered at different times.

As a prophet, Daniel must be allowed a very high rank, whether we consider the magnitude and glory of the events themselves which he describes, or the explicit minuteness and exactitude of his delineations. "The prophecies of Daniel," observes Dr. Gray, "were in many instances so exactly accomplished, that those persons who would otherwise have been unable to resist the evidence which they furnished in support of our religion, have not scrupled to affirm that they must have been written subsequently to those occurrences which they so faithfully describe. But this groundless and unsupported assertion of Porphyry, who, in the third century, wrote against Christianity, serves but to establish the character of Daniel as a great and enlightened prophet; and Porphyry, by

confessing and proving from the best historians, that all which is included in the eleventh chapter of Daniel, relative to the kings of the north, and of the south, of Syria, and of Egypt, was truly, and in every particular, acted and done in the order there related, has undesignedly contributed to the reputation of those prophecies of which he attempted to destroy the authority; for it is contrary to all historical testimony, and contrary to all probability, to suppose that the Jews would have admitted into the canon of their sacred writ a book which contained pretended prophecies of what had already happened. And indeed it is impossible that these prophecies should have been written after the reign of Antiochus Epiphanes, since they were translated into Greek near a hundred years before the period in which he lived; and that translation was in the possession of the Egyptians, who entertained no kindness for the Jews, or their religion. Those prophecies also, which foretold the victories and dominion of Alexander (ch. viii. 5, xi. 3.) were shown to that conqueror himself by Jaddua, the high priest, as we learn from Josephus (lib. x. cap. 12. lib. xi. cap. 8.), and the Jews thereupon obtained an exemption from tribute every sabbatical year, and the free exercise of their laws. Many other prophecies in the book have likewise been fulfilled since the time of Porphyry.

"Daniel not only predicted future events with singular precision, but likewise accurately defined the time in which they should be fulfilled, as was remarkably exemplified in that illustrious prophecy of the seventy weeks, in which he prefixed the period for 'hinging in everlasting righteousness by the Messiah,' as well as in giving the mysterious predictions which probably mark out the time or duration of the power of Antichrist, and, as some suppose, for the commencement of the millenium, or universal reign of saints, which they conceive to be foretold; for the explanation of which we must wait the event."

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CHAPTER V.

O F E G Y P T.

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OUR views of the history of the world must be governed by the actual state of its annals; but unless we have most widely mistaken and mis-stated some of the greatest uses of history, they are not to be confined to those precincts. With the actual state of historical records it is the first duty of the historian to be acquainted; but the motive that he has to this duty will urge him beyond them in his final views. The philosopher must be a student of history, and the real historian must be a philosopher. History, as a mere collection of facts, may supply a correct outline of what man has been; but philosophy must add the light and shade, the colouring and the keeping of the picture, to show him what he ought to be; she must even afford us many views of our event, and show us every side of prominent characters and circumstances, or the facts themselves will fall from our remembrance, and the record at last become as neglected as it has been unprofitable. To the absence of such views of history in its votaries, we do not hesitate to attribute much of its present state of imperfect details. It was not addressed to the heart, and the passions of men were too much engrossed in the passing scene, to be by any mere process of intellect called away to the past. Hence arises our preference for biographical views of all history. They reach nearer the heart, and belong more to the whole man. We are not unaware, however, of the necessity of gathering up the fragments of history at intervals; and our materials must here be their own apology. We only aim to give in these interspersed chapters that which we cannot give biographically:—a connected view of kingdoms and states, as such; and of their relations to each other; topographical details; public manners and customs: public bodies and sentiments; and those facts in the general history of man which are only interesting in groups and multitudes.

When an inquiry is made after the origin of the most distinguished states, those which are acknowledged to be of very early date spring up into a competition for antiquity, with pretensions equally bold and equally uncertain; so that it becomes difficult to decide between their respective claims, while it is absolutely necessary to make an election among many rivals. Egypt, Phœnicia, Assyria, are alike prepared to assert their superiority on this ground; and all may be traced

to the sons of Noah as their progenitors, and to the plains of Shinar as the place whence they were dispersed into different regions. Phœnicia, identified with the Canaanites, claims to have descended from the younger son of Ham: Assyria, to be derived from Ashur; Babylon (although, for ages after Assyria flourished, comparatively unknown, and absorbed in that mightier monarchy), to be founded by Nimrod; and Egypt to originate with Ham himself; appealing to those ancient titles which connect her either with that personage or with his earliest descendants. In the mean while, it is obvious that the history of these several states, rivals to each other from the beginning, is necessarily intermingled; that their destinies are interwoven; that many of the most eminent events which have been respectively applied to them in later times, are, in fact, common property: and that the incidents which have been assigned to the parts with so little precision belonged only in truth to the whole. We must often transfer the same action from hero to hero, and from nation to nation, if we listen to the ancient writers of different countries; and the historian, who seeks after truth only, must be sometimes satisfied with the fact, and to record it with fidelity and simplicity, without undertaking absolutely to fix its period, or certainly to decide its application. In the earliest histories of all nations, we can easily trace fragments of the Mosaic records, and obtain satisfaction as to the important point that all nations have a common origin. To determine the priority of their several after-claims is not so easy a task; and it is rendered still more difficult by the alternate influence which each exercised over the other, as their respective physical powers increased or diminished, as well as by the common interests which linked them together in the earlier stages of their existence. Where it is impossible to settle the point, it may be more prudent not to enter at all into the controversy; and as it is allowed by all writers, ancient and modern, that Egypt has pretensions as fair to antiquity as any other nation which has laid claim to it; as also it is indisputable that she long bore the palm for science and philosophy, and became the receptacle into which their streams flowed from other countries, it is judged proper to follow the usual order of history, and to begin with this illustrious state.

Topographical description.

Egypt.

§ 1. *Topographical description of ancient Egypt.*

Egypt, as it was known to the ancients, was bounded on the north by the Mediterranean sea, on the south by Ethiopia, on the east by Arabia, and on the west by Libya. It derived its name either from Egyptus, one of its kings, or, more probably, from the *dark colour* of its soil and inhabitants, called by the Greeks *Ægyptios*. Its most ancient appellation, however, was derived from Misraim (the name by which it is most commonly called in the Scriptures), the son of Ham, and founder of the Egyptian monarchy. Chemi and Chemia are ancient Coptic names for this country, evidently derived from the same source, and corruptions of Ham. Egypt may be properly divided into three parts: Upper, Middle, and Lower Egypt. Thebes was the capital of Upper Egypt, and Memphis of Middle Egypt. Lower Egypt comprehended the Delta, so called from its triangular shape, which resembles the fourth letter of the Greek alphabet. Herodotus, in the *Enterpe*, says that the Delta was formed by the accumulation of earth washed down from the upper countries by the Nile.

Upper Egypt was also called Thebais, from its capital, which Homer, in his *Iliad*, mentions by the epithet *ἑκατοπόροσ*, "The hundred-gated" Thebes.* This description serves to distinguish it from the Thebes of Bactria. Several proofs of its former grandeur and magnificence still remain; and unvaried temples, palaces, and columns, vindicate the eulogies passed upon the Egyptian metropolis by Tacitus and Strabo.† It was reported by these writers that Thebes was able to send out two hundred chariots and 10,000 warriors at each of its hundred gates. The same authors mention the existence of a celebrated statue of Memnon, an Egyptian king, in this city, respecting which the accounts vary too much to inspire any confidence in the vocal power ascribed to it, and yet are too numerous, and were too generally received, not to demand some attention. He was the fabled son of Aurora, and it is said, that at sun-rising and sun-set, certain sounds issued from the statue, and even from the pedestal, after the destruction of the statue itself. These have been described as cheerful and harmonious upon the appearance, and as plaintive upon the setting of the sun. Others, again, have spoken of the sound as sharp and sudden, like the breaking of the string of a harp, from too great tension. Strabo, who declares himself to have heard it, at the same time confesses that he was unable to distinguish whether the sound proceeded from the pedestal of the statue, or from the people who surrounded it; but hints his suspicions of the latter. Many ingenious philosophical solutions of this phenomenon, on the supposition of its reality, have been attempted. Those who reason upon the description of it, as a sharp and sudden sound emitted from the statue, suppose it to have been constructed of some kind of sonorous stone, capable of being expanded or contracted by the rarefaction of the air, or the general temperature of the morning and evening. Others, who receive the more enlarged account of its varied tones, have conjectured that some strings, easily affected by heat or cold, might be concealed within the statue, which

the warmth of the morning might brace, and that the breeze which usually accompanies the rising and setting of the sun might have access through some small and artfully-contrived apertures, acting upon these strings as upon an Eolian harp. But if the fact be conceded, there seems to be no good reason why we may not suppose that the sound was conveyed to the statue, or its pedestal, through concealed pipes, from some vault or cavern, which may long since have been filled up, so that the notes would appear to come from the statue itself; since we know that such contrivances were common to the several oracles of Greece subsequently. Cambyzes, after the conquest of Egypt, dismantled this statue; but its remains, from their grandeur and beauty, have delighted and astonished modern travellers. The Thebaid does not seem to have been so populous as the Delta; but there is no doubt that Upper Egypt was first peopled, as the Delta must necessarily have been a swamp, until it was drained by canals, constructed to carry off the water.

Memphis was the capital of Middle Egypt, or Heptanomis, so called from its containing seven districts. It was built upon the west bank of the Nile, a little above the Delta, and was famous for a temple dedicated to the god Apis, who was worshipped with costly ceremonies by the Memphians. Where this celebrated city stood is not accurately known; the ruins of its ancient splendour were conveyed to Alexandria, to adorn the rising capital of the conqueror after whom it was named. The pyramids and the lake of Maria were in the vicinity of Memphis.

The erection of the pyramids alone would go far to prove that Egypt was the mother of the arts and sciences; for no nation has as yet been able either to surpass or rival them. Of these wonderful structures it may indeed be said, "their grandeur awes, their beauty wins the soul;" and their origin and purpose have been the endless theme of antiquarians and historians. Some suppose that they were built by the Israelites, others by the native Egyptians, as sepulchres for their deceased monarchs. That the Israelites constructed them is a conjecture scarcely to be reconciled with the testimony of Moses, who distinctly affirms that their principal service consisted of making bricks—the bricks of the age, and such as those of which Babylon was constructed, clay mixed with straw, and hardened in the sun: and it seems natural to conclude that the works also which they were expressly said to have erected were formed of these materials; but the pyramids are uniformly built of stone. That they were sepulchres is by no means evident; that is, sepulchres exclusively, and in the sense in which we understand the term. Antiquity gave other and more important significations to the word; and a tomb implied not only a receptacle for the dead, but a temple for the deity. In this double and united sense is the term ΤΥΜΒΗ used by Lycophron; whence came the *tumulus* of Virgil and the Romans, and the *tomb* of our own native tongue. The most ancient tombs were conical heaps of earth, or accumulations of stones. Hence appears to have originated the shape of the pyramids: they are artificial *tumuli*, in imitation of the ancient sepulchral mounds of earth. But tombs were also temples; and even supposing them to have been ever intended as sepulchres (which, nevertheless, is an

* *HOM. IL. II. v. 313.* † *TACIT. ANN. I. II. c. 60.* *STRABO, I. IV. c.*

EGYPT.

The Pyramids.

admission not quite consistent with the general practice of the Egyptians in regard to sepulture), it will by no means follow that they were not also intended for a higher and a nobler purpose, since the respect paid to the dead, and the homage due to the divinity, were so frequently commingled. While no vestiges that distinctly mark the pyramids to have been ever employed as sepulchres remain, or were ever found to assist the earliest inquiries of historians, there are apartments of different kinds, which might well become a temple constructed to suit the dark, solemn, mysterious, and secret superstitions of the Egyptians. This conjecture seems to be further confirmed by the subterraneous passages attached to some of them, and their connection with stupendous chambers, extending in length 1,400 feet, in depth 30, cut out of the solid rock in the vicinity, and formed with infinite labour; circumstances which, together with the well in the principal pyramid, are unaccountable on the supposition of their being sepulchres merely, but seem well to accord with the conclusion that they were temples. We may then look for the preference given to the conical form of the pyramids, of the tower of Babylon, and others of the most ancient monuments, in the oldest species of idolatry, the worship of fire, and find the resemblance between the pointed sanctuary and the spiral shape of flame. Accordingly temples of this form, and consecrated to fire, are to be found among the Persians, and even among the Mexicans of the New World. In these stupendous structures we may also see the taste and genius of the remote ages in which they were reared; and on monuments which yet exist, approaching them the nearest in antiquity, we find uniformly the same characters of magnitude and strength impressed. In the plains of our own country, the wonderful remains of Stonehenge bear a testimony to the bold and stern conceptions which found the fittest temples for the Deity not in the graceful and ornamented fane, but in the accumulation of one massive stone upon another; piling the fragments of his own creation into a monument to his honour; or shaping a sanctuary more mighty than human hands could rear, in the bosom of the eternal rocks and mountains with which he diversifies the face of nature. The pyramids were spoken of by the Greeks as the works of the giants; possibly the shepherd kings of Egypt, of whom so little is known. These structures are twenty in number; but three, more eminent than the rest, have been considered as among the seven wonders of the world. A description of the largest of the three will amply suffice to give an accurate idea of the whole. This pyramid was built upon a rock, with a square base, and cut on the outside like steps, gradually decreasing towards the summit. The stones are of an immense magnitude, many of them thirty feet, cubically, and covered with hieroglyphics. According to Herodotus, Diodorus Siculus, and Pliny, each side of the pyramid, when seen at its full height, was eight hundred feet broad, and of the same length in ascent. The summit was a platform, about eighteen feet square, composed of ten or twelve large stones; but it seemed the apex of a cone to those who viewed it from below. It is supposed that 100,000 men were constantly employed in rearing this work. Ten years are said to have been consumed in hewing out the stones from the quarries of Ethiopia, and twenty years more in completing the building. This pyramid

alone cost the enormous sum of about 200,000 *ster-* *Topograp-*
lings. But great indistinctness arises in the history of *physical de-*
these stupendous erections, while doubts must remain *scription.*
so connected is the human workmanship with the rock, whether the greater part is not the work of nature, shaped and concentrated by art. Mr. Bryant concludes, that this is at least the case with those opposite Cairo: that they were probably immense rocks, which stood upon the brow of the mountain, cased over with stones, and thus brought into symmetry and proportion. He infers it further from the internal passages, which seem rather to be shaped by necessity than choice. Without implicitly adopting this opinion, too important, however, to be overlooked, and considering the pyramids as the mighty efforts of human genius, it would seem that some historians have been too hastily severe in their remarks upon those Egyptian kings who reared these imperishable fabrics; for, in addition to the considerations already suggested, candour surely would conclude, that they were built, not from ostentation, but for the encouragement of the arts and sciences and from the laudable ambition of showing to posterity the progress made in astronomy and architecture by the Egyptians. Pliny, conscious that Rome could not produce such buildings, and that she was even indebted to Egypt for her obelisks, calls them "*Regum pecuniarum ac stultitiae ostentatio*:" "an idle waste of money, and a silly piece of royal ostentation." These very obelisks, rearing their graceful forms in a foreign land, and covered with hieroglyphics, proclaimed their origin, and were lasting memorials of the summit of excellence which Egyptian architecture had so early reached. On this subject Bryant's Ancient Mythology, Clarke's Travels, Maurice's Indian Antiquities, Rich's Ruins of Babylon, with Maurice's Remarks and Continuation of the subject, may be consulted with advantage. See also PYRAMIDS, in our Miscellaneous Division, where the modern accounts of them are compared.

The sphynxes are other stupendous monuments of the skill and perseverance of this people. The largest and most admired of these, like the pyramids, seems partly the work of nature, and partly that of art, being cut out of a solid rock. The larger portion, however, of the entire fabric, is covered with the sands of the desert, which time has so accumulated around these master-pieces of other days, that the pyramids themselves have lost much of their elevation. The number of sphynxes found in Egypt, besides their shape, seems to countenance the oldest and most commonly-received opinion, that they refer to the rise and overflow of the Nile, which lasted during the passage of the sun through the constellations Leo and Virgo; both these signs are therefore combined in the figure, which has the head of a virgin and the body of a lion. The largest sphynx was imagined also, as Pliny affirms, though with what reason does not appear, to have been the sepulchre of King Amasis. It having, however, been considered that time must have effected revolutions in respect of the signs themselves, of which these structures were supposed to be symbols, as it regards the rising of the river and the order of the months, it has been more recently concluded, that the sphynxes were mysterious symbols of a religious character, not now to be unravelled.

The lake of Menis derives its appellation from the

Egypt.
The lake of
Meris.

The Nile.

monarch of that name, by whom it was formed. According to Pomponius Mela it was from seven to eight leagues in circumference, and communicated with the Nile by means of a canal four leagues long and fifty feet broad. Herodotus says it was about seventy-leagues in circuit. Sluices opened and shut the canal and lake at pleasure. This lake was excavated for two reasons: first, if the Nile rose too high, the sluices were thrown open, and received the waters of that river. By this plan the lands were relieved of the superfluous water, which became a reservoir against a time of deficiency; when it was supplied to the grounds from the lake by means of drains. Strabo says that in this manner Egypt was preserved in a state of plenty even when the Nile did not rise more than twelve cubits.

This extraordinary and celebrated river, after running from south to north about 200 leagues, empties itself, by seven mouths, into the Mediterranean. It is the largest stream in Egypt, and, by its overflowing, contributes to that wonderful fertility for which this country has been ever distinguished. It is well known that Egypt was considered by the Romans as the granary of Europe; and from its produce, and that of Sicily, they derived much of their corn; hence the poet says, "*quidquid de Libya terrarum areis*."

The ancients never discovered the source of the Nile, and the expression "*querere caput Nili*," became a common proverb at Rome, to signify a difficult or impossible undertaking. Princes and states fitted out large armaments to discover its source, but in vain. Modern travellers have been more successful; for, according to Father Lobo and Mr. Bruce, the Nile takes its rise in Abyssinia; and the latter traveller hung with rapture over its fountains. Herodotus, in the *Euterpe*, vainly attempts to explain the cause of the inundations of this river. It is now generally admitted, that the overflowing of the Nile arises from the heavy rains which fall in Ethiopia, through which country this river takes its course, while Egypt itself has little or no rain. According to Herodotus, these periodical inundations commence about the end of June, and continue until the end of September; they then gradually decrease. The height of the inundation is estimated by Pliny at sixteen cubits; but it sometimes rose only twelve cubits, at other times more than sixteen. The day on which this event took place was always considered by the Egyptians as auspicious; and the overflowing of the river diffused joy and gladness through out the whole community. The Emperor Julian, in common with the Egyptians, considered the god Serapis as the cause of this phenomenon.

Virgil thus mentions the Nile in *Æneid*, l. vi. v. 800:

Et septem gemis turbant trepidi ora Nili.

The seven mouths of the troubling Nile are disturbed.

The same fact describes the river in *Jen*. l. ix. 31.

Ant' pinger flumine Nilus.

Com' result canals, et jam se condidit alveo.

The Nile, when it has flowed back from the fields with its fertilizing stream, and now has buried itself in its own channel.

Dionysius Periegetes, speaking of the Nile, says,

Theri stratos torquas vultu Argæum.

Fertilizing the delightful land of Egypt with its stream.

Our stratosque torques vultu Argæum. *Echy. Prom.* 838.

As much land as the broad-flowing Nile waters.

Again, in the *Persæ*,

Altho' I's pater non vultu Argæum Nilus irrigat.

v. 33. And others whom the mighty and much nourishing Nile had sent.

The river Nile was an object of worship amongst the ancient Egyptians; hence *Æschylus* says, in his *Suppl.*

Topographical description.

Μὴ γὰρ Νίλου σπονδὰς ἀνέχου σπονδῶν. 1037.

We shall no more worship the mouths of the Nile with hymns.

Upon the banks of this fertile river grew the papyrus, a kind of reed, from the flag of which paper was afterwards made. Lucan calls this plant byblus.

Nondum byblusina Memphis contemere byblus

Noverat.

Memphis did not yet know how to fashion the watery byblus. 10.

The Delta, or Lower Egypt, may be regarded as a kind of island; it commences at the Pelusian and Canopic mouths of the Nile, and extends upwards nearly as far as the supposed site of Memphis. Its chief cities anciently were Heliopolis, Sais, Canopus, and Pelusium; and, in more modern times, Alexandria. Heliopolis, which, from its Greek name, signifies the "city of the sun," was famous for a temple dedicated to that luminary. Alexandria, as is well known, was built by Alexander the Great, and called after that conqueror. It was long the principal mart for all the trade of the east; and its merchants might be termed the carriers of the world. The Ptolemies made it the seat of empire; and by their encouragement of the arts and sciences, and the facilities which the Lagides held out to commerce, this became the commercial capital of the world. It flourished during several centuries, and, monopolized the trade of all nations; but the discovery of the Cape of Good Hope was a death-blow to its prosperity. See ALEXANDRIA.

The Pharos was a famous light-house, built by Ptolemy Philadelphus, in an island called Pharos, near the harbour of Alexandria. Like the pyramids, it was numbered among the seven wonders of the world. The estimation in which it was held may be concluded from the circumstance that every structure of a similar description has been named after it, a "Pharos." Pliny mentions Sostrates as the architect who built this beacon.

Luxury and voluptuousness were predominant in the wealthy capital of Ancient Egypt, and were the natural consequences of its excessive riches. Quintilian talks of the "*Alexandrinæ deficiæ*," and Horace's line, "*Non curis contrahit adire Corinthum*," might have been well applied to this noble city. Learning, however, flourished there considerably; and was particularly favoured by Ptolemy Soter, and his son Ptolemy Philadelphus.

Egypt, from the account which Strabo gives, does not appear to have been known to the ancients higher up than the city of Elephantine. This was the frontier town between Egypt and Ethiopia; and, according to Tacitus, in his *Annals*, was the boundary of the Roman empire in this direction: "*claustra olim Romani imperii*," "forming the limits of the Roman power." The cataracts, which are situated above Elephantine, must have formed an invincible barrier against Grecian or Roman enterprise; and we are not surprised to find, from these difficulties being exaggerated by Cicero, Seneca, and Lucan, that the ancients considered it useless to attempt to penetrate further into the country. Indeed it is but very lately that Nubia, the Ethiopia of the ancients, was at all known to the moderns; but the labours of Pococke, Norden, Denon, and Leigh, have made us better acquainted with this interesting region. We refer those who have any desire to know

Egypt the real facts respecting the catarnets of the Nile, and the present condition of Nubia, to the works of these accomplished travellers.

§ II. *Learning, religion, and polity of the Egyptians.*

Learning, &c. of the Egyptians.

We have the testimony of all antiquity that the Egyptians, in the earlier stages of society, accumulated, if they did not originate, all the learning of the ancient world; and that this was the source whence the rest of mankind long derived their knowledge of the arts and sciences. She excelled, as a school both of politics and philosophy, all the existing kingdoms of the earth; and so conscious were the ancients of her superiority in learning, arts, sciences, and general civilization, that most of the illustrious men of other countries visited Egypt, either with a view of comparing her institutions with those of their respective states, or of acquiring new information. It was here that Homer gathered materials for song; and, having refused and expanded his sublime genius with Egyptian lore, produced his immortal poems. Here Solon and Lycurgus found the archetypes of their celebrated laws, the chief excellencies of which are borrowed from the Egyptian polity. Pythagoras drew hence the principal tenets of his philosophy; and the doctrine of the Metempsychosis, or the transmigration of souls, was confessedly of the same origin. Here Plato, too, imbibed that religious mysticism, those beautiful illusions, and those elegant, but fanciful theories which characterize his works; and he was, probably, indebted to the priests of Memphis and Thebes for the knowledge which he displays of the Deity, in his Phædon and Alcibiades, which, although obscure, is far superior to the vulgar conceptions of his age. Greece was indebted to Egypt, not merely for letters, but for the mysteries of religion. The Ammon of the Egyptians, the Baal of the Assyrians, and the Zevæ of the Greeks, are undoubtedly that Jupiter who was worshipped in common by the three nations, although under different names. The Grecians derived their Mercury, or Hermes, from Egypt, who was there adored by the name of Thaut.

Pythagoras derived his notions of the nature of the gods from Egypt, and was initiated by the Egyptian priests into the mysteries of their religion. The Eleusinian festivals in honour of Ceres may be traced to the same origin, as is evident from the resemblance between Ceres and the Isis of the Egyptians, and from the fact, that Erectheus, king of Athens, who founded the mysteries, was himself of Egyptian extraction. Herodotus says that the Greeks borrowed their *Dii Majores* from the Egyptians: his words are, *ἡμετέρας τε θεῶν ἐκωνόμας ἀλλήνους πρότερον Αἰγυπτίους νομοῦσι καὶ ἑλληνες σπουδὴν ἀναλαμβάνει*. It might, perhaps, appear, if this interesting and difficult subject were traced further, that Egypt herself was indebted to remoter ages, and to other countries, which were favoured with the genuine inspirations of heaven, for her literature and philosophy; but she deserves, at least, the credit of having been the repository of ancient knowledge, whence Greece, and, after her, Rome, and indeed the world at large, derived their information and their science. The polity of the Egyptians was equal to their skill in the arts and sciences. The form of government was monarchical, and the succession to the throne hereditary. But the princes of Egypt were not absolute monarchs,

being bound by the existing ordinances and laws of the country. The government was in fact a limited one; and we must admire the wisdom and political sagacity of a people whose kings were parents and *πομπαιεταὶ λαοῦ*, shepherds of the people, rather than tyrants and despots; nor is it possible to contemplate such a form of government in an age so early, without tracing it to that patriarchal system whence all legitimate authority arose.

*The super-
stition of
the Egypt-
ians.*

It is lamentable, however, to think that a people so wise in their politics, so conversant with the arts and sciences, and so profound in their general knowledge, should have been so grossly superstitious, as to expose themselves to the ridicule of nations greatly their inferiors in universal intelligence, and should have cherished the meanest and most degrading conceptions of the Deity. They not only worshipped him under the names of Isis, Osiris, and Apis, symbols which had not lost all traces of their philosophical origin, but they made a cat, a dog, or a stork, an object of adoration, and admitted into the list of their gods the very herbs of their gardens. Superstition is always intolerant and cruel; while it debases the understanding, it hardens the heart. Those who imagined they found symbols of the Divinity in an onion, perceived not his image in a fellow-creature; and would, when a difference in religious faith gave them a pretext, not only put the offender to death, but afterwards feed upon the flesh. To this barbarous custom of a nation which arrogated to itself all the wisdom and learning of the world, the Roman satirist indignantly refers:

*Porcum et capra nefas violare, et frangere morem.
O! sanctas gentes, quibus hoc inscruerit in horis
Nemini!*

Caribibus humanis vossi licet.

Juv. Sat. xv. v. 9.

*'Tis mortal sin an onion to devour,
Each clove of garlic is a sacred power,
Religion's nature pure, and blest shades,
Where every orchard is o'er-run with gods!*

—Man's flesh is lawful meat.

Dryden's Juv.

And again in the same satire, v. 77.

*Labitur hinc quidam, nimis formidine cursum
Precipitans, capiteoque : sat illium in plurima secum
Frusta et particulas, ut multis mortuus unus
Subfoecet, totum convulsis oculibus edit
Vicia verba.*

*An Oodile wretch (by headlong haste betray'd,
And falling down I'di' root) in prisoner made;
Whose flesh torn off by lumps the carious foe
In morsels cut, to make it further go;
His bones clean pick'd, his very bones they gnaw,
No stomach's bulk'd it, because the corpse is raw.*

Dryden's Juv.

If Egypt, renowned, revered, and unvisited Egypt, was thus ignorant, we may well admit the plain fact asserted in Sacred Writ, that "the world by wisdom knew not God." Let infidels refer to facts, and take a short survey of the cruel, obscene, and unwholesome rites of paganism, from its earliest exercise in Egypt; let them dispassionately consider the revolting superstitions, the religious quarrels, and the nameless atrocities of the pagan world, and the contrast presented by the religion they malign must strike even them; and neither will the alleged intolerance of Christians, or their differences in minor points of faith, be longer adduced as a fair argument for the utter disbelief of a divine revelation.

The Egyptians claimed the invention of letters, and

Egypt. assigned the first introduction of them to their *Hermes*, or *Mercury*. According to Pliny, who takes his data from Anticletes, a Greek historian whose works are lost, letters were first discovered by Memnon, king of Ethiopia and Egypt, a. c. 1822; and first introduced into Greece by Cadmus, who, though a Phœnician by birth, was the son of an Egyptian. It would indeed have been extraordinary, if Egypt, so renowned for her skill in astronomy, geometry, and all the arts of life, had not been among the first to find the means of embodying her knowledge in visible symbols.

Language The ablest scholars have generally and successfully contended that the characters introduced by Cadmus into Greece resembled the Hebrew; and it is indisputable that the children of Israel dwelt in Egypt about the time specified. To what degree, therefore, the Egyptians borrowed the Hebrew letters, or the Hebrews the Egyptian, must remain uncertain, but it is not improbable that these letters formed the common written language of the country. The hieroglyphics, which were the symbols of Ethiopia, may be considered as the sacred language of Egypt, and were used by the priests for the preservation of their historical information and mythological speculations. However this may be, it is, on the other hand, very certain that no literary works of the ancient Egyptians have come down to us; they have given us no poetry, history, or philosophy. It appears also remarkable, that Herodotus, who visited Egypt to obtain materials for his history, does not mention any ancient works composed in the language of the country. The historian, during his stay in Egypt, seems merely to have heard the traditional stories of the priests. His own expressions, in the beginning of the *Euterpe*, are, *Ἡρώδης δὲ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι τὴν Μῆρην, ὁδὸν τε λόγους, &c. &c. οὐδὲν ὁμολογεῖσθαι οὐκ οἶον*. He never tells us that he examined any historical annals or records of the ancient people of Egypt. This singular circumstance can scarcely be accounted for, except on the supposition of their having concealed their historical and religious documents under these hieroglyphical symbols, a conduct to which they might have been incited either by a superstitious idea of their sanctity, or a desire to keep the exclusive enjoyment of their literary treasures, and to prevent all inquiry into their high pretensions to a long duration.

Comparison. An interesting question arises respecting the complexion of the ancient Egyptians, but at this distance of time it is impossible to decide accurately whether they were negroes, or resembled in complexion its present Coptic inhabitants. Herodotus expressly calls them *Μελανόχροι καὶ ὀλτοχρόι*, "having black skins and curly hair." The historian, in another passage, informs us, that he infers the Egyptian origin of the priestess who founded the oracle at Dodona, from the circumstance of her being represented as a black dove. *Μελανόχρως δὲ λεγούσης αὐτὴν πτελομένην, εἰρηνομένην αὐτὴν Ἀργεῖαν αἰ γυνὴν ἦν*. "And saying that the dove was black, they signify by this that the woman was an Egyptian." We may also add, that the word *τελευται*, which, in common Hellenic, signified "dove," also meant, in the barbarous dialect of Epirus, where Dodona was situated, "old women." *Æschylus*, also, in his *æschylus*, recording the expedition of Danaus from Egypt into Greece, describes the Egyptian mariners, and applies to them the expression *μελανόχροις γυναικί*, "having

black limbs." To this it may be added, that Memnon, who fought at the Trojan war, was king of Ethiopia or Egypt, or perhaps both; his capital was Thebes, in the latter country; and as a temple and statue were erected to him in that city, it would seem, from the gratitude of his subjects, that he was one of the active princes of Egypt. Be this as it may, it is well known how often Egypt and Ethiopia are commingled, and even confounded by historians both sacred and profane; and when we recollect, at the same time, that both countries were immediately adjacent, we may fairly conclude that they must have been very similar in their physical appearance. Virgil speaks of

— *fulgi Memnonia arma*; *Æn. l. 469.*

"the arms of the black Memnon." Dryden carelessly translates it, "the swarthy Memnon," not perceiving the difference between "fuscus" and "niger." But the Latin poet knew there was a distinction, and his expression in the tenth *Eclouge* v. 38, proves it: "si fuscus Amyntas," "if the brown Amyntas." Virgil, speaking of Ethiopia, *Ecl. x. 68*, says,

Æthiopum versum oves sub sidere Cauri;

— *We keep*
On *Merics* bounding past the Lybian sheep; *Dryden.*

which demonstrates that it was situated under the torrid zone. It is obvious that the Greek word *Αἰθιοπία* meant "persons with black faces;" and that the skin of the Ethiopians, or, perhaps, Egyptians, was dark even to a proverb.

So well known was the complexion of the Ethiopians, or Egyptians, to be of a dark colour, that all nations possessing this tincture of skin were called by the ancients Ethiopians. Thus Juvenal:

Loricæm rectis ostendit, Æthiopum alio.

Sat. ii. v. 83.

The straight-lined man laughs at the crooked one, the fair-complexioned person at the Ethiopian.

We should not thus have detained the reader on the subject of the Egyptian complexion, but that it has scarcely, if ever, been touched upon by modern historians. It is not improbable that the negroes and slaves of modern Africa are the descendants of the ancient people of Ethiopia, considered from the times of the Romans as a degraded and inferior race. Juvenal, *Sat. i. 130*,

— *Inter quos cunctos habere*
Nescio quin Utibus Ægyptiis atque Arabæstibus.

Among whom an obscure Egyptian slave and Arabæstian durst to put in his claim.

§ III. Miscellaneous history of Egypt.

In our "Introductory Chapter," we gave an account of the Egyptian kings down to Proteus, who, according to Herodotus, was king of Memphis, and flourished a. c. 1204. That historian, in his *Euterpe*, says, that this monarch detained Helen in his hands during the siege of Troy. But in this statement he is at variance with Homer, who introduces Helen, in the *Iliad*, no less than three different times, as being present at Troy. Herodotus seems to have taken the story from the priests of Memphis. Rhampsinitus was the successor of Proteus, and Cheops and Gephren were the successors of Rhampsinitus. They were the joint sovereigns of Egypt, and to them is assigned, by Herodotus, the erection of the pyramids: they were

From
A. M.
2800.
B. C.
1204.
to
A. M.
3701.
B. C.
303.

Egypt.

From
A. M.
2800.
—
B. C.
1204.
to
A. M.
3701.
—
B. C.
303.

noted for their cruelty and impiety. Mycerinus succeeded his father Cheops, and Asychis filled the throne after him. Supposing the six preceding reigns to contain one hundred and seventy years, there remains an hiatus of about three hundred years, until the reign of Sabachus; a deficiency which is supplied by the Old Testament. A Pharaoh reigned about b.c. 1013, who married his daughter to Solomon, king of Israel. Sennach succeeded a.c. 978; was the protector of Jeroboam, and in the reign of Rehoboam invaded the kingdom of Judah, and despoiled the temple. Zerah reigned n.c. 941; he was the prince who warred unsuccessfully against Asa, king of Judah. Anysis succeeded him, but was deposed by Sabachus, king of Ethiopia, n.c. 725; he reigned fifty years. Upon his voluntary retirement, Anysis again recovered his throne. Sethos, reigned fourteen years, a.c. 719; he undertook to raise the siege of Jerusalem, but was unsuccessful; and Thiarac, king of Ethiopia, ascended the throne of Egypt upon the death of Sethos, n.c. 705. At the decease of this monarch, an interregnum of two years took place; but at last twelve nobles seized upon the regal power, n.c. 685, and divided the kingdom among them. These twelve kings lived in concord until the expulsion of Psammethichus, one of their number.

This prince, with the assistance of some Grecian soldiery, gave battle to the eleven kings, defeated them, and obtained possession of all Egypt, a.c. 670. He undertook an expedition against Palestine; and, according to Herodotus, was stopped before Azotus. The siege of this place lasted twenty-nine years. Herodotus informs us, that it was Psammethichus, who, desirous of discovering which nation was the most ancient, made the strange experiment of placing two infants under the care of a shepherd, who was not allowed to utter a word in their presence. At the expiration of two years, it is said that both the children cried out *brece*, the Phœnician word for "bread." The Egyptians, in consequence, conceded the priority to the people of Phœnicia.

Necho, the Pharaoh-necho of the Scriptures, succeeded his father Psammethichus a.c. 616. This prince successfully made war against the Babylonians; he also defeated Josiah, king of Judah, and imposed a tribute upon that country. He was succeeded by his son Psammis, a.c. 600, who reigned six years. Apries, the Pharaoh-hophra of the Bible, now mounted the throne, which he held about twenty-five years. He attempted, but in vain, to raise the siege of Jerusalem, which Nebuchadnezzar had invested, but was dethroned by his people, and Amasis, his general, who was a Naite by birth, was elected in his stead, n.c. 589. He swayed the sceptre forty years, and during his reign Pythagoras visited Egypt.

Psammethichus succeeded his father Amasis, n.c. 525; and during his sovereignty Egypt first became subject to the Persian power, under the invasion of Cambyses. Herodotus, in the *Thalia*, describes this monarch as marching into Egypt, after the death of Amasis, when he totally routed Psammethichus's army, and pursued him to Memphis, which he besieged and carried. Psammethichus was taken prisoner, and honour-

ably treated by Cambyses, who even allowed him a considerable pension, until he discovered that he had entered into a conspiracy against him; when the Persian monarch secured himself by putting his formidable captive to death. With this prince terminated the line of the ancient Egyptian kings, and the whole country unresistingly submitted to the Persians. The history of Egypt is now merged in that of the Persians, until a fresh dynasty sprang up from the Macedonian conquests. Egypt, having become a province of the Persian empire, and, in fact, incorporated with that power, sunk into oblivion until the year n.c. 460, when, aided by the Athenians, she attempted to shake off the Persian yoke, and, revolting from Artaxerxes, chose Inarus, prince of Libya, for her king. The Egyptians, although powerfully supported by the Athenian fleet, were unsuccessful in this struggle. Inarus was defeated by Megabyzus, the Persian, taken prisoner, and afterwards put to death by Artaxerxes. The Athenians shared deeply the calamity; their fleet was destroyed, and they were compelled to surrender to the Persians. This war, according to Thucydides, lasted six years. The submission of the Egyptians, however, was neither cordial nor permanent. They again revolted, during the reign of Darius Notius, a.c. 414, chose Amyrteus for their king, who reigned about six years, and drove the Persians from the realm. It appears from a passage of Herodotus, that the Persians had recovered their usual authority over the Egyptians, since it was said to be by their express permission that Pausias, the son of Amyrteus, ascended the throne. This country, however, seems to have maintained some shadow of independence from a.c. 407, the date of Pausias's succession, to a.c. 361, when Nectanebus, king of Egypt, affected to be entirely his own master. Ochoas, the Persian monarch, determined, however, to regain possession of the country, marched a great army into Egypt, and utterly overthrew Nectanebus, who retired into Ethiopia; the country, from that time, has always been subjected to the yoke of foreigners.

The Persians remained undisturbed possessors of Egypt after this conquest, until Alexander the Great invaded that country, a.c. 331. So great was the hatred which the Egyptians bore to the Persians, that they immediately received the Macedonian conqueror with open arms, and hailed him as their deliverer. Memphis surrendered to him without resistance. Alexander, before he left Egypt, laid the foundation of Alexandria, the future capital of the kingdom; and Egypt was thenceforward a part of the great Macedonian empire. After the decease of this monarch, his conquests were divided amongst his generals, and Egypt fell to the lot of Ptolemy, the son of Lagus. This prince, surnamed Soter, or the preserver, who became ruler of Egypt, a.c. 323, did not take the title of king until eighteen years afterwards, a.c. 305, as fixed by Ptolemy, the famous astronomer; and was engaged in many wars with Alexander's successors, in which the issue was various. He compelled Demetrius to raise the siege of Rhodes, a.c. 303; and, on that occasion, was complimented by the Rhodians with the title of *Sourys*.

Miscellaneous history.

From
A. M.
2800.
—
B. C.
1204.
to
A. M.
3701.
—
B. C.
303.

Egypt conquered by the Persians.

The Ptolemies.

HISTORY.

CHAPTER VI.

ASSYRIA, PHÆNICIA, SIDON, AND TYRE.

§ I. Of Assyria.

Assyria, &c.

Assyria, properly so called, deriving its name from Assur, the son of Shem, was situated upon the eastern bank of the Tigris. It was bounded on the north by Armenia, on the south by Susiana, on the east by Media, and on the west by the Tigris, on which stood its capital, Nineveh. This city was founded, or rather completed, by Ninus, from whom it took its name. Babylon, the other great metropolitan city of the Assyrian empire, was situate upon the Euphrates, which flowed through it. Nimrod, or Belus, who encompassed the place where Babel stood with walls, is thus supposed to have originated that memorable city about *a. c.* 2204. Semiramis is regarded by the Greek historians as having founded Babylon; but it has been already shown, that she only adorned and enlarged it. This city may be considered as the capital of the ancient Assyrian empire, afterwards transferred to Nineveh, when Babylon dwindled into a province of that empire. From the account given of Nimrod, in the book of Genesis, we are justified in concluding that he was the founder of the first Assyrian monarchy. This empire contained within its limits Assyria, Chaldaea, or Babylonia, and Media. Its duration, according to Herodotus (who is followed by Archbishop Usher), was only five hundred and twenty years, when it was overthrown by the Medes. Ctesias, Diodorus Siculus, Trogus Pompeius, as abridged by Justin, together with most modern authors, assert that it existed near 1,450 years from Nimrod, its founder, down to Sardanapalus. It was doubtless the most ancient, perhaps the most powerful monarchy in the world; but the profane authors, in attributing the foundation of this monarchy to Ninus, confound him and his exploits with his father Nimrod.

Nimrod founder of the Assyrian empire.

Assyria was remarkable for its fertility, which is even compared by Herodotus with the fecundity of Egypt. Spoking of Babylon, in his Clio, he states that it was situated in a plain noted for the richness of its soil. Although, while the Assyrian monarchy remained entire, the seat of government was Nineveh; and it was not until it became divided, that the ascendancy of the Babylonian power transferred it to the capital bearing that name; yet the latter is, on many accounts, so important as to demand priority of attention. We have

accordingly described it already, under the article *Assyria*. SEMIRAMIS, by a minute detail of such particulars as may be gathered with any certainty respecting it, and may, therefore, pass on to the consideration of its once distinguished rival, Nineveh.

Nineveh, according to Diodorus Siculus, was the most magnificent and largest city in the world. We must, however, suspect him of exaggeration, when he gravely asserts, that it was one hundred and fifty stadia in length, ninety in breadth, and four hundred and eighty in circumference. We are inclined to doubt the ancient historian's accuracy the more, because he fixes the site of Nineveh upon the Euphrates, whereas it stood upon the eastern bank of the Tigris. It appears, however, that the walls of this city were a hundred feet high, and so thick that three chariots could easily drive abreast upon them; and that they were fortified with 1,500 towers two hundred feet high; which are, perhaps, the only particulars upon which any reliance can be placed. To Nimrod is also attributed, by the sacred historian, the foundation of this early branch of the Assyrian empire. He was the son of Chush, and is called in the Scriptures "a mighty hunter before the Lord;" by which is generally understood an enterprising conqueror. It is further said, according to the better reading of the margin of our Bibles, that he went into Assyria, and took possession of that country; from which it is universally concluded that he was the founder of the Assyrian empire. Upon the same authority, he is disjunctly stated to be the builder of Nineveh, which city his son Ninus probably finished; and the class of his achievements may be easily inferred, when, with those specified works, so brief but accurate a record says of him, "he began to be a mighty one in the earth." Ninus succeeded his father Nimrod, and, according to Diodorus, marched with a numerous army against the Bactrians. In this war he would have been unsuccessful, but for the advice of the famous Semiramis, whom he afterwards married. Ninus was the fruit of this marriage. Semiramis ascended the throne, after the death of Ninus, and is said to have adorned and enlarged Babylon beyond all former precedent, and to have caused the erection of those edifices which rendered it the most magnificent city in the world. Ninus succeeded her: after whose

From
A. M.
1800.
—
B. C.
2204.
—
to
A. M.
3679.
—
B. C.
332.

Nineveh its capital.

Assyria, &c.

From
A. M.
1800.
—
B. C.
2204.
—
to
A. M.
3672.
—
B. C.
332.
End of the
Assyrian
empire.

death the names even of those who followed in the empire have not reached us. During thirty generations we have no history until we come to Sardanapalus, who flourished, according to the Greek historians, A. C. 707. He reigned twenty years, was noted for his luxury, and was dethroned by two of his officers—Arbaces, governor of Media, and Belesis, governor of Babylon. With this monarch ended the first Assyrian empire.

Out of the ruins of this unwieldy monarchy were formed three kingdoms: the kingdom of Media, the kingdom of Babylon, and the kingdom of Nineveh. Belesis was king of Babylon A. C. 747, and is the same with Nabonassar. He was succeeded by his son Merodach-baladan. Tiglath-pileser is said to have been the first king of Nineveh, A. C. 747, after the ruin of the ancient Assyrian empire. By this division commenced what is called the second Assyrian empire. Tiglath-pileser was succeeded by Shalmaneser, A. C. 728, who reigned fourteen years.

Sennacherib, his son, came to the throne A. C. 717. This prince made war upon Hezekiah, but was foiled by divine interposition; and returning to Nineveh discomfited, he was there slain by his sons, whilst worshipping in the temple of his god Nisroch. Esar-haddon (his assassins having fled) ascended the vacant throne, A. C. 710, and added Babylon to his father's conquests. Thus the two kingdoms of the second Assyrian empire were united. Esar-haddon reigned thirty-nine years, and left his sceptre to his son Sardanapalus, A. C. 699. Prudent supposes him to have been the Nebuchadonozor of the book of Judith; but we have already assigned reasons for supposing him in an error, and concluding that Chyniladan, who succeeded him, and was an active and warlike prince, was this Nebuchadonozor of the Scripture. Sardanapalus succeeded Chyniladan, A. C. 648. Under this prince Nineveh was taken, and utterly destroyed, by CYRUS, the king of the Medes, and Nabopolassar usurped the sovereignty of Babylon, A. C. 626, from which period Babylon became the only capital of the second Assyrian empire.

Nebuchadnazzar the Great succeeded his father Nabopolassar, A. C. 606. This monarch besieged Jerusalem, A. C. 589, took it at length by storm, and made Zedekiah prisoner. He reduced also Tyre and Egypt, and under him the Babylonian empire reached the summit of its glory. Nebuchadnazzar was succeeded by his son Evil-Merodach, A. C. 563, who was put to death after a short and inglorious reign; and Neriglissar, the chief conspirator against him, reigned in his stead, A. C. 560. Neriglissar being slain in battle, Laborsorach, his son, succeeded him, A. C. 556, who was distinguished only for his vices, and assassinated before he had reigned quite a year. His successor was Labynitur, called in Scripture Belshazzar, A. C. 555; during whose reign Babylon was taken by Cyrus, A. C. 536. Thus ended the second Assyrian empire, having lasted two hundred and ten years from the destruction of the first. Assyria afterwards became a part of the great Persian monarchy.

§ II. Of Phœnicia.

Phœnicia Proper, according to the ancient geographers, was bounded by Syria on the north and east, on the west by the Mediterranean, and on the south by

Palestine. Some derive its name from Phœnix, one of its ancient kings, and son of Agenon; others from the Greek word *φοινίς*, a palm, as if that tree grew in abundance in this country. Others refer it to the Red sea, or sea of Idumea. Vossius de Idol. lib. i. c. 34, says, "*φοινίς* is the same with *εὐφοινία*, red, thence the Latins from *phœnice* made *phœnicea*, and from *φοινίς* *purpurea*." He proves that the Tyrians came from the Idumean sea; and concludes that from the Idumeans, the posterity of Esau, the Red sea was styled Erythraean mare; whence the Tyrians transplanted were styled *phœnicei*, Phœnicians. Others again derive the name from *φονος*, slaughter. These are all purely Greek derivatives; and the origin of the name is far more probably Hebrew. Scaliger, Fuller, and Glassius, all agree to derive the name from the Chaldaic, *210 to live debately*, referring to the luxury of the Tyrians, as merchants; whence *phœnicea*, the name of Phœnicians, *q. d. εὐφροσύνη, delicata*. But the most probable solution is that of the great Bochart, who derives the Greek word *φοινίς* from the Hebrew *פִּינִיץ* or *פִּינִי* the son or sons of *Adah*. From this Canaanitish name (and there can be no question that the Phœnicians were Canaanites) *Ben-Adah*, or, contracted, *Beanal*, the Greeks at first formed *phœnice* (it being very usual with them to turn *n* into *p*, as from *φῶν* *αἶψα*, *αἰχμή*); thence *phœnic* and *phœnice*, Phœnicia. (See Gale's Court of the Gentiles, vol. i. book i. chap. iii. p. 18, 19.)

This territory was generally considered by the ancients as a province of Syria; and it is rather remarkable that Herodotus indiscriminately makes use of the three names, Phœnicia, Palestine, and Syria, as if they were the same country. The two principal cities of Phœnicia, or Phœnice, were Tyre and Sidon; both of which were situated on the sea coast. Sidon, which was the metropolis of the country, derived its name from Sidon, the son of Canaan, by whom it was built. The city of Tyre also stood about two hundred furlongs to the south of Sidon, and was built upon an island half a mile distant from the shore, and surrounded with a wall a hundred and fifty feet in height, and broader in proportion. Agenon is considered as its founder by the Greeks. It does not appear to have been of very considerable extent, though, on this point, ancient geographers are much divided. Phœnicia besides Tyre and Sidon, contained many considerable cities: Aradus, Orthosis, Tripolis, Byblus, Berytus, and Sarpis, were situated on the coast of Phœnicia. Tyre and Sidon now present only a mass of ruins to the eye of the traveller. Both the soil and the climate of this country are excellent. It is watered by rivers, which take their rise from Mount Libanus, the celebrated Lebanon of the Bible; and these streams, when swollen by rains, or the melting of the snow from the mountains, overflow their banks, and inundate the country.

The Phœnicians, as we have observed, were undoubtedly Canaanites by descent. Small as was their country, it was still divided into many petty kingdoms, of which the principal were Tyre and Sidon. The people of Phœnicia worshipped Baal, whose name signifies Lord, and who was the Assyrian Jupiter. Astarte, the Hebrew Ashtaroth, and the Grecian Aphrodite, was also one of their superior deities. She was represented, like the Egyptian Isis, with the horns of a cow upon her head. The death of Adonis, or

Museo-
our history.

From
A. M.
1800.
—
B. C.
2204.
—
to
A. M.
3672.
—
B. C.
332

Babylon
taken.

Names.

Asyria, Sc. Thammuz, was awfully lamented by the Phœnician women. To this superstition the poet refers:

Ætios

A. N.

1860.

—

S. C.

2204.

to

A. M.

3672.

—

B. C.

332.

Arts and sciences.

Thammuz came next behind,
Whose eternal wound in Lebanon still'd
The Syrian demesne to lament his fate
In anacrusis dithies all a woe's day;
While smooth Adonis, from his native rock,
Ran purple to the sea, suppos'd with blood
Of Thammuz yearly wounded!—

and it was arraigned by a greater than the poet, when Ezekiel, in his vision of the abominations of Israel, says, "He brought me to the door of the gate of the Lord's house, which was towards the north, and behold, there sat women weeping for Tammuz."

The Phœnicians were well skilled in astronomy and arithmetic; and to them is attributed the invention of letters. According to Herodotus, Cadmus, a Phœnician (as we have seen) by birth, first introduced letters into Greece. The people of Phœnicia were also noted for the manufacture of fine linen, the glass of Sidon, and the purple of Tyre. The "*Sidonis æra*," was a common proverb amongst the ancients; and the epithet "Sidonian" was used by way of emphasis to express whatever was elegant or magnificent. As merchants, navigators, and colonists, they had no equals, nor even rivals, for many ages. In ancient times, their country was a great warehouse, in which might be found all the necessities and luxuries of human life; and was long and justly considered as the emporium of the east. Their commerce by sea, extended from their own shores even to the British islands, to Spain, to the ports of the Mediterranean, the Black sea, and the lake Mæotis. According to the best etymologists, our own country derives its name of Britain from these Phœnician navigators and merchants, who designated these islands, from the minerals with which they most abounded, *ἡν νῆα*, Barat-anac, or Bratanac, from the abundance of tin and lead mines found in them. (See Sammes' Britannia). By land, they carried on an extensive trade with Syria, Assyria, Persia, Arabia, and India. Phœnicia sent out several colonies to various parts of the world; and Carthage and Thebes are indebted for their existence as states to Phœnician founders. As an evidence of their skill in navigation, it is stated that some Phœnician adventurers, in the service of Necho, king of Egypt, undertook, and completed a voyage round Africa, sailing out of the Red sea, and returning through the straits of Gibraltar.

We have noticed, in our "Introductory Chapter," that, according to the doubtful records of Greece, Agenor was the first king of Phœnicia, and the founder of Tyre, a. c. 1497. Upon the same authority, it is affirmed that he was succeeded by his son Phoenix; next to whom stands the name of Phalis. This is the meagre, and, perhaps, fabulous account given

us of the first kings of Phœnicia by the Grecian writers.

§ III. Of the kings of Sidon.

After Sidon, who was, according to Josephus, the first monarch of the city bearing his name, we do not meet with the record of a single prince until n. c. 598, when we read of a monarch whose name is not known, but who is said by Jeremiah to have sent ambassadors to Jerusalem to propose a league with Zedekiah against Nebuchadnezzar. In point of order we are next introduced to Tetramestus, who assisted Xerxes in his Grecian expedition, n. c. 481, and after him to Tennes; at which time it appears that Phœnicia was tributary to Persia. Tennes and the Sidonians having determined to throw off the Persian yoke, entered into an alliance with Nectanebus, king of Egypt and, assisted by a body of Greek troops, drove the Persians out of the country. Darius Ochus, enraged at this defeat, marched an immense army into Phœnicia, and laid siege to Sidon. The Sidonians, when they saw that the Persian was upon the point of entering the town, set fire to their houses and possessions, and died amidst the ruins of their city, n. c. 351. The city was afterwards rebuilt, and Strato invested with the sovereignty, until he was deposed by Alexander the Great, a. c. 333. The crown of Sidon was then bestowed by the conqueror upon Ballonymus, who is called Abdiolimus, by Quintus Curtius; and after this event Phœnicia became a part of the great Macedonian empire.

§ IV. Of the kings of Tyre.

Abibal is the first mentioned by Josephus, of whom Tyre we only know that he was David's contemporary, and lived a. c. 1056. He was succeeded by his son Hiram, 1046, the friend and ally of David and Solomon; by whom the latter monarch was considerably assisted in building his celebrated temple, and whose daughter he married. He was succeeded by Baalazar, a. c. 1012; and according to Josephus, Abdastartus, Astartus, Astartus, and Phelles, followed him in direct succession. It appears, on the authority of the same historian, that Ithobal ascended the throne of Tyre and Sidon, a. c. 962, followed by his son Baderon, by Mettinus, and next by Pygmalion, to whose sister, Elisa, called also Dido, the honour of having been the founder of Carthage is attributed by Virgil. To Pygmalion succeeded Eubanes, a. c. 717; then Ithobal II. in the year a. c. 585; after whom was a suspension of royalty, and Tyre was governed by judges, a. c. 562. The regal dignity was restored in the person of Balaton, n. c. 556, who was followed in an unbroken line of succession by Merbal, Irom, Marten, Strato, and Azelmie. Under this latter king, a. c. 332, Tyre was taken and burnt by Alexander the Great.

Miscellaneous history.

Ætios

A. N.

1860.

—

S. C.

2204.

to

A. M.

3672.

—

B. C.

332.

Sidon.

HISTORY.

CHAPTER VII.

OF GREECE.

Greece.

§ I. Topographical description of Ancient Greece.

GREECE, in the most extensive application of the name, was, according to the ancient geographers, bounded on the north by Illyria and Thrace, on the south by the Cretan sea, on the east by the Ægean, and on the west by the Ionian sea. Ancient Greece was divided into five parts, Græcia Propria, Peloponnessus, Epirus, Thessalia, and Macedonia. Græcia Propria contained the states of Etolia, Doris, the Locri Ozolæ, Phocia, Boetia, Attica, and Locris. The Peloponnessus is a peninsula, joined to Greece Proper by the isthmus of Corinth, which is only six miles in breadth.

Ancient divisions of Greece.

The principal divisions of the Peloponnessus were Achæi, Elis, Messenia, Arcadia, Laconia, and Argolis. The chief parts of Epirus were Chaonia, Molossia, Thesprotia, and Acarnania. Thessaly comprehended the towns of Pharsalia, Methone, Phthia, Larissa, and the straits of Thermopylæ, which were the keys of Greece. Macedonia contained a great number of towns, the principal of which were Pella, its capital, Epidamnos, Pallene, Olynthus, Thessalonica, Stugira, Amphipolis, and Philippi. The chief mountains of Greece were Olympus, Pelion, Ossa, Parnassus, Helicon, Hymettus, Pindus, Athos, and Cithæron. The modern name of the Peloponnessus is the Morea, and that of Greece Proper, Livadia. The continent of Greece was well watered by several streams, which ran through the country, of which the principal were the Eurotas, Peneus, the Cephissus, and the Ilissus. The climate of Greece was very salubrious, and the soil particularly fertile; from which, however, we must except the northern parts, and Attica, which were rocky and barren. In treating of Greece we must not omit to mention the islands which are contiguous to it, which were all of them inhabited by Grecian colonies, and were in general subject to the mother country. The principal of these were Corcyra, now Corfu, Cephalonia, Zacynthus, Ithaca, Cythera, and the Strophades, situated in the Ionian sea. In the Ægean sea were the Cyclades and the Sporades. Higher up in the Ægean lay Eubœa, Lemnos, and Scyros. A little lower down we meet with the isles Lesbos, Chios, and Samos. Crete was the largest of the Greek islands; it was situate in the Mare Creticum, to the south of the promontory Malea. It is said by the ancients to have once contained an hundred

cities; hence Homer gives it the epithet of *ἑκατοπόλις Κρήνη*. Religion and manners.

§ II. Religion and manners.

It was observed in our account of Egypt, that she was not only the mother of letters, but of the superstitions of the ancient world; it is certain that she supplied Greece both with a language and with a faith. The Greeks, who were, perhaps, the most susceptible and ingenious people that ever lived, seem to have been most warmly devoted to the splendid and magnificent ceremonies of their sacred worship, and peculiarly observant of those rites which they conceived would conciliate the favour or appease the anger of their gods. And however absurd their idolatries must appear to the eye of reason, as it is now assisted by revelation, it must still be granted, that there was something captivating in their mythological fables; a nameless charm, which seizes upon the imagination and enchains the judgment. The Grecian mythology, with all its faults, has its characteristic beauties; and contains not grosser errors than those to be found in the creed of Mohammed, the superstitions of the north, or the splendid, but sensual systems of the east. If the beautiful visions and elegant forms of paganism have interested and fascinated even northern nations, and fill our imagination through every period of life, what must have been their influence upon men implicitly believing in their truth, and whose minds were previously disposed to ardour and enthusiasm, as well by their constitutional temperament, as by their warm suns, their blue unclouded skies, and the soft, genial atmosphere in which they lived? To the glowing fancy of the Greek every scene of nature presented not merely the residence of man, but the abode of the unseen divinity; and every prospect reminded him of some presiding power, whose spirituality he could not separate from local habitation. All things around him teemed with wonders; he saw in the gliding stream the Naiad of the fountain; he heard, in the murmur of the trees, the Dryad of the grove; on the mountains, his mind's eye beheld Diana and the Oreads; and fawns and satyrs peopled the forests. When the morning dawned, he hailed Aurora rising from the bed of Titheos, and when the sun appeared to sink into the bosom of the ocean, he imagined him retiring to the couch of Amphitruia.

The superstitions of the ancient world.

Religion.

Greece. trite. In the meridian fervour of the orb of day, he beheld his own Apollo; in the silver beams of the moon, he admired and worshipped "the queen of heaven." The starry cope was peopled throughout its immeasurable extent with the visionary beings of his imagination, and surrounding nature seemed animate with deity alone: every stream was sacred, and every mountain hallowed. His fancy went so far as to place his future heaven on the top of Olympus, and his Hades in the rivers of Styx and Acheron: he supposed the abodes of Apollo and the Muses were upon Parnassus and upon Pindus; the streams of Helicon, the Castalian fount, the land of Pieria, were all consecrated by his superstition to their service. His imagination embodied and deified even the winds of heaven. Did the western gale stir the trees on the summer's evening, it was the breath of Zephyr: did the north wind pour its furious and tempestuous blast, he heard in it the terrible voice of Boreas: did the south-west bring its customary showers, he saw Anster, the parent of ruin, riding on the wings of his own wind. But the religion of the Greeks did not evaporate in these enchanting visions; they endeavoured to embody their conceptions, and to this end built many magnificent temples to the objects of their adoration, founded solemn festivals, and instituted costly sacrifices. The temple of Minerva, at Athens called the Parthenon; the temple of Theseus, dedicated to the Olympian Jupiter; the temple of Ceres, at Eleusis; and the temple of Diana, at Epheusus, were sufficient indications of their religious zeal. This zeal, however misdirected, called forth the latent powers of their sculptors and painters; and to the enthusiasm of superstition may be probably attributed the breathing stone of Phidias, and the glowing canvas of Apelles. The festivals of the Greeks were, like their temples, almost innumerable. The principal ones at Athens were the Panathenæa, in honour of Minerva; the Dionysia, which were consecrated to Bacchus; and the mysteries of Eleusis, sacred to Ceres. Besides these were many others in various parts of Greece; such as the Carnea at Sparta, the Isthmian, at Corinth, dedicated to Neptune; the Nemean, at Nemea, commemorative of Hercules.

As Greece was originally colonized by various nations, and divided into separate governments, it is by no means surprising that the manners and customs of the states should considerably differ. Even in matters of religion, although all believed in one common mythology, the guardian gods of each city were perfectly distinct. Minerva was considered as the tutelary deity of Athens, Juno presided over Argos, and Neptune over Corinth. Their laws and forms of government widely differed; and as these arose out of the varying, and even opposite dispositions of the people, their civil institutions, by a natural reaction, impressed a broad distinction of customs and manners, of habits, and of general character between them. We accordingly find that the Lacedæmonians were haughty and austere in their deportment, barbarous and cruel in their manners, and totally destitute of that elegance and refinement which were the characteristics of their Athenian rivals. At the same time it must be confessed, that the Spartan valour which alone conspicuous over every other state of Greece, was in no small degree brought into action, and fostered by the laws of Lycurgus. Their laconicism may also be

imputed to that stern and severe spirit which these institutions breathe. It is a curious, but by no means an inexplicable fact, that Sparta never produced an orator, historian, or philosopher; an architect, a sculptor, or a poet. The Lacedæmonians despised the cultivation of letters, and, in the spirit of the first Cato, banished them from the commonwealth. They considered literature as dangerous to the interests of the community, and their previous prejudice against it was considerably heightened by their envy of the superiority which Athens had attained in letters, and the progress which she had made in the arts and sciences.

Of the character of the people of Corinth there is little to record. Their form of government was originally monarchical; it afterwards was converted into a republic, or rather an oligarchy. They possessed, in common with the other states of Greece, an unquenchable love of liberty, and that valour and intrepidity which so highly distinguished their countrymen. The Thebans were considered by the rest of the Greeks as particularly sluggish and dull, so much so, that the appellation of "Borotian hog" was a proverbial expression among the Athenians when they wished to designate a person as remarkable for ignorance and stupidity. Notwithstanding this reproach, Boætia was the birth-place of Pindar, Plutarch, Pelopidas, and Epaminondas; under the last of whom she completely foiled the Spartan power. Athens was the Cynosure of Greece, and shone conspicuous amidst the lesser stars by which she was surrounded. Her government, which was a pure democracy, placed both her external and internal policy entirely in the hands of the people. There can be no doubt that this contributed more than any other cause to the proverbial sickness, inconstancy, and ingratitude of the Athenians. An acute and susceptible people, they were open to the grossest flattery, and their vanity and self-conceit are only to be paralleled by their levity and credulity. They were in the habit of estimating their national character by the glorious battles of Marathon and Salamis; and not by the condemnation of Miltiades, or the murder of Phocion.

So volatile was their disposition, that at one moment they would melt into tears over the tragic scenes of Euripides, and the next be convulsed with laughter at the parodies of his malignant satirist, Aristophanes. This fickleness manifested itself alike in politics and taste; every novelty had charms for them; their susceptibility seemed equally excited in listening to the thunder of the eloquence of Pericles, or to the vulgar insulence and factions, empty declamation of the demagogue Cleon. We may almost say literally with a writer of the New Testament, "All the Athenians, and strangers which were there, spent their time in nothing else, but either to tell or to hear some new thing." Their morbid sensibility was demonstrated by their imposing a fine upon the tragedian Phrynichus, because his scenes were too pathetic; and by starving Anaxandrides, because his satire was too poignant and severe. They deserted Alcibiades, in the midst of an eloquent oration, to pursue a bird; they erected a monument to Crætiæ, the comic poet, and inscribed nothing upon it, but that he was a notorious drunkard; they passed sentence of ostracism upon Aristides, because his virtues had acquired him the surname of Just; they heard with delight and admiration the doctrines

Character of the Athenians. of Socrates, then laughed at him, murdered him, and finally erected an altar to his memory. This extraordinary people were so penetrating to be insensible of the superior talents which occasionally appeared amongst them, but at the same time too envious to allow them their proper exercise; they persecuted the virtue which they admired, and exalted the vice which they laughed at and despised. To those citizens, such as Miltiades, Socrates, and Phocion, who were illustrious for their virtue and their merits, they behaved like the vilest tyrants, but to the factious and the demagogues, who were the base panders of their passions, they crouched as the most abject slaves: in short, they almost deified those turbulent orators, who, by the grossest flattery, consulted the dispositions of the populace, and who ministered to their worst propensities, by the indiscriminate abuse of all that was great and good in the state, and by the most extravagant praise of themselves.

The Greeks were so exclusively devoted to the amusements of the stage, that they would forget their fondness for litigation and politics to partake of theatrical entertainments. They deposited an immense sum of money in the public treasury for the purpose of exhibiting in splendour the works of the drama; and passed a decree, in which it was *capital* for any person even to propose that this money should be applied to the wants of the state, whatever might be its emergencies. It is said, the whole expenditure of the Peloponnesian war, which lasted about twenty-seven years, did not amount to more than the theatrical exhibition of three of the tragedies of Sophocles. Allowing this statement to be much exaggerated, we may still form from it some idea of the magnificence and splendour in which tragedies were brought forward on the stage in those ages, and of the enthusiastic fondness of the Athenian people for these brilliant spectacles. As some apology for this predominant passion, it may be justly pleaded, that Athens had been blessed by the bounty of nature with a triumvirate of tragic poets, whom succeeding ages have been proud to acknowledge as models and as masters, and with a host of comic writers, as Eupolis, Cratinus, and Aristophanes, whose wit and humour were as successful in exciting the lighter feelings of the mind, as the tragedians were distinguished for rousing its deeper emotions. The prodigious size of their theatres, the imposing splendour of their apparatus, the music of the choral odes, the devotional cast of their poetry, which sung of heroes and of gods, and the perpetual allusions to their wars and triumphs, must have made an instantaneous and irresistible impression upon the breast of this susceptible, but volatile people, altogether unknown to us at this distance from the events, and inconceivable by a stranger. The truth is, that these theatrical displays partook very much of the nature of religious spectacles; they were generally instituted in honour of some divinity; and their duties often formed the principal personages of the drama.

The Athenians, in order to encourage the poets and to elicit the fire of national genius, instituted a prize for the best dramatic compositions at the feast of Bacchus. The successful candidate was crowned with applauses and distinctions; and the honours were so flattering which were conferred upon him by the people,

that it has been said, some, through excessive joy, *Miscellaneous* have expired under them. This love of the theatre was not confined to the higher classes, but extended to all ranks of society; even the populace were in the habit of committing the tragedies of Euripides to memory; and to this custom some Athenian captives at Syracuse were indebted for their liberty, because they had delighted the Sicilians with the recital of some beautiful passages from their favourite poet. From the pleasure which the Athenians took in elegant literature, and the high degree of polish and refinement which pervaded all their amusements, and, especially, from the exclusion of those exhibitions of blood which were afterwards tolerated amongst the Romans, we might, perhaps, on a superficial survey of the subject, conclude that this people had made a very considerable progress in civilization. We shall not adduce the atrocities of the Peloponnesian war, or the well-known cruelty of the Athenians to their statesmen and generals, as a decisive proof that no nation who was guilty of the commission of such acts could ever sustain a high public character. We are, fortunately, enabled to form a tolerably correct estimate of their national character, from a source as once authentic and decisive.

There can be no better criterion of the morals and civilization of a people than is afforded by a fair view of their literature. If, however, from the perusal of the wild sublimities of *Æschylus*, the splendour and dignity of *Sophocles*, or the moral sententiousness and pathos of *Euripides*, we should suppose the Athenian manners to be decorous, refined, and grave, we shall be miserably deceived. The attachment of the Athenians to the comic theatre will furnish a more correct specimen of their morals, especially as it respects the people of Athens. Of the works of *Eupolis* and *Cratinus* nothing but insulated passages have come down to us; and but part of those of *Aristophanes*. This poet was the delight of the Athenians, and considered as the principal ornament of the comic drama. But he is to the last degree gross and obscene; he calls the worst of things by the worst of names; and pleases his audience by perpetual allusions to the meanest of our appetites, and the grossest of our necessities. All the immoralities and indecorum of the English comic muse, of *Congreve*, *Vanburgh*, and *Farquhar*, are thrown into the shade by the unparalleled effrontery of this coarse jester, and the disgusting licentiousness of his sentiments and language. We have been astonished that a people who had been accustomed to the elegance, the gravity, and the dignity of their tragic poets, could for one moment tolerate the grossness of *Aristophanes*; and the only solution we can conceive of this moral problem is, that his comedies must have been addressed to the lowest ranks of a multitude scarcely emerged from barbarism. Perhaps we may add that nothing so truly points out the various degrees of civilization as the satirical or comic writings of a nation. We have seen it in ancient Greece and Rome; and, in modern times, in France, Spain, and England. The nice sense of decorum, the consequence of superior civilization, which has so long and happily prevailed in our own country, has driven from the stage those indecent performances, which so much delighted the licentious court of the latter Stuarts.—But we shall have occasion to resume these considerations in a

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subsequent paper, and in connection with the lives of the comic poets of Greece.

The Athenians, in common with the Romans and other semi-barbarous nations, had little social intercourse with their women; to this circumstance must be chiefly attributed the indelicacy of their manners and the depravity of their morals. So entire was the seclusion of the women, amongst the Athenians, that they were not even permitted to frequent the entertainments of the theatre; or to be present at the celebration of the public games. Indeed the two sexes lived in an almost absolute state of separation even in their own families. The houses were divided into distinct sets of apartments, one range of them being appropriated for the males, and another for the females; the former were called by the Greeks *andros*, the latter *gynaikon*. We gather from a line in the *Phœnissian* of Euripides, that the upper part of the house was assigned to the women; it was called by the Lacedæmonians *gynaikon*.

Step these down upon this old cedar ladder.

v. 100.

Notwithstanding, however, the various defects in the internal economy of this extraordinary people, and although we may be disgusted at their monstrous perversity of morals, and even of taste, the republic of Athens rose, in arts, if not in arms, not only far superior to the rest of the Grecian states, but her poets, historians, orators, and philosophers, have served as models for imitation to succeeding ages, and have excited a spirit of literary ambition, and of generous rivalry, extending to our own times. As the sacred fire of Vesta, when once extinguished, was re-lighted at the rays of the sun, so the torch of European literature, which had been so long quenched, was once more kindled, after the dark ages, at the flame of Grecian lore and genius; and although so many ages have elapsed since the existence of these worthies, it is problematical whether the moderns can exhibit attainments in some of the finer arts at all to be compared with the efforts of the Grecian school. Nor should the peculiar beauties of the Greek language be omitted in our estimate of the manners of this people. Of all others the most comprehensive and harmonious, its vocabulary contains from ten to twelve thousand words, but the primitives are few in comparison with the compounds. So plastic, and capable of assuming so many various shapes, it may safely be pronounced the Protæus of grammar. There were four principal dialects in use—the Attic, the Ionic, the Doric, and the Æolic. The Attic was used by the Athenians, and was proverbial for its terseness and elegance. The Ionic was spoken by the Greek cities of Ionia, in Asia Minor, and was noted for its softness and delicacy. The Doric was employed by the inhabitants of the Peloponnese, and was remarkable for its strength and vigour. The Æolic, adopted by the Boeotians and the Æolians of Asia Minor, was well known for its homeliness and rusticity. No scholar of ancient Greece dared to appear before his countrymen in the undress and slovenly guise of the common Hellenic, or in the antiquated and obsolete expressions of the originally harsh and coarse dialects of Doric or Æolia.

§ III. Miscellaneous history.

But we must now turn to the history of Greece, so

far as it can be deemed authentic; and, rejecting the fables of the heroic ages, we refer first to the annals of Pausanias, Strabo, and Eusebius. According to the latter historian, the most ancient kingdom of Greece was Sicyon. The city giving name to this kingdom was founded s. c. 2089, and is supposed to have continued 1000 years. Next to this in antiquity was the kingdom of Argos, established a. c. 1856, Inachus being the first king; the last of whose family was dethroned by Danaus. The successors of Danaus were Abas, Proetus, and Acrisius. Perseus, the son of Danaë, the daughter of Acrisius, having slain his grandfather, transferred the seat of government from Argos to Mycenæ, about a. c. 1474. He was succeeded by Electryon, Sthenelus, and Eurystheus. Under the reign of this latter prince, the Heracleids, the descendants of Hercules, made themselves masters of the Peloponnese, so called from Pelops, the next king of Mycenæ whom we meet with in history (*Ἡρακλέους γένος*), and whose descendants were denominated Pelopids. After him the crown devolved upon Atreus; and thence, in undisturbed succession, upon Phlistheus, Agamemnon, Orestes, and Tisamenus, under the last of whom the Pelopids were finally expelled from the peninsula by the Heracleids.

Cecrops, a native of Sais, in Egypt, was the founder of the kingdom of Athens, about a. c. 1556. He divided Attica, of which Athens was the capital, into twelve districts, and instituted the Areopagus. He was succeeded by Cranaus.

Amphictyon was the third king of Athens, and established that celebrated council which was called Amphictyonic, after his name. This assembly met twice a year, at Thermopylæ, to consult upon public business; and to it, finally, were referred the disputes of all the neighbouring states. Of Erechtheus, king of Athens, it is said, that he founded the Eleusinian mysteries, and that Ceres first introduced agriculture into Attica during his reign, a. c. 1383.

In the reign of Ægeus, the son of Pandion, the heroic age may be properly considered at its zenith: he flourished about a. c. 1284, and was succeeded by his son, the renowned Theseus, of whom we have given a distinct biographical account.

Codrus, to whom we have also devoted a separate article, was the next successor to the throne of any eminence; and with him perished the Athenian monarchy, which had existed, from Cecrops to Codrus, about five hundred years. The Athenians having abolished the title of king, instituted a republic, and placed Medon, the son of Codrus, at the head of the state, with the title of archon, or ruler, a. c. 1070. The first archons were for life, afterwards for ten years, and at last only for one.

Theseus was founded by Cadmus, a Phœnician, a. c. Thibes. 1455. Labdacus, Læus, and Œdipus, were amongst the number of his successors. The misfortunes of the Labdacids have furnished ample materials for fiction and romance, of which the ancient historians and poets have not failed to avail themselves.

Sparta, as we have seen in the life of LÉLAGORUS, is Lacedæmon. generally stated to have been founded by Lacedæmon, and named after his queen; while others attribute the building of the city to Lelex, an Egyptian, a. c. 1516. This is, perhaps, the proper commencement of the dynasty of the kings of Laconia, or Lacedæmon. Tynd-

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Sicyon.
Argos.

Greece.

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Corinth.

darus, or Tyndareus, the ninth king of Lacedæmon, or Sparta, was the father of the celebrated Helen, whose rape by Paris occasioned the far-famed Trojan war, which closed, according to Archbishop Usher, a. c. 1184. About eighty years from this period the Heracleids again entered the Peloponnese, and obtained possession of Lacedæmon. Eurysthenes and Procles, a. c. 1104, began to reign jointly, and the sceptre from that time remained in the hands of the descendants of the two brothers.

The kingdom of Corinth was of a later date than any we have mentioned; its earliest monarch, Sisyphus, commencing his reign a. c. 1376. The descendants of this prince were expelled by the Heracleids, about one hundred and ten years after the sacking of Troy. The regal power afterwards came into the hands of Bacchis, under whose posterity the government became an aristocracy, at the head of which was a chief magistrate, called *prytanis*, who was annually elected. This change took place a. c. 779, and continued until a. c. 659, when Cypselus, with the consent of the people, assumed the sovereignty, kept it for thirty years, and transmitted it to his son Periander, a. c. 629.

Macedonia.

Of the ancient kings of Macedonia we know little. Justin says that Caranus was the founder of this kingdom, a. c. 814, and Perdiccas was his successor. It lasted about six hundred and forty-six years, from its establishment to the battle of Pydna, when the Macedonian king, Perseus, was defeated and taken by the Romans, and the whole of Macedon submitted to the conquerors. Macedonia, afterwards so renowned, was but little known to the Greeks before the time of Philip and Alexander, during whose reigns this kingdom attained the zenith of its glory.

From the foundation of the kingdom of Lacedæmon, under Eurysthenes and Procles, down to the days of Lycurgus, who flourished about a. c. 710 (according to others, a. c. 684), nothing important occurred in the Spartan annals; but after the death of this legislator, in the reign of Theopompus, who flourished about 130 years later, the Lacedæmonians and Argives quarrelled concerning a frontier town called Thyrea, a. c. 743. When the two armies were upon the point of engaging, Herodotus states that they agreed to settle the dispute by three hundred men being chosen on each side to fight for the town in question. The combatants met, and fought with such perseverance that only two survived on the side of the Argives, and but one on that of the Spartans. The two Argives fled, but Othryades, the remaining Spartan, kept his post, and erected a trophy of his success from the arms of the Argives. This dauntless bravery, however, appears to have been exhibited to no purpose; for the very next day, the two armies, having disputed about the award of the victory, joined battle. The Lacedæmonians were successful, and obtained Thyrea as the meed of their triumph. A short time afterwards, during the reign of Theopompus, a war broke out between the Lacedæmonians and Messenians, which lasted about twenty years. The Spartans, at the commencement of the campaign, took Amphæa, a town in Messene, and two battles were fought, with equal loss on both sides; but a pestilence breaking out amongst the Messenians, they consulted the oracle of Delphi, and were ordered to present to the gods, in sacrifice, a virgin of royal blood; in consequence of which, Aristomenes,

a Messenian of kingly descent, offered up his own daughter. The people of Messenia then retreated to Ithome, and there held out against the Lacedæmonians for the space of seven years. In the eighth year of the war, Euphares, the king of Messenia, gave the Lacedæmonians battle, and fell desperately wounded in the beginning of the engagement; the contest for his body was long and bloody. At last the Messenians, under Aristomenes (sometimes called Aristodemus) and Cleonia, bore off the still panting body of their king, an equivocal token of victory. After the combat, the prize of valour was contested by the two Messenian chiefs, but being adjudged to Aristomenes, on the death of Euphares he succeeded to the crown. Towards the close of his reign, which continued nearly seven years, he defeated the Lacedæmonians, took their king, Theopompus, prisoner, and sacrificed him to Jupiter. Aristomenes then slew himself, agreeable to the oracle, on the tomb of his daughter. After his death, the Messenians submitted to the Lacedæmonians, Ithome was razed to the ground, and thus ended the first Messenian war.

The second Messenian war commenced about a. c. 685, when Anaxander and Anaxidamus were kings of Sparta. In the first battle which was fought between the two nations the Lacedæmonians were defeated by the Messenian general; upon which they consulted the oracle, and were directed to send to Athens for a chief. The Athenians, in derision, sent them Tyrteus, a lame poet. Under this commander the Spartans were defeated in three successive battles; and the kings of Lacedæmon, quite disheartened, were bent upon retreating to Sparta, but were dissuaded by Tyrteus. The hard addressed the troops, reciting some of his own animated verses, until impatient for action, and inspired with the highest enthusiasm by these spirited strains, they vowed to conquer or perish. In the battle which ensued they were completely victorious. This triumph did not, however, finish the war; since Aristomenes, with the wreck of his forces, retreated to Ira, where he held the Spartans in check during eleven years; and when Ira was at last taken, he escaped with several of his adherents to Sicily, where they founded the town of Messena. The rest of their countrymen were reduced to servitude, and were classed among the *heLOTS*, or slaves, by the Lacedæmonians. This war lasted fourteen years, and terminated about a. c. 670; from which period we hear nothing more of the Lacedæmonians until the time of Pisistratus, the tyrant of Athens.

After the resignation of the archonship by Solon, and his departure from Athens, upon the usurpation of Pisistratus, a. c. 560, that city was split into three factions. Herodotus, in his *Chio*, says, that Pisistratus possessed himself of the sovereignty by stratagem: he wounded himself, and exposed his bleeding body to the people in the market-place, asserting that he had received the wounds in defence of their rights. The assembly voted him a body-guard of fifty soldiers; and Pisistratus having increased their number, seized upon the citadel, and made himself master of Athens. He treated Solon with the greatest respect, and caused all his laws to be religiously observed. After the death of that legislator, he was twice deposed by the opposite factions, and twice restored; until surmounting at length all opposition, the last seventeen years of his reign were distinguished for their

Miscellaneous history.

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to
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B. C.
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War with the Messenians.

War with the Messenians.

Pisistratus, tyrant of Athens.

Greece.

From
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1915.B. C.
2089.to
A. M.
3514.B. C.
490.The Pisistratide
family expelled from
Athens.

tranquillity. Pisistratus was succeeded by his sons Hippias and Hipparchus, A. C. 520. According to Thucydides, Hippias, as the eldest son, held the reins of government, but Plato seems to think that the two brothers were colleagues in the empire. Their reign lasted about eighteen years. Harmodius and Aristogiton, according to Thucydides, assassinated Hipparchus at the feast of the Panathenæa, for having insulted the sister of Harmodius, which incident also led to the expulsion of Hippias. The Alcmaeonids, the faction which had so much hated Pisistratus, were not deficient in enmity to his son. The Pythian priestess, at their instigation, so wrought upon the superstitious feelings of the Lacedæmonians, that they determined to deliver Athens from the tyrants who oppressed it, by making war upon the Pisistratide. In their first attempt the Spartans were repulsed with considerable loss by the tyrant; but, a short time afterwards, they rallied, and laid siege to Athens; whence they were, however, upon the point of retreating, when the capture of the children of Hippias changed the face of affairs. The tyrant then agreed to evacuate Attica, and accordingly retired to Sigeum, in Phrygia, A. C. 508. It is a singular coincidence, as stated by Pliny, that the kings were expelled from Rome the very same year the tyrants were driven out of Athens. Notwithstanding this event, this celebrated city continued a prey to contending factions. At the head of the principal competitors for superiority in the commonwealth were Clisthenes and Isagoras. The former was the favourite of the people, and the latter of the Lacedæmonians. Cleomenes, one of the two Spartan kings, compelled Clisthenes and his adherents to leave Athens. They soon, however, returned with their leader, and were restored to their estates, when the Lacedæmonians, jealous of the rising power of the Athenian republic, conceived designs of re-instating Hippias, and even privately sent for him from Sigeum. In an assembly of the deputies of their allies, they communicated their plan of replacing him upon the throne of Athens; but these generous deputies heard with astonishment and horror this unprincipled proposal; and to their usually opposition must be attributed its relinquishment by the Lacedæmonians. Hippias, thus disappointed in his sanguine expectations of support from Sparta, retired into Asia, and took up his abode with Artaphernes, the Persian governor of Sardis. The banished tyrant, by his persuasions, induced Artaphernes to demand of the Athenians his restoration, and to their decided refusal may be assigned the true and original cause of the Persian war against the states of Greece. Darius had, previous to the expulsion of Hippias, made himself master of the Ionian cities in Asia Minor; the Ionians, determined to throw off the Persian yoke, had applied to the Athenians for assistance; who, enraged at the insolence of Artaphernes, in demanding of them the restoration of Hippias, readily consented to their wishes. They accordingly furnished the Ionians with twenty ships, and, in conjunction with them, marched against Sardis,

took and burnt it, A. C. 504. This spirited attack immediately induced, on the part of the Persians, the invasion of the states of Greece, and Darius, about ten years afterwards, sent his first expedition against Greece, under the command of Mardonius; when the Persian fleet, attempting to double Mount Athos, in order to arrive at the shores of Macedonia, was dispersed by a storm, with the loss of three hundred ships. The army under Mardonius, in the mean while, was attacked by the Thracians. These barbarians entered the Persian camp by night, wounded the general himself, and made a great slaughter amongst his troops. The Persians were compelled by these losses to return to Asia with the remnant of their armament. But the next year, A. C. 493, Darius sent an embassy to the various states of Greece, requiring of them earth and water, which, amongst the Persians, was the symbol of subjection. The people of Ægina, an island opposite to Athens, with many of the Grecian cities, complied with these demands, but Athens and Sparta received the Persian heralds in a different manner: they threw the one into a well, and the other into a ditch, telling them to take earth and water from those sources. Darius, soon afterwards, A. C. 490, sent Datis and Artaphernes with a fleet of six hundred ships, and an army of 500,000 men, against Greece. This expedition landed in Eubœa, reduced the town of Eretria to ashes, and carried its inhabitants into slavery. After this success the Persians advanced, under the guidance of the exiled tyrant Hippias, into Attica, and pitched their camp at Marathon, about ten miles from Athens. Here the celebrated battle ensued, in which Hippias fell, and the Persians sustained an overwhelming defeat. See PISISTRATIDÆ.

It is a remarkable circumstance that most of the states of Greece finally adopted a republican form of government, in preference to a monarchical one; a circumstance which, by diffusing a popular interest in the concerns of the state, animated this people to resist the invasion, and finally to destroy the power, of the then most considerable empire in the world. Of the various states into which this country was divided, it is obvious that four took the lead—Athens, Sparta, Corinth, and Thebes. But of these cities, the two former far surpassed the rest, and were ambitious rivals for the sovereignty of Greece. We refer our readers to the lives of Lycurgus and Solon for an account of the laws of these celebrated legislators, observing only, that to these institutions we must attribute much of that Spartan valour which triumphed at the straits of Thermopylæ, and the Athenian bravery of the battle of Marathon. Their love of liberty fostered their native valour, and the excellence of their internal polity essentially contributed to make the Greeks the masterspirits of the world. Like many other rising nations, they formed extensive colonies; and possessed settlements in Sicily, and Italy, towards the Farther Calabria. But their principal foreign establishment was in Asia Minor: and their three chief settlements, Æolis, Ionia, and Doris.

Religion
and customs.From
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1915.B. C.
2089.to
A. M.
3514.B. C.
490.The Persians first
invade Greece.

HISTORY.

CHAPTER VIII. OF CARTHAGE.

Carthage. § 1. *Of the origin, topography, and customs of Carthage.*

PHILISTUS, the historian, of Sicily, says that Carthage was built before the destruction of Troy; and that its founders were Carchedon and Zodruss, from the former of whom it derived its Grecian name, Καρχηδών. It is, however, to be recollected, that the authority of Philistus is by no means decisive, and that his veracity and accuracy are impeached by Pausanias, the Grecian historian. Livy, speaking of Carthage, asserts that it was founded ninety-three years before Rome, which would fix the date of the event about a. c. 847. According to the opinion more generally received amongst chronologists and historians, Dido, a Phœnician princess, and sister to Pygmalion, king of Tyre, is supposed to have first arrived on the shores of Africa and founded Carthage, about a. c. 869. To this date, among so many conflicting opinions, we may probably assign the origin of a state, whose government excited the admiration, and received the applause of the best judge of political and moral perfection amongst the ancients; and whose arms over-ran the farthest portion of civilized Europe. Carthage was the capital of Africa Proper, and her empire comprehended, besides nearly three hundred tributary cities in Africa itself, Spain, Sicily, and Sardinia. The city was advantageously situated on the shores of the Mediterranean, whose waters washed it both on the north, the east, and the west. To the south, its possessions extended as far as the Great Desert. The Carthaginian republic flourished about seven hundred and twenty-two years, and was finally destroyed by the Roman arms a. c. 147. Livy, in his Roman History, affirms that Carthage, in its most prosperous state, contained no less than 700,000 inhabitants; but this number was reduced at the close of the third Punic war to about 50,000, when the city was burnt and destroyed by Scipio Africanus. He adds, that it was surrounded by lofty walls, and that its circumference was no less than twenty-three miles. Indeed, we may form some idea of its ancient magnitude, from the circumstance that when the Romans set fire to the city, it continued to burn during the space of seventeen days.

The political hatred which the people of Rome had conceived against the Carthaginians must be attributed to the ferocious temper of those polished barbarians, and their spirit of rivalry, not altogether unmixt with

a painful consciousness of inferiority. The faded laurels of Cannæ, the perseverance of Hannibal, and the Carthaginian army drenched with patrician blood, were ever present to their eyes. Their dislike to Greece was literary, not political. They would brook no rivals, however, either as lords of intellect or as lords of empire; and in this spirit Virgil sneers at the arts of Greece, and praises the arms of Rome.

The Carthaginians worshipped two principal deities: the goddess Cælestia, who is mentioned by Tertullian and St. Austin, and whom the prophet Jeremiah calls "queen of heaven." She was probably the Tyrian Astarte, so well known by that title. Their second deity was Saturn, from his sanguinary rites, evidently the Moloch of the Scriptures. To this idol, Philistus says that the Tyrians offered up their children in sacrifice; while Plutarch declares, that the mother, hardened against nature by superstition, would stand by without a tear or a groan, to see her child perish in the flames: and we find, from a passage in the Apologia of Tertullian, that although this barbarous custom ceased with the Carthaginians, after the destruction of their city, it continued in various parts of Africa, down to the consul Tiberius, who finally abolished it.

§ II. *Of the government of Carthage.*

The constitution of Carthage was considered by the ancients as a pattern of political wisdom. Aristotle highly praises it in his Politics, and recommends it as a model to other states. His argument, in the Πρώτη Πολιτεία, is this: That during the space of five hundred years (viz. from the foundation of the republic to his own time) no tyrant had destroyed the liberty of the state, and no demagogue had stirred up the people to anarchy. By the wisdom of its laws, Carthage had been able to steer clear of the opposite evils of aristocracy on the one hand, and of democracy on the other. The nobles did not engross the whole power, as was the case in Sparta, Corinth, Rome, and, in more modern times, in Venice; nor did the people exhibit the factious spirit of an Athenian mob or the ferocious cruelty of a Roman rabble. The constitution of Carthage may be divided into three parts. The first consisted of the suffetes, two supreme magistrates, resembling the consuls of Rome, who presided over the senate, and whose authority extended to the camp as well as the city. The second was the senate itself, composed of

Its territory, government, &c.

Carthage. the illustrious men of the state; but whose precise number has not been mentioned either by Aristotle, Polybius, or Livy. This body possessed a supreme jurisdiction over the questions of peace or war; had the power of making laws, and appointed to all offices, whether civil or military. Aristotle states, that when the votes were unanimous, the decision of the senate was absolute; but, in case of division or disagreement, an appeal lay to the people: and adds, that the republic was prosperous at home and successful abroad during the administration of the senate. The third estate was still more popular. In the infancy and maturity of the republic, the people indeed had taken no active part in the administration of the affairs of the country; but in process of time, grown arrogant by wealth and prosperity, they laid claim to a more active share in the government, and obtained nearly the whole power. They instituted a council of one hundred and four persons, better known by the name of the hundred, or the tribunal of the hundred; who were intended to act as a check upon the power of the nobles and senate, and to limit the authority of the generals. The members of this council were elected for life, and five of their number, the *quinqueviri*, had a supreme power peculiar to themselves, forming a kind of select committee invested with particular privileges, resembling the council of ten in the aristocratical senate of Venice. When a vacancy occurred in their number, the members alone had the right of filling it up; and they had even the privilege of nominating those who should compose the council of the hundred. No salary or emolument was attached to the office. Although the original institution of this tribunal was good, it finally degenerated into oppression and tyranny. There was another kind of civil officer, who bore a strong resemblance to the Roman censors; and whose duty it was to inspect the morals of the citizens, and to reform those abuses which brought discredit upon the character of the country. Corn. Nepos mentions these officers by the title of "*pæfecti morum*."

§ III. *Of the commerce of the Carthaginians.*

It is not surprising that the Carthaginians should pay the greatest attention to their commercial advantages and resources; they were a Phœnician colony, and therefore derived from their ancestors the love of navigation and the spirit of enterprise. These were greatly strengthened by the maritime position of Carthage, which allowed her merchants to trade with equal facility eastward and westward, and extend their commerce from their own shores to those of Spain, Gaul, and the straits of Gades. Accordingly the commercial empire of this state reached to Egypt and the Red sea, Tyre, and Phœnicia; comprehending, indeed, the whole of the known world; and making her the mistress of the ocean, from the shores of the Levant to the pillars of Hercules.

It was a great axiom of political economy among the ancients, that all commercial nations should, from time to time, plant colonies upon their remote possessions; that the mother-country might thus at once be relieved of an excessive population, and receive additional strength from her extended relations. Guided by this sound policy, Carthage, besides her African settlements, planted several colonies in Europe, three of which remain to the present day. Cadiz,

Carthægena, and Port Mahon; the ancient names of *Iu com-*
which were Gades, Carthago Nova, and Portus *merce, artis,*
Magonis: the latter deriving its appellation from its *&c.*
founder Mago. Their skill in maritime affairs kept pace with the extension of their commerce; and their fleets are said to have covered the Mediterranean, when Rome could not boast of a single vessel, and her citizens were even ignorant of the form of a galley. It is difficult to speak with certainty of the character and manners of the Carthaginians; for we are under the necessity of forming our judgment through the medium of Roman prejudice. These unsparring conquerors bore perpetual enmity to the African republic, and the spirit of the "*delenda est Carthago*" of the censor Cato, seems to have been infused into the pages of the Roman poets and historians. But these writers have brought forward little evidence to sustain their invectives, if they have not sedulously kept back that information which would have enabled us to judge of the truth or falsehood of their charges against the republic of Carthage; who had no historians of her own. Virgil calls them "*bilingues Tyrii*," "*the double-tongued Tyrians*." Livy, in speaking of Hannibal, after having exhausted his powers of description in degrading that illustrious general, attributes to him "*perfidia plusquam Punica*," "*perfidy even more than Punic*." See HALL'S *SÆL*. Cicero says, that the Carthaginians were noted for perfidy and cunning, "*calliditas*;" and a proverbial expression among the Romans, to denote a treacherous and dishonest person, was "*Punicum ingenium*," "*a Punic genius*." This is the testimony born to the character of that unfortunate people by those political rivals, who first destroyed their empire, then cruelly and unjustly burnt their city, reducing its inhabitants to slavery; a testimony which every honourable mind will regard with that caution naturally suggested by the very suspicious quarter whence it is derived.

§ IV. *Of the arts and sciences of the Carthaginians.*

The Carthaginians do not seem to have shone in the fine arts. No works of sculpture and painting have come down to us. Yet, here again, when it is recollected with what industry Rome laboured to destroy her monuments of greatness, few could be expected to remain; still, had Carthage possessed any scientific or literary men of eminence, something must have survived, at least in the memory of mankind, and genius would have triumphed over malice, accident, and time. But the bustle of commercial enterprise, and the feelings connected with the love of gain, probably checked the literature of Carthage in its first advances to perfection.

It will be necessary to give some sketch of the conquests of the Carthaginians, and to trace the means by which they gradually rose to such an unexampled pitch of prosperity, as successfully to contend with the Roman arms. At first possessing a very limited territory in Africa, they are said to have been under the necessity of paying an annual tribute to the neighbouring barbarians for the land which had been granted them for the site of their city. In process of time, however, according to Justin and Sallust, this ambitious people, having subdued most of the native powers, seized upon the whole of Northern Africa, and extended their boundaries to the pillars of Hercules. Still enlarging their empire by means of their naval superiority,

Carthage, they obtained possession of Sardinia; an acquisition particularly serviceable to them in supplying their forces with provisions. They also seized upon the Balearic islands, the Majorca and Minorca of modern times; in the latter of which the Portus Maionis was situated.

It is not certain at what period the Carthaginians first entered Spain, but the fact of their having acquired the dominion of that fertile country is as indisputable in itself as it was important to the conquerors, who were supplied from its gold and silver mines with the means of carrying on their foreign wars, and from its population with a martial and hardy race of men who composed their infantry. According to Polybius and Livy, the Carthaginian generals over-ran the greatest part of Spain in the space of twenty years; while the conquest of this country employed the Roman arms upwards of two centuries. This important acquisition by the republic of Carthage may be considered as the grand cause of her having been able to defy and keep in check the Roman power for so long a period. It is also uncertain when the Carthaginians first invaded Sicily; but it is clear that they had subdued it in part so early as B.C. 503, since this was the date, according to Polybius, of the first treaty entered into between the republic of Rome and Carthage, in which it was expressly stipulated that the Romans should not enter into the ports of Sicily, since these were considered as belonging to the latter power. About the year B.C. 484, the Carthaginians entered into an alliance with Xerxes, king of Persia; the terms of which bound them to attack the Greek colonies in Sicily and Italy, while he invaded the mother country. The army destined for the Sicilian invasion consisted of 300,000 men, and the fleet of 5,000 vessels. At the head of these forces Hamilcar landed at Panormus, or Palermo; he immediately laid siege to the neighbouring city of Himera, and shut up Theron, the commander, in complete blockade. This general finding means, however, to apprise Gelon, the tyrant of Syracuse, of his situation, that celebrated chieftain immediately marched to the assistance of the place, with 60,000 infantry and 5,000 horse, and intercepting the messenger to an application for cavalry which Hamilcar had sent to Selinuntum, he dexterously contrived to substitute his own forces at the appointed time, who, being admitted into the Carthaginian camp, killed Hamilcar, and set fire to his vessels. The Carthaginians were now attacked by the whole force of Gelon, who totally defeated them; 150,000 of their troops falling in this miserable enterprise.

This carnage was followed by a treaty of peace between the Carthaginians and the Sicilians; the Syracusans having, in gratitude to Gelon, presented him with the crown; and after this failure, the designs of Carthage upon Sicily were suspended until B.C. 412. About this time Hannibal, encouraged by the people of Segesta, made a descent upon the island, took successively Selinuntum and Himera, and returned in triumph to Carthage. Three years afterwards the Carthaginians fitted out another expedition against

Sicily, under the united command of Hannibal and Its com-
Milon: who were successful in taking Agrigentum source, &c.
and Gela, the former of which they entirely destroyed. The war was at length terminated by the cession, on the part of Dionysius, the tyrant of Syracuse, of Sicily to Carthage, with the exception of the domains of the Leontines, the Messinians, and the Syracusans. About the year B.C. 404, however, Dionysius, having made the necessary preparations, attacked Motya, the Carthaginian depot in Sicily, and took it, in defiance of the vigorous opposition of Milon.

But in the following year, this general returned with an immense army, retook Motya, and invaded Syracuse, whither the conqueror had returned, and was upon the point of making himself master of the city, when a contagious distemper carried off a considerable portion of his army. Dionysius attacked the rest of the troops, whom he put to the sword, with the exception of Milon and a few who escaped with him. The Carthaginians did not, however, resign their views upon Sicily; and the Syracusans, being afterwards defeated in a great battle by them, permitted them to retain all their previous conquests in Sicily, with some unperforated fortresses. After the death of Dionysius the elder, B.C. 348, they fitted out another fleet against this island; but the Syracusans being assisted by Timoleon, the celebrated Corinthian general, compelled Mago, the Carthaginian admiral, to raise the blockade of their city, and to retire to Africa. Undismayed by this discomfiture, as it appears from Plutarch, they planned another grand armament against Syracuse. But Timoleon, at the head of 6,000 troops, gave battle to their army, consisting of 70,000 men, and utterly routed them, with the loss of 10,000, who were slain.

The Carthaginians now sued for peace, and accepted the hard terms of only retaining the country lying beyond the river Halycus. About B.C. 319, however, Hamilcar, the Carthaginian general, attacked Agathocles, the tyrant of Syracuse, and besieged him in that city. Syracuse was again upon the point of surrendering, when Agathocles formed the design of carrying the war into Africa, and thereby creating a diversion in favour of the Sicilians. But in this plan, after repeated vicissitudes of fortune, he utterly failed, and soon afterwards died of poison, while Carthage resumed her former ascendancy in Sicily. About B.C. 277, the Carthaginians entered into an alliance with the Romans, against Pyrrhus, king of Epirus; which they seem to have done that Sicily might not fall into the hands of the Grecian monarch. Notwithstanding this league, Pyrrhus succeeded in taking all the possessions of Carthage in Sicily, with the exception of Lilybæum; but Hiero being appointed king of Syracuse, after the departure of Pyrrhus, made common cause with Carthage against the alarming encroachments of Rome. This event gave occasion to the first Punic war; and from this period the history of Carthage is incorporated with that of Rome, until the time when she was finally crased from the list of nations.

HISTORY.

CHAPTER IX.

OF ROME.

Rome.

§ I. Topographical description of ancient Rome.

ROME was built, according to Archbishop Usher, in the year a. c. 748. It derived its name from its founder, Romulus. Italy, of which it became the capital, was called, in more ancient times, *Ænotria*, *Ausonia*, *Hesperia*, and *Saturnia*. All these names are mentioned by Virgil, in various parts of his poems. He thus addresses his native country in his *Georgics*:

*Salve, magna parens frugum Saturnia tellus,
Magna virum.*

Hail! Saturnian land, thou mighty mother of fruits and of men.
Book. II. l. 175.

Again, in the eighth book of the *Æneid*, v. 329,

*Scepia et nomen possit Saturnia tellus.
The country Saturnia has very often changed its name.*

In the seventh book, v. 85, he calls it

— *Omnique Ænotria tellus;*

and in the first book of the *Æneid*, v. 532, he mentions the inhabitants as *Ænotrii*.

In the same book, v. 539, he tells us the name by which it was anciently known to the Greeks:

*Est locus, Hesperiam Græci cognomine dicunt.
There is a land, which the Greeks call by name Hesperia.*

It is supposed that the name *Italia* is deduced from *Italus*, one of the ancient kings of the country, or from the old Greek word *Ἰταλός*, which signifies *an ox*, the land abounding with this animal. That *Italia* was the more modern appellation of the country, is evident from the further testimony of Virgil:

— *Nunc Enea, Minores
Italiam dixisse, duci de nomine, gentem.* Book I. v. 592.

Now there is a report, that their posterity have called the nation *Italia*, from the name of its chief.

The country and climate.

Ancient Italy was bounded on the north by the Alps, on the south by the straits of Messina, on the east by the Adriatic, and on the west by the Tyrrhene sea. According to Cluverius, its extent, from Aosta, at the foot of the Alps, down to cape Lencopetra, which was situated at the extremity of Calabria, was nine hundred miles. Its breadth was, in some parts, five hundred and sixty miles; in others, one hundred and thirty; and in a few places only twenty-five miles. Italy, in the most extensive meaning of the word, was always divided into several small states; and has been split

into petty republics, or provinces, through every period of its history. The chief rivers of this country were the Po, the Mincio, the Arno, and the Tiber. The principal mountains were the Alps and the Apennines. The first formed its northern boundary, and extended about eight hundred miles; the latter ran through Italy, from the Maritime Alps to the straits of Messina. Italy lies between the thirty-eighth and forty-sixth degrees of north latitude, the climate is uncommonly salubrious, the sky unclouded, and the soil fertile. It was called the "garden of the world;" and Pliny, speaking of this country, says, *Hæc est Italia Diis sacra, hæc gentes ejus, hæc oppida populorum.* "This is Italy, sacred to the gods; these are her nations; these the cities of her people." Virgil addresses her as the "*magna mater*." She was famous for her oliveyards, her vineyards, and her harvests.

§ II. Religion and manners.

It is no easy matter to point out the true sources whence the ancient Romans derived their religion. It is, however, certain, that the idolatrous superstitions of Egypt and of Greece were believed in Rome; and this circumstance may induce the conclusion that the ancient inhabitants of Italy borrowed alike their deities and their religious creed from the Greeks. When it is recollected that most of the states of Italy were originally Grecian colonies, it is not extraordinary that the colonists should have carried with them their religion into the country which they had chosen as a place of settlement. *Æneas* is said, by Livy, to have introduced into Latium the gods of Troy; and to have instituted the worship of Jupiter, Venus, Mars, and Vesta, together with many other idols revered in Greece and Phrygia. The Trojan hero also introduced into Latium the Palladium, which had been the protector of the capital of Priam, and was afterwards considered as the tutelary deity of the Roman empire. Romulus, who was of Latine extraction, accordingly brought the gods of Alba Longa and Lavinium to Rome, and established their worship amongst his new subjects. That Jupiter was the supreme deity of the Romans, as well as of other nations, is clearly proved by the fact of Romulus dedicating, after a successful battle, the *opima spolia* to Jupiter Feretrius; and likewise from the temple which was consecrated to that god, under the ap-

Rome. **pellation of Jupiter Capitolinus.** Though the Romans probably borrowed most of their mythology from the Greeks, they derived their religious ceremonies and sacrifices more immediately from their neighbours, the Tyrrhenians. This people were, in fact, of Lydian, or Grecian origin, and inhabited that part of Italy which was called Etruria. They were exceedingly superstitious; and so celebrated for their superior skill and knowledge in religious rites and sacrifices, that they were called Tusc, or Tusci, by the Greeks, from *Θω*, to sacrifice. The Romans, however, considerably augmented the number of the deities whom they had borrowed, and added ceremonies peculiar to themselves, which were altogether unknown to Greece. It is very probable that the Delphic priestess of Apollo, the Pythia of the Greeks, was the prototype of the celebrated Roman sybil of Cumæ. According to the mythology of the Latines, she gave Æneas, on his arrival in Italy, instructions how to find his father in the infernal regions, and even conducted him to the entrance of hell. It has been contended, however, that the fable of this descent of Æneas is a parabolic illustration, on the part of Virgil, of the various external evils, and moral maladies, to which the soul is exposed, in consequence of its union with the body, and the imprisonment of its spirituality in a material nature. Yet, granting this Platonic idea to have been entertained by the bard, we must still believe that he intended to convey some notion of the state of the disembodied spirit in a future world. The first sentiment seems undoubtedly to have pervaded the Eleusinian and Bacchic mysteries; and to have formed the substance of the sacro-dotal and symbolical mythology of the ancients. It is to be traced, although in language obscure to us, from our having, in a great measure, lost the key to these mysteries, in Plotinus (Plotin. in *Æn.* i. lib. viii. p. 80.), in Plato (Plato, *Cratylus*, et *Respub.* lib. vii.), in Proclus (Commentary on Plato's *Politics*, p. 372.), in Pindar (Clement of Alexandria, in Stromata. lib. iii. quoting Pindar), in Philolaus (preserved by Clem. Alex. ut supra, p. 413.), in Pythagoras, in Synesius (hymn i.), in Pseudo (on Oracles), and in a variety of other ancient writers. A mass of evidence relative to this point is accumulated in a Dissertation on the Eleusinian and Bacchic Mysteries, published anonymously, and without date, at Amsterdam, during the last century. The sybil is said to have written her prophecies upon leaves, which she placed at the entrance of the cave; and it required great care in those who consulted her, to take up the leaves before they were scattered by the wind.

Folius basium ne carmina scanda;

Nu turbato valent repulsi hœdria ventis.

Only do not consult the verses to leaves, lest they should be carried to and fro at the mercy of the winds.

The sacrifices offered, and the rites performed, by the Romans, in honour of the Bona Dea, were undoubtedly borrowed from the Eleusinian mysteries of the Greeks. The same solemnity, the same veil of secrecy were thrown over both these festivals; and the discrepancies between the two religious ceremonies, which may be perceived, do not affect the general resemblance. The festivals of the Romans were almost innumerable; but the Capitoline Ludi, and the sacrifices in honour of Jupiter, were held the most sacred.

The worship of the goddess *Vesta* was celebrated with

particular solemnity. Livy says, that Æneas first introduced her mysteries into Italy; and that Numa built a temple to her honour, in which was deposited the celebrated Palladium of Troy; and the sacred fire, the mystic emblem of the divinity, was kept within the sanctuary, continually burning, by the vestal virgins. The extinction of this hallowed flame, in any case, was considered most inauspicious to the interests of the republic, and ominous of some calamity to the state. Six virgins of unblemished purity were accordingly appointed to watch it; if by accident or negligence it went out, it was rekindled at the beams of the sun, and the vestal through whose neglect the accident was occasioned, was liable to severe punishment. This virtual worship of fire by the Romans bears so striking a resemblance to the rites of Zoroaster, the Persian monarch, who considered fire as the purest emblem of the Supreme Being, and the only proper visible object of devotion, that its oriental origin may be easily discovered. The vestal virgins, who were the priestesses of the goddess from whom they took their name, were endowed with peculiar privileges; in return for which they bound themselves to her service by a solemn vow of chastity for thirty years. If this oath were broken, the criminal was either impaled or buried alive; a punishment, strongly marking the ferocious sternness of the Roman character. To the honour of female chastity and virtue, although under the influence of a principle not more noble than superstition, it is recorded, that in the space of one thousand years, from Numa to Theodosius, during which time the order continued only eighteen instances of the breach of this vow occurred.

The Romans were not very select in regard to their gods, since they generally admitted into the number of their deities the idols of the respective nations whom they conquered; a fact demonstrated in the erection of that splendid temple called the Pantheon, which was dedicated, as its name imports, to all the gods in the universe. Amidst this laxity of principle and the follies of polytheism, the Romans, in common with other nations, had some vague conceptions of a state of future happiness, and punishment. This great and general sentiment is not expressed merely by the poets, in their charming descriptions of the Elysian fields, or the isles of the blessed, but is anxiously contended for in the elaborate disquisitions of their most celebrated philosophers. "If," said the eloquent Cicero, "I err in believing the soul of man immortal, I err willingly; for I will never suffer this belief to be torn from me." The poets placed their hell, or seat of torment, at Avernus, a lake of Campania, to which Virgil, conveying no unimportant sentiment, alludes—

Facilis descensus Avernæ.

The descent of Avernus is easy.

Æn. vi. 126.

That the Etrurians, or Tuscans, first initiated the Romans into the mysteries and ceremonies of religion, is very clear, from the following passage of Livy, who is speaking of Cære, a town in Etruria: "*Sacerarium populi Romani, divinatorium sacerdotum, ac receptaculum sacrorum.*" From this circumstance of religious rites being particularly paid by the inhabitants of Cære to the gods, the word "*ceremonie*," appears to have been derived.

The Etruscans seem to have been amongst the first inhabitants of Italy, and accordingly communicated the use of letters, together with their religious rites and

Rome.

civil institutions, to the rest of the Italian nations. The ancient Romans were no less indebted to them for their literature, arts, and sciences, than for their religion.

Language.

Whether the *avvayōvov*, or Aborigines of Italy, possessed any written language is uncertain; but it appears to have been justly presumed, that the use of the Greek letters was first introduced into Latium by Evander, an Arcadian. It can hardly indeed be doubted, that the Latins borrowed their language from the Greeks. Dionysius Halicarnassus says, that the Arcadians first emigrated into Latium, where they introduced the original Pelagic language and characters. Hence the similarity of the Latin language to the rustic and simple Doric and *Æolic* dialects. The distance from Greece, and the separate government of Latium, together with a mixture of the ancient Etruscan, may well account for that corruption of language which finally formed a separate tongue, while the analogy of its original *Æolic* form was never forsaken. Indeed the resemblance between the languages of Greece and of Rome is sufficiently obvious to strike even the most superficial observer. Dionysius Halicarnassus further states, that in the days of Augustus there was still existing a treaty between Tarquin and the Galai, which was written in Greek characters, but in Latin words. The alphabet which the Etruscans brought into Italy was apparently of oriental origin; for, the Academy Della Crusca have shown that independent of the circumstances of the Etruscans themselves being natives of the east, most of the ancient Tuscan words were of Asiatic extraction. This language particularly spread amongst the Umbrians, the Sabines, and the Latins. The use of the Latin letters before the time of Romulus may be further inferred from the inscription of some Etruscan coins mentioned by Father Gori, as quoted by the authors of the Universal History, and which are generally concluded to have been struck long prior to his birth. On the face of these coins appears the double head of the god Janus, and on the reverse, in Roman characters, VELLATI, an inscription evidently referring to the Etruscan city of Velitæ.

The Romans were acquainted with some of the more familiar arts and sciences in the time of Romulus; and had made some progress even in astronomy. Their skill in architecture was, however, but rude, for, before the burning of Rome by the Gauls, it was little better than a mean though large village, consisting of wooden huts, thatched with straw, and divided into long, crooked streets. And although the ancient Romans appear to have divided their year into ten months, much laxity and inaccuracy pervaded their general arrangement of time.

§ III. Different forms of government.

Government.

The original form of the Roman government was monarchical, limited by the authority of the senate; it was, also, at one time elective, and at another hereditary. This form of polity, it is probable, was borrowed also from the Etruscans, whose chief magistrates were kings. The Romans, from the foundation of their city to the expulsion of Tarquin the Proud, cannot be regarded as a refined or polished people. What Aristotle, in his Politics, objects to the state of Sparta, may be justly applied to Rome in her infant condition; she was a city of soldiers rather than of citizens.

Government and character.

The government of Rome, after the institution of the consulate, does not appear to have been very happily chosen. The power of the consuls, the senate, and the patricians on the one hand, might tend to an odious oligarchy, and, on the other, the turbulent innovations of the plebeians to a wild democracy. Hence the quarrels between the patricians and plebeians afford but a low idea of the stability of the consular government, and plainly demonstrate that the balance of power, which constitutes the foundation of real liberty, and the preservation of all civil institutions, was utterly unknown to them. Their republican form of polity had another fatal objection attached to it. As there was no person in Rome who was at the head of affairs, in cases of extreme emergency, the senate was under the necessity of investing some eminent individual with the supreme authority. It is very evident, that this absolute magistrate, whose title was dictator, might, either by stratagem or force, take away the liberties of his country; and, in point of fact, among the earliest officers of this description were men of virtue and probity, it finally happened, that the persons invested with these authorities trampled upon the rights of the people, and changed the commonwealth into an empire. A further evil attended this republican form of government; the vices of the people, who were the representatives of the plebeian interest, by their factious eloquence and intrigues, very nearly introduced a pure democracy; and by their behaviour towards the illustrious men of the state, showed that they only wanted opportunity to act the parts of Athenian demagogues. In later times, indeed, no such evil was to be apprehended from a Roman tribune, but it was to be dreaded from another quarter, for the senate had, in the days of Sylla, Lucullus, Pompey, and Caesar, engrossed the whole of the executive power in its own hands.

§ IV. Martial and sanguinary character.

In forming an estimate of this extraordinary people, we must not suffer their victories or martial prowess alone to engage our attention. In many respects their internal polity was singularly revolting. The brutality with which they treated their slaves and women; their ingratitude to their illustrious heroes; their ferocious restlessness, both at home and abroad; and their wanton and insulting cruelty to captive kings and princes, prove that they were little better than half-civilized barbarians. To what can be attributed their utter disregard of all those social ties which bind man to man, and smooth the rugged path of life, but to the entire want of moral cultivation? And in what other light can the condemnation of the sons of Brutus by their father; the murder of his sister by Horatius; the sentence of death passed on his own child by Torquatus; and the assassination of Virginia by her parent, be regarded by any well-ordered mind? Yet some of these facts are brought forward as splendid instances of the *amor patriæ*, and of the sacrifice of private feeling to the public good. It is not meant to be insinuated that, among the Romans, there were not many bright examples of self-devotion for the interests of their country, and that too unmixt with baser motives. The conduct of Regulus, the disinterested valour of Curtius and the Decii, will be held up as a model of generous patriotism to the latest posterity; but no

character of the Romans.

Rome. people are more carefully to be proposed to the admiration of the young.

It is astonishing with what difficulty, and at how very late a period of time, the literature of the Greeks was received by the Romans. In the days of the first Cato, this stern cynic proscribed the very teaching of the Grecian language, and expelled their philosophers and orators from the city. Little disposed to the cultivation of letters, the laurel chaplet of the victor was long thought to confer more substantial honours at Rome than the bays of the poet, or the toga of the orator. True it is, that in the annals of the empire, and especially in the Augustan age, we do not meet with those barbarous and disgusting scenes of parental or fraternal insensibility, which disgraced their earlier history; the dispositions of the people had been somewhat ameliorated by the humanizing influence of letters; but their very sports mingled the sanguinary character of their ancestors with their hereditary bravery, while their fellow-creatures were torn in pieces by wild beasts, or fell mutually destroyed in the bloody combat;—amusements which were alike frequent in republican and imperial Rome. In the decline of the empire, these inextinguishable characters of fierceness remained when the honourable pride of the republic was no more; and the senators and patricians of Rome, not content with being spectators of the death-pangs of the combatants, would themselves descend into the arena, and take part in these savage contests. Domitian, perceiving that the scenic imitation of a criminal dying on the cross was a favourite entertainment amongst the spectators, had a real criminal actually crucified on the stage, and in that state torn to pieces by wild beasts.

It cannot excite surprise that suicide should be prevalent among such a people: the Romans regarded the commission of this crime as an act of undaunted valour. We find in the Roman heroic character a strange mixture of patriotism and consciousness of superior worth, with excessive pride and unrelenting cruelty. The laws, with some exceptions, were favourable to public virtue; but the civil institutions, especially those which regarded children and slaves, breathed the very spirit of domestic tyranny and oppression. The harsh and inflexible doctrines of the stoics, which were early introduced into Italy, must have strengthened, in no inconsiderable degree, the native Roman austerity; as the character of the two Catos may serve to demonstrate.

At Rome, as well as at Athens, women were considered as mere domestic slaves, created for the gratification of sensual appetite; but they do not appear to have been subjected to that entire seclusion from society which the Grecian females were compelled to endure. Like the rest of the ancient world, the Romans had no conception of that mysterious union of sentiment, passion, and sympathy, which constitutes love, founded on esteem and approved by reason, and which Christianity has done so much to cherish and mature. The Oppian law restricted the women from riding openly in carriages and wearing certain articles of dress: the authority of the husband, by the laws of Romulus and Numa, was as absolute over the wife as over a child, excepting that he could never sell her as a slave, and that she had nominally the rights of a Roman citizen. If he had no children, too, she was his heir, otherwise

she was considered as his sister, and shared his property with the children. They were treated, on the whole, with great capriciousness; sometimes extravagantly honoured, at other times abandoned, or chastised by the principal slaves of their despot, on the slightest pretext; and the husband could even put his wife to death, according to Dionysius Halicarnassus, not only for infidelity and the usual capital crimes, but for excess in wine. The necessary consequence of these usages was the absence of all self-respect in a large portion of the Roman females: the virtues in which women are felt more than they are seen were unknown; and intrigue, perfidy, and assassination frequently disgraced their characters.

§ V. Literature of the Romans.

The Romans confessedly borrowed their learning from the Greeks, but it is not very probable that the elegancies of Grecian lore were transplanted to Rome before the time of Cæsar, a famous orator and philosopher, a. c. 155. (Cicero de Orat.) At this period commenced the era of her literature. The Roman youth, with an unprecedented ardour, applied themselves to the study of the Greek tongue, and drank deeply into the spirit of the deathless poets, historians, and orators whom it celebrated. Cicero tells us that the knowledge of this language became so necessary at Rome in his day, that no person was considered either as a gentleman or a scholar without being deeply conversant with its best writers. Horace acknowledges that most of the elegances, and even words of the Latin language flowed from this source—

— si
Græco fonte cadunt, purce detorta.

If the words should fall from the Greek fountain a little altered, and exhorts the Romans to a diligent perusal of the works of Greece—

— vos exemplaria Græcæ
Nocturnæ vernate manu, vernate diebus.

Do you, both by night and by day, turn over the Grecian models. Again,

Græcis ingentibus, Graiis dedit ore rotundo
Musa loqui.

The muse gave grins and sonorous diction to the Greeks.

Rome now produced many celebrated writers; Ennius, Accius, and Pacuvius, flourished as tragic poets; but, from the few fragments which have been preserved to us, we have not much to regret in the loss of their works; their style was rugged and inharmonious, and we in vain look for the bold sublimity of Æschylus, the magnificence of Sophocles, or the moral pathos of Euripides. Lucilius may be considered as the founder of satirical poetry amongst the Romans. His writings, with the exception of a few detached pieces, have also been lost; and Horace gives us no very favourable opinion of their excellence. Accurately speaking, the Romans possessed no comedy. We shall not indulge any criticism concerning the elegance of Terence, or the broad, coarse humour of Plautus, but merely observe, that most, if not all, of the Roman comedies were taken from Menander and Philemon. In fact, their plots and characters were but a mere transcript of Attic comedy, and the Romans were content to behold Greek manners, customs, and sentiments represented on their stage in Roman masquerade. Hence Julius Cæsar calls Terence “dimidiatus Menander.” The style of Plautus

Literature,
&c.

Rome.

was so obscure and rude, that he became obsolete, even in the days of Horace: he had little conception of what was elegant, and no powers of sensibility for what was affecting. Lucræti, however, amidst much philosophical error displayed in a rugged style, discloses a rich imagination; and such bursts of poetry, of fancy, and of feeling occasionally appear, amidst much dry and abstruse discussion, in his "De Natura rerum," as abundantly prove the author to have been no mean rival of the Mæstant hard. In justice to Lucræti, too, as a writer, it should be remarked, that the genius of the Latin tongue was remarkably unfavourable to conveying philosophical truth in verse. The literature of the Romans was at a low ebb, and in a most unpolished state until the Augustan era. They had been long in possession of the matchless models of Greek genius; they enjoyed a free government; and yet they did not produce a single name, before the reign of Augustus, which can at all compare with any one of the immortal writers of Greece. The Romans were by no means a commercial people, and were deficient in painters and sculptors. Architects, indeed, they had, whose mighty genius is sufficiently demonstrated by such structures as the Capitol, Pantheon, the Coliseum, and the triumphal Arch of Trajan. These buildings, however, were erected rather in the decline than in the zenith of their power, and when they must have improved themselves upon models of Greece within their reach, even while they affected to despise them. Virgil was so conscious of the defects of his countrymen in the fine arts, that, in pure envy of the Greeks, he even congratulates them upon their ignorance, and says that arms, not arts, were their peculiar province. Cato the censor, upon the dismissal of the Grecian ambassadors, made use of the same reasoning and argument:

*Excedit aliis spirantia mollius aëre,
Credo equidem: vivos docent de marmore vultus;
Crassius cæcis actus; et cæque moras
Describit radiis, et surgentia sidera discunt,
Tu regere imperio populos, Romane memento;
Hæc tibi erunt artes, pacisque imponere morem,
Parcere subjectis, et debellare superbis.*
Æsop. l. vi. v. 847—853.

Let others better mould the mingling mass
Of metals, and inform the breathing brass;
And soften into flesh a marble face.
Plead better at the bar, describe the skies,
And when the stars descend, and when they rise,
But Rome! 'tis thine alone, with awful sway,
To rule mankind, and make the world obey;
Disposing peace and war thy own majestic way;
To tame the proud, the froward slave to free:—
These are imperial arts, and worthy thee.

Quintilian was more candid, and, in weighing the respective literary merits of the two claimants, frankly awards the palm to Greece. The great body of the Roman people were by no means imbued, nor even tinctured with a love of letters; for it would appear that the knowledge of Grecian literature was entirely confined to the higher classes of society and the privileged orders. Colloquial Greek words, indeed, were as common as French phrases are with ourselves; and Juvenal alludes to this custom, Sat. vi. 19. *Quæ ex Græco;* but the Roman character was too stern to allow many of her citizens to imbibe the elegances of literature; and totally deficient in that enthusiasm, that poetical temperament, that vivid perception of beauty, which were the characteristics of the Athenian people. The manners of the two people materially

affected their poetry. In Homer we have boldness and sublimity; in Virgil elegance and majesty. But where the Latins shall we find the sublimities of Pindar, or the light sallies and playful elegance of the bard of Teos?

§ VI. Miscellaneous history.

The line of the ancient kings of Italy, before the building of Rome, partakes of the confusion of all the early periods of profane history. According to some writers, the Latin monarchy existed about 600 years a.e. and was established by Janus; but we know nothing of the Etrurians and Latins, except generally as considerable nations in Italy. The names which remain to us of the kings of Latium, before the arrival of *Æneas*, are *King*. *Picus*, *Faunus*, and *Latinus*; then *follow* *Æneas*, *Ascanius*, *Sylvius*, and a long list of monarchs, some of whom are probably fabulous. The only fact upon which we can fix, during a considerable number of years, is the foundation of Rome. Concerning the precise time, however, when this event took place, there is a great discrepancy of opinion amongst historians and chronologists. *Romulus* chose Mount Palatine for the situation of his infant city. For an account of the actions of that prince, we refer our readers to the separate article *ROMULUS*, already given. It is certain that he was slain a.e. 711, and was worshipped as a god after his death, under the name of *Quirinus*; hence the Roman citizens in later days were called *Quirites*. Upon the decease of *Romulus* an interregnum took place, occasioned by disputes between the Romans and Sabines, who not being able to come to an agreement in the choice of a king, the senate took the government into their own hands. It was at last settled that the Romans should choose the king, but that he must be a Sabine. They elected, a.e. 708, *Numa Pompilius*, who was a famous Sabine philosopher, and whose reign was distinguished not for military exploits, but for the cultivation of peace and the arts of life. This prince paid great attention to religious matters, and divided the ministers of religion into eight classes. He dedicated a temple to *Janus*, which was to be closed in peace and open in war. He improved their laws, encouraged agriculture, distributed the citizens into separate bodies, according to their trades or professions, and reformed the Roman calendar. See *NUMA*. Plutarch relates that *Romulus* divided the year into ten months only, but that *Numa* added the two months which were wanting, and also the intercalary days. He reigned forty-three years, and was succeeded by *Tullus Hostilius*.

Hostilius, who was elected both by the people and the senate, a.e. 665; but scarcely was he seated upon the throne when a quarrel arose between the Alban and the Romans. Both parties took the field; and as neither seemed inclined to come to an engagement, *Tullus Hostilius* and *Succatius*, the Alban general, agreed to terminate the dispute by a personal combat of three warriors, chosen from each side. According to *Dionysius of Halicarnassus* there were three brothers in each camp remarkable for their strength and valour. Their names were the *Horatii* and *Curiatii*: the former were Romans, the latter Alban. These champions voluntarily offered to decide the difference between their respective nations; which being assented to on both sides, the Roman and Alban heroes advanced against each other. Before they engaged, they quitted

Miscellaneous history.
From
A. M.
3293.

B. C.
711.
to
A. M.
3498.
B. C.
506.

Ancient

Romulus.

Rome.

From
A. M.
3293.
B. C.
711.
to
A. M.
3498.
B. C.
506.

their weapons, and embraced in tears; they then flew to arms, and each impetuously charged his adversary. The combat was long doubtful, but at last one of the Horatii fell, mortally wounded; and the second soon afterwards expired upon the bleeding body of his brother. The remaining Horatius was still unhurt, and, as the Alban champions were all wounded, he pretended to fly. By this stratagem, the Romans, separating them, slew each of the Curiatii singly, as they pursued him at unequal distances, before either could come up to assist the other, and seizing their armour, returned in triumph to Rome. On entering the city, he was met by his sister, who perceiving amongst the trophies of his victory a robe which she had wrought for one of the Curiatii who was her lover, covered with his blood, she burst into tears and loud complaints. This so enraged the triumphant barbarian that he slew her on the spot; while his father, equally unnatural, applauded the deed, and, considering his daughter as a disgrace to the family, would not allow her to be buried in the Horatia sepulchre; a circumstance which has repeatedly furnished materials for the song of the poet and the pencil of the painter. Horatius was condemned to die for this atrocious outrage, but was pardoned on an appeal to the people. Soon afterwards Tullus made war upon the Fidenates and Veientes; and being joined by the Alban troops under Sulfetius, he determined to attack the enemy. Before the battle began, however, to the astonishment of Tullus, the Albans wheeled round, and retreated to a rising ground. Undaunted at this, the Roman general charged the opposite armies, and having utterly overthrown the Fidenates and Veientes, prepared to punish the perfidy of Sulfetius. He invested Alba Longa, put the Alban general, and his chief advisers to death, and having destroyed the town, removed its inhabitants to Rome. Tullus next turned his triumphant arms against the hostile tribes of the Sabines, and, having gained a great victory over them, he dictated his own terms of peace. Some years after, these Sabines invaded the Roman territory in return, but were defeated by him in a pitched battle. Tullus died soon afterwards, having reigned thirty-three years. Ancus Martius was chosen by the senate and people to succeed him a. c. 634. The new king made war upon the Latins for their infractions upon former treaties, ravaged their country, and defeated them in a general engagement. He successively triumphed over the Fidenates, the Veientes, the Volsci, and the Sabines. The senate decreed him a triumph for his two decisive victories over the people of Veii. Under the reign of this enterprising prince Rome was much enlarged and improved. He rebuilt the temple of Jupiter Feretrius, founded the harbour and city of Ostia upon the Tiber, and died, after a prosperous reign of twenty-four years; leaving two sons, under the guardianship of Tarquinius Priscus, an illustrious senator and patrician. Upon this event the ambitious Tarquin determined upon seizing the vacant throne: the eldest son of Ancus Martius being only fourteen years of age, and the other a mere infant, he judged it would not be difficult to supplant them, and accordingly, by an artful baraque, prevailed on the people to invest him with the regal power. At the commencement of his reign he made a hundred new senators, in order to increase his interest in that illus-

Ancus
Martius.

Tarquinius
Priscus.

trious body. His first war was waged against the Latins, in which he was successful, and the honours of a triumph were decreed him at Rome. The people of Etruria next engaged his attention. This nation, after ravaging the Roman territories, besieged and took Fidenæ, which was the key of the Roman strength. Tarquin, however, entering the field with a large army, entirely defeated them, and recovered the place. The Etrurians now gladly sued for peace, and obtained it, on condition of acknowledging the king of Rome as their sovereign. They accordingly sent Tarquin the badges of royalty, consisting of a crown of gold, an ivory sceptre, and a purple robe, and, decorated with these regalia, he entered Rome in triumph. After this success he directed his attention towards beautifying the city, built its walls with stone, and, according to Livy and Pliny, constructed its aqueducts. He next turned his arms against the Sabines. In the first campaign he was not so successful as on former occasions; but in the spring of the following year he took the field with better fortune. He rapidly crossed the Tiber, attacked the Sabine camp, and put them to the sword. The arms of the Sabines floating down the stream of the Tiber, announced the victory at Rome before the couriers could arrive with their dispatches. After this battle Tarquin, according to Livy, entered the territories of the Sabines, who were again defeated by the Romans in another great battle, and their camp was taken. In the next year the Sabines appeared in the field early, but would not venture beyond their entrenchments. Tarquin blockaded their camp; but, in spite of his vigilance, the Sabine general contrived to make his escape. The year succeeding, the two powers, having opened the campaign, determined to put the whole to the issue of a battle. Tarquin's good fortune again attended him; the enemy were defeated on all sides; and the Romans returned laden with spoils. He now granted peace to the Sabines on condition of being put in possession of their fortresses; and entered Rome in triumph. In commemoration of this war, the conqueror laid the foundation of a temple to Jupiter on the Tarpeian rock; and this building afterwards became the far-famed capitol. Soon after this event he was assassinated in his palace, by some conspirators, instigated to the crime by the sons of Ancus Martius. Servius Tullius, Tarquin's son-in-law, with the consent of the senate, according to Livy, ascended the throne, a. c. 573. He was originally a slave (whence his surname, Servius), and had successively become a Roman citizen, patrician, and senator. The commencement of his reign was disturbed by the intrigues of the sons of Martius, and the senate; which seems scarcely to accord with the testimony of Livy, that this important body consented to his elevation. Servius, however, succeeded in gaining the affections of the people, who he promised to protect against the encroachments both of the senate and the patricians. Averse to war, he was still under the necessity of chastising the rebellion of the Veientes and Etrurians; and, after a long and arduous contest, was successful. About this time Tanaquil, the wife of Tarquin, died. Before her death, Servius was elected king by the assembly of the people, the senate, according to some writers, still withholding its consent. After his Etrurian expedition, he enlarged Rome by taking in two other hills, added a fourth tribe to the three appointed by Romulus, and

Miscellaneous
History.

From
A. M.
3293.
B. C.
711.
to
A. M.
3498.
B. C.
506.

Servius
Tullius.

From
A. M.
3293.
—
B. C.
711.
to
A. M.
3498.
—
B. C.
506.

Death of
Servius.

Tarquinius
Superbus.

married his two daughters to the grandsons of Tarquin, Lucius Tarquinius and Arunx. The Etrurians revolted during the celebration of these marriages, but were again defeated. He instituted the census at Rome; a law which compelled all the Roman citizens to give an account of their names, family, and effects; by means of which the taxes were laid according to the ability of the person upon whom they were imposed. He divided the citizens into six classes, and the classes into centuries. He ordered that the freedmen, or "liberti," should be admitted to the rank of Roman citizens; and convinced the senate of the policy of this law, to which they assented. He afterwards entered into an alliance with the Sabines and Latins. This excellent monarch was at last murdered by the orders of his son-in-law, Tarquin, who was prompted to this crime by Tullia, the daughter of Servius. Tarquin seized upon the throne B. C. 529, and early acquired the surname of the "Proud." The man who had waded to the throne through the blood of his father-in-law, could not reasonably be expected to act towards his people as a mild and benevolent monarch; but atrocious as was the conduct of Tarquin, that of Tullia must be considered as still more revolting. She not only prompted him to murder her own father and seize upon his crown, but, upon her return from the forum, she drove a chariot over the yet panting body of her parent, left by his assassins in the public road, and dyed its wheels with that blood which was the fountain of her own. Both Tarquin and Tullia, previous to this murder, had dissolved their respective conjugal relations, and now formed an incestuous marriage with each other.

The disposition of the new king was soon felt by a proscription of all virtue and public spirit. With him virtue and ability were unpardonable crimes, and villany was alone acceptable. He put Marcus Junius and one of his sons to death, on account of their popularity and affluence; Brutus, the other son, only escaped by counterfeiting madness. Apprehensive of a revolt at Rome, on account of his tyranny, he procured himself, by intrigue, to be made generalissimo of the Latin forces. He then turned his arms against the Volsci and the Sabines, and, according to Livy, being victorious, gave the plunder to his soldiers, excepting one-tenth of the spoils, which he reserved to finish the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus. Soon afterwards the Gabini made war upon him, with various success, during seven years; until Sextus Tarquinius, his eldest son, ingratiated himself into their favour by pretending to flee from his father as a tyrant, and, being received by them without suspicion, obtained almost the entire government of their chief city, Gabii. He now sent a messenger to his father, to request his commands respecting the disposal of the place; and Tarquin is represented by Livy as giving no other answer to the embassy than what was indicated by perpetually striking off the heads of the tallest poppies in his garden, as he gave the messengers an interview. Sextus, interpreting this to point out to him the necessity of removing all the principal persons at Gabii, immediately commenced a course of arbitrary prosecution against the chiefs of the place, devoting many of them

to death upon the slightest pretences, and dividing their effects amongst the people. Having thus reduced their capital to perfect resistanceless, he handed it over to the possession of his father, B. C. 506. Rome was now in a state of profound peace, and Tarquin employed the people in finishing the capitol. This temple, which stood upon the top of the hill Tarpeius, occupied eight acres of ground, was two hundred feet broad, and two hundred and fifteen feet long. The dome of the building was gilt both within and without. It contained three chapels, one dedicated to Jupiter, another to Juno, and a third to Minerva. Soon afterwards, a war breaking out between the Rutuli and the Romans, Tarquin laid siege to Arden; when an incident occurred which determined the fate of the monarchy. Sextus Tarquinius and Collatinus conversing together, with other officers, concerning the excellence of their wives, a dispute arose, and they determined to settle it by ascertaining which was the lady who was best employed at home. They accordingly hastened to Rome, where the princesses were revelling; but Lucretia, the wife of Collatinus, was spinning amongst her maidens; and to her, of course, the meed of merit was conceded. Sextus, struck with her beauty, was inflamed with unhalloved desires. A short time afterwards he returned to the house, entered Lucretia's bed chamber at midnight, and, in spite of her resistance, by menaces and force, accomplished his iniquitous purpose. Lucretia, next day, summoned her husband to meet her father Lucretius, Publius Valerius, afterwards called Puplicola, and Lucius Junius, surnamed Brutus, on account of his passing for an idiot at Tarquin's court, after the murder of his father. She acquainted the assembly with her injuries, and the author of them, and declaring herself unable to survive the disaster, plunged a dagger into her bosom, and fell dead at their feet. Upon this Junius Brutus drew near, and seizing the poisoned yet warm with her blood, solemnly swore upon it, that he would avenge her wrongs upon the head of Tarquin, or perish in the attempt; an oath which was immediately taken by the whole assembly. Brutus instantly convened the senate, who unhesitatingly voted the expulsion of the Tarquins, and the abolition of the monarchy for ever. He next exposed the bleeding body of Lucretia in the assembly of the people, and called upon them to revenge her injuries as their own. The multitude with one consent supported the vote of the senate for the expulsion of the Tarquins; the name of kingdom was to be exchanged for that of commonwealth, and the office of king for that of consul; and from this period to the fall of Rome, even after the restoration of monarchical government, no ruler dared to assume the royal title. They then assembled in the Campus Martius, and solemnly elected Junius Brutus and Tarquinius Collatinus consuls for the year. Tarquin being detected by his army, according to Livy, fled to Cere, in Etruria; and thus ended the regal government of Rome, having lasted about two hundred and forty-two years, yielding to the consular administration, B. C. 506.

Miscellaneous history.

From
A. M.
3293.
—
B. C.
711.
to
A. M.
3498.
—
B. C.
506.

Death of
Lucretia.

Expulsion
of the
Tarquins.

THE TRAGIC POETS OF GREECE;

WITH A VIEW OF THE GREEK TRAGEDY.

ÆSCHYLUS, FLOURISHED ABOUT B. C. 500.
 SOPHOCLES, B. C. 480.
 EURIPIDES, B. C. 460.

Biography.

From
 A. M.
 3504.
 —
 B. C.
 500.
 —
 to
 A. M.
 3544.
 —
 B. C.
 460.

The tragic poetry of Greece, as we find it in the surviving plays of Æschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides, forms a class of imaginative works, entirely distinct from every other which we can distinguish in the treasures which have descended to us from ancient times. If, indeed, we reject the claim of the French tragedians to be its faithful disciples, it will stand entirely alone. In conjunction, therefore, with our biographical detail of the lives of its great masters, we shall endeavour to trace this mighty phenomenon in the world of genius in its origin, its progress, and its perfection.

The elements of the dramatic art seem to be almost as universal as the human mind. In the lowest stages of civilization, we discover rude and barbarous attempts to arrive at the pleasure which it is calculated to impart. In China, and even in the islands of the South sea, the inhabitants, secluded from the influence of European examples, participate in amusements resembling, in species, those of the theatre. We observe children, in their earliest pastimes, becoming the imitators of their elders and superiors; not only indulging in the mimicry of objects immediately before them, but framing out for themselves fancied similitudes of things, of which they can only have very partial knowledge; "a wedding, or a festival; a mourning, or a funeral;" and thus, eagerly going out of themselves towards objects which have acquired a hold on the imagination and the heart, they exhibit man as, in the theatrical sense, an acting, before he arrives at the dignity of a *thinking*, being. It can be no just occasion of surprise then, that in Greece, where poetry had, in Homer, found almost its utmost maturity in its earliest youth, the drama should have obtained a speedy triumph, and have flourished under very favourable auspices.

Origin of the Greek Tragedy.

Although it is usual to trace the Greek tragedy to ceremonies in honour of Bacchus, its first hints and beginnings may probably be referred to a more poetical source. The rhapsodists, the original poets, historians, philosophers, and religious instructors of Greece, were also, in reality, its earliest actors. They accompanied their recitations, doubtless, with such gestures, and delivered them with such intonations, as they thought would most powerfully assist in bringing the scenes which they were describing before the minds of their hearers. There is, indeed, in the texture of the epic poem, an essential difference from that of the tragedy; because, in the former, events are related by a person, who, whether they are joyous or pathetic, professes no immediate interest in them, but contem-

plates them as irrevocable and past, and therefore regards them with a degree of composure; while, in the latter, we have the actual contest, as a thing present; the struggle of human powers and passions, or their vain resistance against a destiny above them. But this real distinction, which now so completely separates the two species of composition, must almost have disappeared in the impassioned declamation of a rhapsodist, who would seem actually to see the themes of his muse in solemn vision; and, in reciting his own poetry, renew the inspiration by which it was originally prompted. At least, nothing could more readily suggest the idea of a drama, not as a rude game, but a high poetical work, than those noble effusions. Homer, no doubt, in his journeyings as a sacred bard, performed the functions of a great actor; and it is curious that the two greatest poets whom human nature has ever produced, the author of the *Iliad* and Shakespeare, together with Æschylus and Sophocles, should have exercised an art which is now so frequently stigmatised as degrading.

Still it must be admitted, that the peculiar ceremonies practised in honour of Bacchus were the immediate means of developing the materials of the tragic art, and giving to it a distinctiveness which it did not before possess—"a local habitation, and a name." We are told that it was customary at the feasts of Bacchus, to sacrifice a he-goat, as that animal was supposed to be peculiarly obnoxious to the god, in consequence of the injuries the vine sustained from his bite. On those occasions, religious hymns were chanted in honour of the festive deity, and rustic poets and reciters contended for the prize of victory. At first, the compositions produced on these occasions were merely lyrical. Soon, however, to relieve the singer, and vary the gratification of the audience, interlocutors were introduced, who filled up the pauses of the song with short narratives of some heroic event; originally, perhaps, having some relation to the god of wine, or his votaries, but soon assuming a more general and diversified character. Thespia and Phrynicus added a little to this idea, by making one entire story occupy, in continuation, all the pauses of the song. In consequence of this improvement, the odes became, in some degree, subordinate to the narration, and seemed to interrupt it at the intervals. Still, if we are to believe the majority of antiquarian critics, *dialogue* was unknown; on which supposition, we must give to Æschylus the praise of having absolutely invented tragedy. It seems, however, most probable, that some rude beginnings of the

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Ceremonies in honour of Bacchus.

Biography. dramas, preceded these mighty exertions, by which he rendered it almost perfect. Certain it is, that before his time, Greece had no regular theatre. The faces of the performers were merely stained with the lees of wine, and they exhibited themselves in the curt of Theopis as on a mountebank-stage. To Æschylus, therefore, belongs the unquestionable praise, not only of having breathed into the dramatic art its life, spirit, and undying energy, but of having invested it with all its external pomp, decoration, and grandeur. Its springing up, like a scene of splendid enchantment, at the magic touch of his genius. Before, however, we particularly examine this matchless creation, it will be proper to state the facts which have descended to us, respecting the personal history of its author.

Æschylus. The birth of Æschylus took place, according to the old scholiast, in the sixty-ninth Olympiad; but it seems to be the better opinion that this event occurred in the sixty-third, i. e. about a. c. 528. He was a native of the village of Eleusis, and descended from an ancient family there, who professed to trace their origin to the first inhabitants of the region. His father's name was Euphorion, who seems to have been peculiarly happy in his children. All his three sons distinguished themselves most honourably in the great battles between the Greeks and Persians for the liberties of their country, and one, in addition to his military exploits, has contributed works to the glory of his age, and the delight of the world, which no lapse of time can destroy.

It is fabled of Æschylus, that, when asleep in a vineyard, in his early youth, Bacchus appeared to him in a dream, and commanded him to write tragedies. Unfortunately, we have no authentic record, or even probable conjecture, of the circumstances which directed his mind to its great office. His first representations, we are told, were exhibited before his countrymen when he had scarcely attained his twenty-fifth year. He seems to have at once conceived and executed the plan of a theatre, to have given to the dialogue its bounds, and to the chorus its office; to have invented the mask and the buskin, and to have planned the mechanism of the stage, and embellished it with the most splendid and magnificent scenery. By what gradations, and with what aids, all this was effected, we are unfortunately ignorant. We shall have occasion to examine particularly the work itself in its aëthral proportions hereafter.

Mighty as the exertions of Æschylus were to render the theatre worthy of Athens, he did not rest contented with adorning and delighting Greece. He showed himself possessed of the highest spirit and courage to defend it when in danger. When Datis and Antaphornes, the generals of Darius, invaded it, he hastened, with his two brothers, Cynegirus and Amyntas, to join the sacred band of heroes who fought and conquered at Marathon. The most honourable mention was made of them all for their eminent and peculiar prowess. So highly, indeed, did our poet signalize himself on that great occasion, that in the picture representing the battle, where Miltiades, for his sole reward, was represented animating and leading the troops, the portrait of Æschylus was drawn. Shortly after, his brother Cynegirus was appointed one of four naval commanders against a Persian armament, and assisted in dispersing the fleet, manned with thirty

thousand men, with only a thousand Greeks; but he fell in the heat of the action.

We find the two surviving brothers once more distinguishing themselves against the common foe, in the great naval engagement at Salamis. Amyntas was the first to attack a Persian ship, which he shattered in pieces, and killed the commander, for which exploit extraordinary honours were decreed him. In the course of the action, this gallant soldier, having too eagerly seized one of the hostile vessels, had his arm severed by a sabre, and was in imminent danger of his life, when Æschylus preserved him from further harm. In the following year, the poet added another wreath to his laurels as a hero on the field of Platæa, where Mardonius was defeated and slain, and Greece finally delivered from all risk of Persian mastery.

In the mean time, the intrepid and fiery Æschylus has pursued with indefatigable vigour his high poetical career. He wrote sixty-six dramas, in thirteen of which he obtained the victory over all his rivals. He is said also to have been the author of several satiric pieces, no vestige of which has reached us. Notwithstanding his varied and eminent deserts, he did not spend the evening of his days tranquilly among his countrymen, whom he had saved by his valour and exalted by his genius. Ingratitude was the vice of Athens: to be distinguished there was to be undone. It seemed as though the minds of its polished citizens were so entirely republican that they could not endure the presence even of superior talent or virtue. The cause, however, of the banishment or secession of Æschylus is variously related. It has been attributed, probably, with great injustice, to his own envy or disappointed ambition. By some, he is said to have taken offence at the prize having been adjudged to Sophocles, when very young, in opposition to his elder claims; by others, to have been disgusted at the preference shown to Simonides, in an elegy written on the battle of Marathon. But, in opposition to the first allegation, it must be observed, that Sophocles could never have been very young when Æschylus was in the decline of his age; besides, the last public exhibition of the latter was that of his great trilogy, which so fortunately remains to us, consisting of Agamemnon, the Choephore, and the Furies, which obtained the prize. And the second hypothesis is, on every ground, improbable; since we never find, on any other occasion, that our bard attempted the elegiac, nor is it likely that a contest to celebrate a particular battle should take place thirty years after the event. Suidas attributes his departure from his country to an accident which took place during the representation of one of his tragedies, when the seats and part of the theatre fell down, to the great terror and injury of the spectators. Others, again, allege that the appearance of the Furies, fifty in number, in his tragedy of that name, was so terrific as to frighten many women who were pregnant, and cause them to miscarry. This last story is also, in all probability, fabulous. It is not likely that the same piece should receive the prize, and occasion the banishment of its author; and, from all we can gather of the customs of ancient Greece, it was by no means usual for families to attend the representations of the theatre. Certain, however, it is, that on some ground, probably the boldness with which the operations of Olympus were unveiled in his works, Æschylus was

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Biography. publicly accused of blasphemy. On this charge, upon which the greatest and best of men have suffered, the poet was condemned to die; when Amyntas, his brother, who pleaded his cause, exhibited the arm which had been deprived of its band at Salamis, and thus procured a remission of the sentence. Struck, however, with the insult offered to his dignity, and shocked by the ingratitude of his countrymen, the veteran poet left Athens, and found, at the court of Hiero, king of Syracuse, a worthy asylum. That prince, the great patron of philosophy and of genius at that period, honourably received and cherished him. As his protector was then engaged in laying the foundation of a city called Ætna, he celebrated the event in a tragedy of that name, in which he foretold its future greatness. He lived for several years at Gela, in Sicily, in a dignified repose. The manner of his death, as commonly related, is singular. It is said that an eagle, mistaking his bald head for a stone, let fall a tortoise upon it, which killed him. As, however, it is added that this event occurred in fulfilment of an oracle, which had pronounced that he should die by a weapon from heaven, the whole story wears the air of fable. His death occurred, according to Stanley, in the sixty-ninth year of his age. The Sicilians bestowed a magnificent funeral on his remains, which were interred on the banks of the Gela, near his residence. Tragedies are said to have accompanied the funeral solemnities, and poets to have contended for the prize at his tomb; in adaptation of the idea by which games of a more athletic cast were celebrated over the ashes of ancient heroes.

Æschylus
first gave
tragedy its
true char-
acter.

Æschylus at once produced and perfected, or at least gave its complete stamp to the Grecian tragedy. No sooner did he exhibit this high species of composition to the Athenians, than they hailed it with enthusiastic delight, and became, as in an instant, a dramatic people. This will appear surprising only to those who regard the tragic art as the mere power of exciting tears. They may well wonder "that all the world should be in love with" grief. The great difficulty which many critics have found in the pleasure experienced by men from exhibitions of pain and sorrow, has arisen, in a great degree, from a low conception of the tragic art. The true poet of tragedy does not appeal to the mere sensibilities of men, or strive to agonize, to lacerate, and tear the bosom. Grief is the mere background of his magnificent pictures, and tends by its deep shadowings to heighten the effect of their fine proportions, and set off their native grandeur. We are not pleasantly affected, because our fellow-creatures are exhibited to our view in a state of suffering; but because, in that state, they display those noble powers of action, or of endurance, which raise nature in our own esteem, and that of heaven. We exult that we belong to a species capable of such greatness of soul, and free, for the season at least, a congenial emotion with the mighty beings before us. It is in the exhibition of mental energies, of high passions, and high actions, that the triumph of the poet consists. The state of affliction is only incidental; it is only necessary to the tragic, because in that condition alone can the matchless resources of the heart be developed in all their fulness. It is in the struggle between the spiritual and material part of our nature that we take an interest so deep;—this, however remote the scene,

comes home to ourselves. We too must suffer and die; and with these inevitable ills perpetually before us, it is delightful to see others nobly suffering, and triumphantly dying—expressing, in their feelings and their deeds, that there is a principle within us over which agony and death have no power, and which shall live, in its full perfection, after these its earthly foes shall have vanished away. By the struggle and conflict alone are we delighted: it is the cause of humanity, and therefore our own; and it is not only the cause of humanity, but that cause as struggled for by the highest members of our race—not always indeed the most virtuous, but those who are richest in energy, passion, feeling, intellect—who are far removed from common life even in their aberrations—and who show, in their errors and crimes, that man is a mighty being, and the soul a thing of high capabilities and a glorious destiny. When the pathos would become oppressive, from the course of the incident, the true poet softens it by some images of gentleness and love, or sprinkles over the whole rich and beautiful fancies which give a tenderness to sorrow. Tragedy ends at the very point where some bare appeared to imagine that it began—the time when its heroes sink overwhelmed by their distresses, and have nothing left them but ignominiously to suffer. The tragic poetry of the Greeks was in direct opposition to this, at least, in the works of Æschylus and Sophocles. Its persons were rendered as high and dignified as possible in their external circumstances and relations. Sometimes they were the deities themselves, or their immediate descendants. Almost all of them were united by various ties of birth to the gods. They were kings, priests, and heroes, and sometimes united in themselves the qualities and the functions of them all. They belonged to those illustrious lines of the mighty, which the Greeks were accustomed to revere as connecting their race with the skies; their sufferings rarely proceed from instruments merely mortal; the web in which they are entangled is not woven of earth, nor of an earthly die; all the horrors shroud around them have a sacred and awe-breathing character; they wear "charmed lives." Some ancient crime, or terrible curse, pursues them, perhaps, for several generations, and every attempt to extricate them from it only serves to show the feebleness of man in comparison with the dark horrors of fate and destiny. They seem at a vast distance from ordinary mortals; and we view them through a kind of super-human medium, which gives to all their darings and sufferings an air of unearthly grandeur. Thus our sympathy with them is never rendered oppressive; it is broken by the semblance of long antiquity, and by feelings of mysterious reverence; and if the force of imagination alone excites these emotions in us, in this age of scepticism and reason, what ideas of august and super-human greatness must have been railed up in the minds of the spectators of these high representations, who brought with them the emotions of a religious faith which was closely interwoven with all the pulses of existence!

We have already seen, in estimating the poetry of Homer, how the religion of the Greeks introduced into their efforts of imagination a close analogy with the plastic arts, which became complete in the works of their tragedians. Fortunately for them, it was in the drama that this peculiar style arrived at its utmost

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Biography. distinctiveness and perfection: for it was singularly adapted for the theatre—far more so than the contemplative or picturesque style of the moderns. An excellent living writer^{*} has indisputably proved, that Shakespeare cannot be acted;—that is to say, those excellencies for which his genuine idolaters admire and love him, cannot be bodied forth to the eye in palpable forms. His beauties lie so deep; they are too delicate, internal, or aerial; they refer too much to the most inward movements of the soul; or branch out into glorious pictures of natural freshness and joy, for any human grace of form, speech, or action, to express them in a theatre. They are to be mused and dreamed over, not declaimed. On the stage he is admired partly from national pride, and partly for excellencies which are possessed by far inferior dramatists. But it was otherwise with the ancient masters. Their triumphs over the mind bore an immediate resemblance to those of the statuary and the sculptor. They excelled, for the most part, in conveying an idea of the most perfect grace, harmony, and proportion of form. The external world, in all its loveliness and glory, was the material on which they chiefly delighted to employ their transcendent skill. Their beauties, therefore, were, in a great degree, capable of being bodied forth to the eye. Their representations, like exquisite statues, required no perspective; and, therefore, they were not incapable of exhibition on the stage. A Hamlet, or a Lear, cannot be shewn to the audience as Shakespeare conceived them; but by a happy combination of nature and art, there is no impossibility in the exhibition of a Helen or an Apollo. Spectators cannot look into the mind of Othello, and survey it in the depth of its sorrows or its joys, its excesses of hate or relapses into love; but they could be made to gaze on Prometheus chained to the rock, with the contest of earthly elements about him. Thus the poetic beauties of the Grecian dramatists, which were most peculiar to themselves, were capable, by the combination of the sister arts, of representation to a public audience.

As the tragedies of the Greeks were thus adapted to scenic exhibition, their authors enjoyed every assistance in thus displaying them, which the most liberal expence and the finest exertions of talent could procure. Their works were represented on stages capable of exhibiting temples and palaces almost in their real magnitude and gigantic proportions. The decorations did not consist of tinsel ornaments, which could only glitter by artificial light, but of the genuine productions of the finest arts. The great events they celebrated took place not under a contracted roof, but beneath the cope of an unclouded sky, with which the scene was formed to harmonize. Neither expence nor labour was spared to make the representation perfect in its minutest circumstances and attendant ceremonies. The mask and the buskin, though totally unsuited to our dramatic style, were the elegant appendages of that which delighted Athens. As the chief object to be attained was an ideal beauty and grandeur, this could be accomplished only by the aid of painting and of sculpture. The Greeks never desired to lose the beautiful in the passionate, nor consented to sacrifice loveliness to expression; and, therefore, they

admitted only such a degree of agitation as consisted with the preservation of dignity and grace. Their tragedies displayed a series of pictures, or rather groups, exemplifying beauty in action or repose; and thus was a certain sweetness diffused over the whole, softening down and mellowing the more violent emotions which the catastrophe might otherwise excite. All was in perfect harmony and keeping; the "still sad music of humanity, not harsh nor grating," breathed from the picture. Of the dance, and solemn music which accompanied the choral songs, we are now unable to form any conception; but there can be no doubt that they partook of the general feeling, and served to render the whole more harmonious. When we remember these circumstances—when we consider that the poets whose tragedies were exhibited, strove in various ways to render the exhibition perfect, in order to obtain the prize from their competitors—when we call to mind the theatrical spirit of the Athenians, which was not daily gratified, but only received the object of its desire at long intervals and on high occasions—and when we reflect on the character of the audience themselves, uniting the keenest sense of pleasure from excellence with the nicest perception of defect—we may form some estimate of the intense expectation which preceded, and the complete harmony which attended, a representation of the works of the great tragedians at Athens.

These representations, unquestionably, assisted in finishing the character of those by whom they were witnessed. The lowest of the Athenian populace found at the theatre a substitute for those formal lessons of wisdom delivered in the schools of the philosophers, which they were precluded from attending. Hence that nice sense and discrimination of the purity of their language, for which they were celebrated. To this class of men, indeed, it is, that a well-regulated stage is of the highest importance. It is to them in the place of literature, as by no other means could their deficiency in the finer parts of knowledge be so well supplied. The great moral advantage of history, painting, sculpture, and poetry, is, that they give men an interest in things out of and beyond themselves, which pertain not to everyday life, nor to "the ignorant present time." They excite in us a sense of ideal beauty, and delightfully lead us from the gross pursuit of individual interest, to a high communion with that general humanity of which we are too ready to forget that we are partakers. They break that web which the spirit of commerce, and, in some degree, the necessities of our condition teach us to weave around ourselves, to the exclusion of the rest of our species, and in which we should otherwise be imprisoned ourselves, like the silk worm, to toil and to die. They connect us with the past ages and generations of the world, and give us intimations of the destiny reserved for us in the richness of the future. Now, in some degree, the representations of tragedy confer similar benefits on the people. From these they obtain hints of a greatness above common nature—"glimpses which may make them less forlorn." Some perception of the beautiful and the grand steals imperceptibly over them; they are filled with ideas of high passions and heroic deeds, and catch a spark of generous enthusiasm from the bright and noble characters personified in their view. Thus are they elevated and polished into men. This

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Comparison with
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Theoretical
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* See Mr. Lamb's Essay on the Tragedies of Shakespeare, as adapted to representation at the Theatre. Works of Charles Lamb, vol. II. p. 1.

Biography. was the case, in a peculiar degree, at Athens. As this was the only Grecian city which excelled in the exhibitions of the theatre, its lowest citizens exceeded the chiefs of the states around it in the great arts of honourably living and virtuously enjoying. They united the Spartan zeal for freedom and the glory of their country with a humanity, elegance, and sense of refined pleasure, which the barbarous citizens of Lacedæmon thought incompatible with the sterner and more heroic virtues.

Among the most remarkable differences between the Greek tragedies and those of modern times must be classed the *chorus*. The original cause of the introduction of this peculiar feature has already been shown, in the sketch of the mode by which the tragic act was developed in its earliest beginnings. It constituted originally the whole performance, but gradually decreased in importance as the drama proceeded. We may even observe, that this decline in its functions did not stop with the efforts of the first of those great tragedians whose works have reached us. In Æschylus, the lyrical pieces occupy a far greater proportion of space, compared with the dialogue, than in Sophocles; and, in Euripides, they are often altogether detached from the plot, or linked to it only by very slender ties, so that they seem rather like distinct pieces chaunted between the acts to give rest to the performers, than necessary parts of the tragedy. This last gradation, however, was in the decline of the art. But it must be confessed, that the chorus was always regarded by the ancient critics as an essential portion of the Grecian plays. To us it seems, in many instances, to render the action improbable, or to retard its progress. But we must remember, that a dramatic representation was regarded in a very different light by the Athenians, from that in which it is viewed at the present time. With them it was a religious solemnity; with us it is a mere amusement. At Athens it occurred but rarely while we have constant opportunities of witnessing it. We require, therefore, to heighten our pleasure, or even to prevent our uneasiness, more pungent stimuli. To make a representation popular with us, it must contain much of action, and little of repose. But it was natural that, in this respect, the tastes of an Athenian audience should be more simple and pure. They looked to the lyrical intermixtures for moral and poetical satisfaction; and would have thought their absence but ill atoned for by more of variety, intrigue, bustle, situation, or incident. They required a strict conformity, not to ordinary probabilities, but to the ideal in beauty and grandeur. They would tolerate no defect in the internal harmony of the ode; but if this was unbroken, they did not think it necessary to their pleasure, that the question should be solved, whether it was likely that the persons should thus openly express their emotions. Notwithstanding the exertions of critics, ancient and modern, the precise offices of the chorus seem still unsettled. Horace's rule that they compose differences, moderate the passions of the turbulent, and support the cause of virtue and truth, at least admits of many striking exceptions. So far from acting a mediatorial or reconciling part, the choral band are sometimes the main subjects of the tragedy. This is the case in the *Supplicants* of Æschylus, the piece of the same name in Euripides, and in the *Furies* of the former tragedian. In many other

instances, also, they take a decided part in the action; *Tragic Poets of Greece.* as in the *Choephore*, where they excite and goad on Orestes to the murder of his mother; a piece of revenge which is always represented in the tragedies founded on it, at least of a doubtful character. Perhaps the best solution of all the difficulties is, that this part of tragedy, being considered as requisite in order to its completion, the poet was frequently compelled, by his subject, to place the chorus in characters and situations which appear absurd to us, but which the Athenians wisely chose to tolerate, rather than be deprived of the noble poetry to which it gave the occasion.

The Greek tragedians have often been censured for a strict observance of the unities of action, time, and place, and the moderns have been censured for not having studiously followed their example. From this charge the latter have been most able, and we think successfully vindicated, by W. A. Schlegel, in his *Lectures on Dramatic Literature*. Properly understood, indeed, the first, unity, is admitted to be of high importance. It seems essential that there should be a continuity of feeling or interest—a pervading emotion, an object, and a design—which, on its development, should leave on the mind a sense of completeness. This appears to be all which can even be explained with intelligibility respecting the unity of action. Those of time and place, in the sense in which they are recommended by their French advocates, were never scrupulously observed by the Greek tragic poets. In the *Agamemnon* of Æschylus, the watchman appointed by Clytemnestra sees the signals which announce, by a long series of lights, the fall of Troy; and shortly after the hero enters, having, since the commencement of the play, performed the voyage from the Troad to Argos. In the *Supplicants* of Euripides, an entire expedition is arranged, leaves Athens for Thebes, and obtains a victory after a hardly-contested battle, during a short choral ode, at the close of which a messenger arrives with a circumstantial account of the events of the field, which occupies in his relation three times the space allotted to the whole series of occurrences. In the *Trachinians* of Sophocles, the voyage from Thebes to Euboea is three times performed during the action. That the events of the play do not often occupy a longer time, is probably owing to the stage having never been left empty by a division into acts, but being constantly occupied, during the pauses of the business, by the chorus. Nor is it true that no change of scene ever took place during the representations of the theatre at Athens. In the *Ajax* of Sophocles, a removal of the place of action necessarily occurs; and in the *Eumenides* of Æschylus, it is actually transferred from Delphi to Athens. That this variety also did not more frequently occur, may be traced rather to necessity than system. The decorations of the Athenian stage were exceedingly massive and costly, and could not be removed, during the course of a play, without great delay and confusion. But, for purposes of convenience and effect, the back scene was frequently so constructed that it could be opened, and the interior of the palace, or temple, which it represented, could be rendered visible to the spectators. Hence it may be inferred, that other varieties would have been admitted, had they been regarded as possible. It cannot be matter of surprise, that those critics who have so highly extolled the Greek tragedians for these tribes, which they really did not

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The unities.

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observe, should have overlooked those high and peculiar beauties which have rendered them immortal.

Æschylus, though admitted by all to have been almost, if not entirely, the inventor of tragedy, has been commonly regarded by the critics as a rude and uncultivated genius, who left Sophocles, and even Euripides, to bring his work to perfection. He has been accused of harshness, obscurity, and bombast; of the utter want of plan in the contrivance of his plots, and of consistency in the support of his characters. The genuine lover of poetry, however, will probably find, on perusing him with a kindred spirit and feeling, that the greatest part of these accusations is false, and the rest easily forgiven. His mind seems, indeed, to have had a portion of the sun's meridian glow diffused over it. It was dark only "with excessive bright." Mighty imaginations crowded so fast on him, that in the heat of his inspiration, he did not stop accurately to define, or clearly to develop them. When, however, he grasps the vastest subjects, he handles them with the ease of a master. If he is encumbered in his stupendous course, it is by the narrowness of the material sphere in which he is compelled to move. Of the internal mechanism of a play he knew but little; but, in the very fragments of his compositions a power almost above this world—a spirit, a freeness, and a native grace—are every where conspicuous. He dared the highest things, and almost always succeeded. Like his own Prometheus, he seems to have stolen fire from heaven to inspire and vivify his characters. "Thoughts that breathe, and words that burn," are peculiarly his own. The fiery zeal of a Greek, which he had displayed so nobly in the field, never seems, in all his compositions, to forsake him. However defective he may have been in the form, he had the most perfect spirit of tragedy. He felt most strongly that it was a high, a serious, and noble thing. He would instantly have rejected the idea of searching among the vulgar sufferings of common life for its materials. He "raised his mortals to the skies," or drew down the gods themselves to the earth, to mingle in the scene. He delights to throw his action back into the remotest obscurities of distance, among the order of the immortals. However mighty his theme, he always brings to it a kindred emotion. His language, from its elevation, its masculine boldness, and the sublimity of its metaphors, though often harsh and obscure, seems to be the language of the gods. But he never loses his stateliness in his passion; his terrors are in keeping, and always breathe of that unearthly grandeur and awe which is the true spirit of tragic poetry.

The Pro-
metheus
chained.

Of the sixty-six dramas which Æschylus is said to have composed, only seven have reached us. Of these none bears more strikingly the mark of his bold and fiery genius than the "*Prometheus chained*," which formed the middle link of a trilogy, in which it was preceded by a tragedy on the subject of the transmission of the sacred fire to mortals by the offending power, and followed by another on his liberation from his bondage by the efforts of Hercules. The idea, the scenery, the persons, are all alike majestic in this mighty relic of our author. The hero is a god of the oldest race, one who had assisted in subduing the Titans, and in placing Jupiter on his throne; and who, for beneficently communicating all the arts and embellishments of life to man, is condemned by the ungrateful monarch of

Olympus, to a dreadful, and, perhaps, endless suffering. It is a grand epitome of the oppression of right by might; of the subjection of the material frame of the wise and virtuous, in all times, to the iron rule of power; and of the proud, resolute, and unshaken resistance of the free-born spirit in the midst of the severest pangs. It exhibits the stern law of necessity, or of outward strength, bending down the body, and the inward triumph of the soul, calm, self-determined, and unawed. Nothing can be grander than the scenery in which the poet has made his hero suffer. We are to imagine a stupendous and desolate rock at the extremity of earth's remotest wilds, frowning over the ocean; and Vulcan, with Strength and Force, the two gigantic fiends in whose figures brute power seems personified, and Despotism is displayed in its native relentlessness and fury, fixing the sublime form of Prometheus by massive chains to the promontory. In vain do his conductors taunt, and Vulcan pity him: neither abuse nor compassion tempt him to utter a word. It is only when left alone that he condescends to give vent to his sorrows. The gentle nymphs of the ocean relieve the gloom with their tender compassionings, and draw from the immortal sufferer the tale of his beneficence and his wrongs. Oceanus, from the inmost caverns of the sea, rises to admonish him to submit to his oppressor, and is dismissed with a noble disdain. Then the unhappy and persecuted Prometheus, whose fate in the distance of time, are closely interwoven with those of Prometheus, who reveals to her, in part, her future destiny. At last Mercury descends, and commands him to disclose the secret by which Jupiter may escape the danger which threatens his throne; he sternly and triumphantly refuses; the tempest rages, the lightnings flash upon the rock: the sands are torn up by whirlwinds; the seas are dashed against the sky, and all the artillery of heaven is levelled against his bosom; while he proudly defies the vengeance of his tyrant, and sinks into the earth to the lower regions, calling on all the powers of justice to witness his wrongs. It has been objected, that in all this there is no action; but the piece must be viewed as part of a whole, forming, in effect, one tragedy. It is but a fragment of a mighty design, but how grand and complete in itself is the picture!

In the "*Seven Chiefs against Thebes*," the warlike spirit of Æschylus blazes with amazing fury and brightness. He seems to have composed this tragedy with a peculiar gust. The glorious fields of danger and confusion in which he had borne so conspicuous a part, seem actually present before him; and yet how delightfully is the whole softened and relieved by the tender lamentations of the Theban virgins, who, while they are elapsing the images of the gods, exhibit to us a scene of high plastic beauty! Great part of the play is occupied in the descriptions given by a soldier to Ptoecles, of the seven chieftains who are destined to attack the gates, and of his replies, specifying the commanders whom he will depute to oppose them. Nothing can exceed the vividness and life of these descriptions. By a few daring and masterly strokes, the heroes, with their appropriate armour, are completely exhibited to our view, and distinctly and individually seen, admirably contrasted with the cooler and more temperate champions who are destined to oppose them. Nothing can

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The Per-
sonal.

exceed the noble burst of passion, when the messenger, having enumerated the six warriors, names Polynices, the brother of Eteocles, as the seventh, and the prince, who has ordered all till now with the utmost calmness and judgment, passionately calls for his armour without delay, and rushes out, with ungovernable impulse, to the unnatural and fatal combat. So admirable is the conduct of the piece, that we can forest with certainty the event of the battle. We see that the city will be saved by the cool prowess of its defenders; and that the brothers, alike driven on by a father's curses, are hastening to destruction. Nothing is left to chance. The battle is not a mere arbitrary means of bringing about the catastrophe, but a necessary link in the chain of destiny, prepared and fitted for the fulfilment of the design of fate. The heroic resolution of Antigone to inter Polynices, which forms the subject of Sophocles' exquisite tragedy, closes this portion of the disastrous history of the house of Ædipus.

The "*Persians*," considered as a drama, is exceedingly defective. The subject was essentially unfit for the stage, especially when the Athenians of the poet's days were to form the audience. Abstractedly considered, the overthrow of a great army, which only affects the prince in his public character, is not a fit subject of tragedy. No individual interest can be elicited from it. It belongs not to poetry, but to history; and, at all events, can be made the subject only of the epic or the ode. But of all public events, those which are recent are peculiarly improper for theatrical exhibition. The imagination can find no suitable resting-place in the thorny maze of contemporary politics. The poet cannot venture to interweave such fictions with the truth as may ennoble and adorn it; he can exhibit events only in their actual course, and, therefore, can excite no curiosity in his audience. Besides, it was impossible that the Athenians could feel sympathy in the distresses of Xerxes. His sorrows were to be made the theme of their triumph; and this selfish feeling is precisely the reverse of that which genuine tragedy will excite. Still the piece possesses high poetical merit, as a song of national rejoicing. It must have been singularly gratifying to the pride of the Grecians to hear their praises sounded forth from the mouths of their vanquished foes. And surely no one could so justly be selected to celebrate the triumphs of his country as the poet who had assisted so gloriously to obtain them.

The Suppl-
ments.

The "*Suppliants*" is one of the least interesting pieces of Æschylus. It consists, in fact, of nothing but the arrival of Danaüs and his daughters in Argos, at their flight from the sons of Ægyptus, who sought them in marriage; the protection afforded them by Pelasgus, the monarch of that city; and his refusal to resign them to their persecutors, on the insolent demands of their messenger. Schlegel conjectures that it formed a connecting link between two other plays, in the first of which the flight of the heroines was celebrated, and, in the last, their forced union with their uncles, their bitter revenge on them, and their final doom. As it now stands, it affords a pleasing portrait of the hospitality and regard to justice which prevailed in Greece, even in its rudest times.

The greatest work left to us of Æschylus is the complete trilogy, consisting of the three tragedies of the Agamemnon, the Choephore, and the Eumenides, and

forming one grand and connected development of a striking portion in the history of the devoted house of Atreus. It was beyond doubt one of his latest works, as its exhibition for the prize immediately preceded his departure from Athens. It is wonderful that the fire of his youth appears here utterly undiminished and unsubdued. In greatness of conception and energy in the execution, this work is almost without a parallel. The "*Agamemnon*" opens before the palace of the hero whose name it bears, where the watchman whom Clytemnestra has appointed is waiting with anxious and lingering hope for the blazing of the signal-fires which shall announce the fall of Troy. He sees the long-expected light which gives token of the joyful event. Thus the back-ground of the scene, which we seem to view afar in imaginary perspective, is exceedingly grand. There the final triumph of the Grecian arms, the sad catastrophe of the noblest of all heroic tales, is dimly seen; and when Agamemnon appears about to meet his own destiny, he comes irradiated, as it were, for the sacrifice, with the glories of the mightiest of ancient wars. The songs of the chorus, on receiving the glad tidings, are noble pieces of lyrical poetry; in the midst of exultation they breathe a religious awe, and serve to prepare us for the tragical events just on the verge of completion. After the herald has confirmed the tidings announced by the watchman, and expressed his fears for the safety of the Grecian princes, Agamemnon arrives with his spoils, accompanied by Cassandra, the prophetic and ill-fated daughter of Priam, who is seated on a triumphal car, to add to the state of the victor. Clytemnestra advances to meet her husband, and addresses him in a long congratulatory harangue, which shows how little affection she actually cherished for him. She entreats him to enter the palace, over the long train of costly tapestry which she has prepared to grace his entry. This, at first, he gracefully refuses, as an honour fit only for the gods; but at last consents, after having ordered that his war-like buskins should be taken off, lest he should insult the deities by his pride. The chorus express a dark presentiment that some evil is at hand. Clytemnestra again appears, and invites Cassandra to enter the house, but she remains silent and motionless, nor seems to understand the entreaties with which she is addressed. The queen once more retires to the palace, and the captive princess, agitated with the fury of prophetic inspiration, bursts out into expressions of distraction and horror. At first she hints obscurely at the dreadful catastrophe preparing; but soon the vision becomes clearer: she sees, in shapes of fire, and expresses in terrible words, the horrible banquet whence the woes of the house of Atreus arose, and the impending fate of Agamemnon and herself;—she feels her own death every instant approaching—and, conscious of the power of destiny, rejects all idea of flight or resistance as vain. At the close, she looks distractedly on the sun for the last time, and, frenzied on by ungovernable impulse, rushes into the house to die. The cries of Agamemnon, in the agonies and struggles of death, are now heard. Clytemnestra appears, reeking from her husband's slaughter, and triumphs in her deed. She is not, however, very consistent in her reasonings; at one time she removes the guilt from herself to the Furies, in vengeance for the repast of Thyestes; and at another, declares the act a just retri-

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The Age-
mentary.

Biography. lation for the sacrifice of Iphigenia at Aulis. She seems to revel in blood—to be drunken with savage joy—and exultingly pictures to herself her devoted daughter meeting her murdered husband in the shades. *Ægisthus* unites with her in justifying and rejoicing in the deed; while the chorus nobly unmask the royal criminals to their face, and defy their guilty power. With this feeling of free-born defiance to tyrannic crime, the piece concludes; leaving on the mind a generous sentiment to repose on, after the awful events unfolded. There is nothing grander in the ancient tragedy than the scene in this play in which *Cassandra* speaks. The dignity of her own person, as representing the greatness of Troy, now in ashes; her sad condition; the divine inspiration within her; all conspire to render her an object of the highest tragic feeling. Her silence is inexpressibly noble; and when she speaks, breathing out her soul in prophetic frenzy, blending together in one terrific vision the past guilt and woe of the house of Atreus, its impending horrors and her own fate, and closing the whole by rushing involuntarily into the house to die with her conqueror—the soul is elevated to a dizzy pitch, and tragedy seems to have attained its highest possible tone. *Clytemnestra* does not appear a low or mean criminal. The true motive of her crime is kept carefully from the view as though a mere selfish and human aim would have debased the whole. Yet, after all, how inferior is she to the mighty murderess of Shakespeare! She does not stalk on to a glorious aim, reckless merely of means, like *Lady Macbeth*, who sees glittering visions before her, and only forgets or overlooks the horrors of assassination in her grasping eagerness for the crown—"the golden round that fate and metaphysical aid do seem to have her crowned withal." It is impossible, after all, to avoid feeling that the Grecian fiend's revenge is a mere pretext to cover a more ignoble end; but that the avowed aim of Shakespeare's heroine is real as well as grand and heroic, and removes her far from disgust or scorn. The former is an object, not of contempt indeed, but of hatred; the latter belongs not to the feeling but the imagination, and overpowers all other sensations by those of wonder and of awe.

In the "*Chœphoræ*," the deed which forms the subject of the former play is visited with a just, though unmitigated, vengeance. This piece derives its name from the circumstance of the chorus bringing offerings to present at Agamemnon's grave. The scene is laid before the palace, and exhibits the tomb of the murdered chief. Parts of the opening of the tragedy are lost, but enough remains to preserve the connection entire. *Orestes* first appears with *Pylades*, invokes *Mercury* and the shade of his father, and places a lock of his hair on the sepulchre. Observing *Electra* and the chorus approaching, the friends step aside to observe their proceedings. The choral ode explains the object of the mournful procession; that *Clytemnestra*, alarmed in the night by a terrible vision, had sent gifts to appease the shade of her murdered lord, mourns the death of Agamemnon, and laments the necessity of serving the guilty perpetrators of the deed. *Electra*, by the advice of the attendants, invokes *Mercury*, the leader of departed spirits, and the ghost of her father, to pity *Orestes* and herself, and send her brother to her aid. While she sheds the libations on the grave, the chorus begin to sing a soothing strain to appease the

dead, but break off into a rapturous exclamation, on beholding, in prophetic vision, the youthful hero rushing on to vengeance. *Electra* now discerns the hair, and surveys it with mingled wonder, fear, and hope. While her perplexity increases, *Orestes* appears, displays the embroidered tunic of her own work, and a joyful recognition takes place between the brother and the sister. The former relates that he has received the express commands of *Apollo* to put both the murderers to death; the chorus and *Electra* join in animating him to the deed; the peculiar enormities attendant on the death of his father are recounted; the attendants see fate hovering over the heads of the guilty; *Orestes* and *Electra* join in invoking the shade of Agamemnon over his tomb; and the former discloses his purpose of obtaining admittance by guile to the palace, and withdraws to consult with his friend on the immediate measures to be chosen. The chorus, in a strain of savage grandeur, sing of the ferocious passions of man, and of the dark exploits of women, alluding to terrible catastrophes of the older time, and declare that at last the righteous decrees of Almighty vengeance will be accomplished. *Orestes* and *Pylades* then appear, and desire to see *Clytemnestra*, pretend they come with the news of the death of her son, and are conducted into the palace. The chorus persuade the nurse, who laments over the death of *Orestes*, whom she had tended in childhood, to bring *Ægyptus* to hear the tidings alone, and she retires to find him. The chorus utter solemn prayers to the gods for the success of the enterprise. *Ægisthus* enters, expresses his doubts of the truth of the glad intelligence, and hastens into the palace to question the strangers. The awful moment, so long delayed, now approaches. The chorus, in agitating suspense, have scarcely addressed a short prayer to heaven, when the cries of *Ægisthus* are heard; a servant announces his death; meets *Clytemnestra*, and darkly conveys the news, which she understands, and demands an axe for her defence. *Orestes*, reeking from the slaughter of her paramour, rushes upon her; in vain does she cry for mercy; in vain does she point to the bosom which had nurtured him, and makes the most pathetic appeal to his compassion, for while nature roused within him makes him waver, *Pylades*, who now, and now only, breaks silence, solemnly warns him of the oracle, and adjures him to fulfil the purpose of the gods; and he pursues his mother into the house to sacrifice her with her partner in crime. The chorus sing an ode of triumph at the retribution. The palace now opens, and displays the dead bodies, near which *Orestes* stands and justifies the deed. Soon, however, his presence of mind forsores him. He feels the terrors of madness coming over him—sees his mother's Furies approaching him—declares, in the midst of horror, that he will hasten to the oracle of *Apollo* for purification and succour, and rushes from the stage. The chorus conclude the piece with a mournful reflection on the series of crimes and sorrows which have desolated the house of Atreus. Though this play is very ineffectually conducted, an austere and awful spirit pervades it. Destiny is represented in a manner the most terribly grand; she "sits on the dark battlements and frowns."

In the "*Eschylæ*" the consequences of this doubtful revenge are magnificently developed, and the whole series conducted to a placid repose. The scene opens

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The Chœphoræ.

Biography. before the temple of Apollo at Delphi, where the Pythia appears, and pays her accustomed reverence to the celestials, previous to her taking the prophetic seat. She enters the temple, but instantly returns in great consternation; declaring that she has seen within a man, yet bloody, with a drawn sword in one hand, and a branch of olive in the other, in a suppliant posture, and around, on the consecrated seats, a great number of hideous figures, resembling women, stretched in slumber. The great gates then burst open—Orestes is seen, protected by Apollo, and surrounded by the Furies still asleep; the bright deity promises never to forsake his votary, but warns him to fly to Athens, and there entreat the protection of Minerva, its tutelary goddess. Orestes retires to obey, and Apollo disappears. The ghost of Clytemnestra rises, calls on the Furies to awake, points to her bleeding wounds, and demands vengeance. In broken words, as amidst dreams, the ministers of retribution call out to seize the object of their pursuit; and thro' awake in wild confusion, and express their rage that their foe has escaped them. Apollo drives them from his temple, and in vain tries to dissuade them from still pursuing Orestes;—they rush off to follow him. The scene now changes to the temple of Minerva, at Athens. Orestes enters, embraces the statue of the goddess, and entreats her interference in his cause. Scarcely has he spoken than the chorus of Furies appear, and, in a savage speech, demand his blood for that of his mother. He replies, that he has been purified at Delphi, and implores the protection of Minerva. The Furies now chant a solemn strain, by which they devote Orestes as their victim, and celebrate their high and ancient offices among mortals. Minerva appears; attends to both parties, and agrees to select judges before whom the great cause shall be decided. The chorus sing the hollowness of modern laws, and the secret powers of conscience which they govern. The trial then opens before the Areopagi;—Apollo pleads the cause of the suppliant; the judges throw their balls into an urn; for a moment an awful suspense prevails; but Minerva declares the number of votes equal, and, consequently, that the accused is acquitted. Orestes joyfully blesses Athens, and the Furies burst into exclamations of disappointed rage. At length, by her calm and mild wisdom, Minerva soothes their resentments, and charms away their hostilities, gives them a sanctuary in Attica, confers on them high honours, and receives their thanks and blessings. She then calls on the Athenian train to attend the goddesses, with torches and purple vestments, to their sacred abodes, and with this magnificent procession, the piece closes. Here, though the ground-work of the plot is among mortals, the trial is elevated into a contention among the gods. On the one hand, the guilty powers of unbridled ferocity, who sting the ether to madness, in the savage state, contend; and, on the other, the younger and brighter divinities of civilized life, of wisdom, poetry, and music, advance their claims; and the whole terminates in the most philosophical compromise; the feelings of indignant nature are conciliated by wisdom, and turned to benevolent purposes for the advantage of man. And all this is attended with the most delicate compliment to Athens, as the seat of mercy, justice, knowledge, and right, to which the gods themselves would repair in order to compose their divisions. This is the piece

for which the Athenians are said to have banished the poet as impious, and for which the French critics have delighted to load him with abuse, as the violator of their favourite unities!

SOPHOCLES was born at Athens, about the fourth year of the seventieth Olympiad, that is, in the year a. c. 497; so that he was about thirty years younger than Æschylus. His father, named Sophilus, is said to have been a mechanic; who also, however, enjoyed the esteem of Pericles, and had the discrimination and generosity to bestow an excellent education on his son. At a very early period of his life his great powers began to unfold themselves and to attract the notice of the first citizens of Athens. He was also exceedingly favoured by nature in the beauty of his person and a native elegance and grace; he made that great proficiency in music which might be expected in one whose whole soul was tuned to the harmonious; and in the bodily exercises held honourable in the Athenian youth, he was pre-eminent for grace and skill. When the Greeks returned victors from the great battle of Salamis, and the trophy was erected in honour of that event, the poet, then only sixteen years of age, led the chorus of noble youths who sung the *Psalm* around it, dancing before them, and accompanying their song on his lyre. The high success of Æschylus, then at the summit of his reputation, stimulated him, before he had attained his twenty-fifth year, to the composition and representation of tragedies; and an opportunity was soon afforded him of carrying away the prize from his mighty master.

Cimon, having understood that the oracle had commanded the Athenians to bring to their city the ashes of Theseus, and to pay honours to him, undertook to search for the relics of the hero. For this purpose he went to Scyros, where, according to tradition, Theseus had been slain by Lycomedes, and with great difficulty discovered the sepulchre. Hence he procured the bones of the warrior, and brought them in his galley, with great splendour and solemnity, to Athens. Among the rejoicings on this occasion, an exhibition of tragedies was appointed, at which both Æschylus and Sophocles contended for the victory. The applause of the theatre was divided; some of the spectators zealously supported the youthful candidate, and others as zealously maintained the supremacy of the veteran. This state of suspense continuing, Apollonius, the archon, instead of casting lots to determine who should be elected judges, appointed Cimon, and his nine associates in command; and having performed the usual solemnities in honour of the deity who presided over the festival, caused them to swear honourably and impartially to give their decision. By these, after a warm contention, the prize was awarded to Sophocles, then in the first ripeness of manhood. It is affirmed by some, that it was in consequence of this event that Æschylus left Athens; but this opinion we have already stated our reasons for rejecting.

The subsequent career of Sophocles was worthy of this splendid beginning. Like his predecessor, he did not confine his genius to the arts of peace; he was associated in command with Pericles and Thucydides, and assisted in reducing the isle of Samos to obedience. In his maturer age, he exercised the functions of a priest. His long life seemed a golden round of arts,

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Sophocles.

Biography. triumphs, virtues, and joys. He is said to have composed a hundred and twenty tragedies, to have gained the first prize four and twenty times, and also, on all other occasions, to have been ranked second in the list of poets. So excellent was his conduct, so majestic his wisdom, so exquisite his poetical capacities, so rare his skill in the finest arts, and so uninterrupted his prosperity, that the Greeks regarded him as the peculiar favourite of heaven. Hence the ancients have related several marvellous incidents concerning him. Plutarch, in his Life of Numa, informs us that it was a common tradition that Æsculapius sojourned with Sophocles during his lifetime, and that, after his death, some other deity performed for him the sacred rites of burial.

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forms us, that the last time he obtained the prize, his delight and surprise were so great, that he died in a transport of joy. All accounts agree that his end, like his life, was gentle, and without lingering disorder. A little before, when Euripides, who had long been his rival, and, in some part of his life, at least, his foe, expired, he hastened to do him honour, ordered a tragedy to be acted, went himself to the theatre in mourning, and compelled the actors to appear without their coronets or garlands. It was fitting, therefore, that he should himself obtain the highest honours in his funeral. We are informed that, at the period of his decease, Athens was closely besieged by the Spartan army under Lysander; but that general, in consequence, according to fable, of a vision from Bacchus, had probably from a high reverence for genius, suspended the attack on the city, that the Athenians might, without interruption, indulge the melancholy joy of paying the last and tributes of homage to the most truly illustrious of their citizens.

The great and distinguishing excellence of Sophocles will be found in his exquisite sense of the beautiful and the perfect harmony of all his powers. His conceptions are not on so gigantic a scale as those of Æschylus, but in the circle which he prescribes to himself to fill, not a space is left undressed; not a niche without its appropriate figure; not the smallest ornament which is incomplete in the minutest graces. His judgment seemed absolutely perfect, for he never fails; he is always fully master both of himself and his subject; he knows the precise measure of his own capacities; and while he never attempts a flight beyond his reach, he never debases himself, or his art, by any thing beneath him. He keeps on, undisturbed in his majestic course, in calm and beautiful progression; he never, like Æschylus, soars to a height in which, if the sight, the sympathies of his audience cannot pursue him, nor does he, like Euripides, condescend to appeal to mere sensibilities for applause. It is wonderful that, as he added so much to the plot and machinery of the drama, he should, above all other tragedians, be exempt from inconsistency or confusion. His persons are more numerous, his plots more involved, his incidents more thickly strewn than those of his great predecessor, and yet every thing is perfect in itself; all is lucid and clear; and in the variety and complexity of the parts, the harmony and proportion of the whole is never forgotten. All his images are finished off with a greater nicety of polish than those of Æschylus, though they are less colossal in their size, and scarcely insinuated with so Promethean a spirit. As the more ancient had resembled the sculptor who forms single statues, or groups of but two or three figures, his successor imitated him who presents more numerous figures in each group, though each individual form is equally perfect. In reading Sophocles, we seem always to breathe the fresh air of Attica, and expatiate on a sky without a cloud. From his figures a sweet music seems to breathe, such as comes over the soul with delight, from the contemplation of the Apollo Beheldere, or the Venus de Medicis. His philosophy is "musical as is Apollo's lute": his wisdom is made visible in the form of beauty. His choral songs, which are the soft expressions of the feeling which the tragedy should inspire, are full of the noblest passages to which this praise is pre-eminently due. He was un-

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Character
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poetry.

His death. The accounts of the death of Sophocles vary. According to Lucian, he was choked, like Anacreon, with the stone of a grape; but Valerius Maximus in-

Biography. doubtably the first philosophical poet of the ancient world. With his pure taste for the graceful, he perceived, amidst the sensible forms around him, one universal spirit of love gently pervading all things. Virtue and justice, to his mind, did not appear the mere creatures of convenience, or the means of gratifying the refined selfishness of man; he saw them, having deep root in eternity, unchanging and imperishable as their divine author. In a single stanza he has expressed this sentiment, with a plenitude of inspiration before which the philosophy of expediences must vanish away. The passage has neither parallel nor equal in its kind, that we recollect, in the whole compass of heathen poetry:

Ὁ μὲν ἔστιν ὁμοῖος
 Μῦθος ἀνθρώποισιν ἀνθρώπων
 ἔργων ἡ φύσις, ὃς ἡμῶν ὁμοῖος
 ἡ φύσις, ὅτις ἡμῶν ὁμοῖος
 ἡ φύσις, ὅτις ἡμῶν ὁμοῖος
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 ἡ φύσις, ὅτις ἡμῶν ὁμοῖος

Edip. Tyrus, v. 688.

Which may thus be rendered :

O for a spotless purity of action and of speech, according to those sublime laws of right, which had the celestial heavens for their birth-place, and God alone for their author—which the decays of mortal nature cannot vary, nor time cover with oblivion; for the divinity is mighty within them, and waxes not old!

No translation, however, can give the spirit of this passage. The English poetical versions completely fritter away its deep sense in miserable embellishment, and destroy at once its purity and truth.* It is one of those noble pieces of antiquity, which Milton imitates with kindred spirit, when he disposes exquisite Grecisms amidst his picturesque and romantic poetry—like Ionic temples amidst a pastoral landscape.

Of the numerous tragedies of Sophocles, we have only seven remaining; among these, however, are some which we find were most celebrated in ancient times. The "*Antigone*," in particular, received the most enthusiastic welcome from the Athenian audience; and amply, indeed, does it deserve the honours which all ages have showered upon it. The subject, as usual with the Greeks, is exceedingly simple. After the two sons of Œdipus have fallen by each other's hand, as described in the noble tragedy of *Æschylus*, Creon, on whom the government devolves, refuses to Polynices, as the invader of his country, the sacred rites of burial, which the ancients regarded as of such high and solemn importance, and decrees that instant death shall be the punishment of any who should venture to perform them. Antigone, with pious and sisterly love, remonstrates with the tyrant, and, on his refusal to allow her to perform the last sad duties at the tomb of her brother, resolves to devote her life to effect the holy design. In this heroic resolution she has no earthly support. Her sister *Ismene* refuses to assist her, and the chorus are utterly daunted by the threats and the power of Creon. Affianced and linked by affection to the son of the monarch, love never, for a moment, eases her to waver. She stands undaunted

and alone. When, indeed, she is led forth to die, she TragicPoets affectingly bewails the life she is about to lay down, of which she has scarcely begun to taste the joys. This lingering farewell to hope and existence, is so far from detracting from her dignity, that, while it deepens the pathos of the scene, it elevates her character. To make the sacrifice of life really heroic, the person resigning it must have learned something of its value. As few comparatively feel existence in its true worth, the courage commonly admired is not the subjugation of the fear of death, but only of the apprehensions of dying. It was otherwise with the immortal heroine of Sophocles; she had counted the cost of her virtue. With the full tide of life rushing healthfully through her veins, with a deep consciousness of her existence and its value, with pleasing hopes just unfolding, in the very bloom of her youth, she deliberately resigns her earthly being to accomplish the interment of her brother. It is not for a lover she dies; then might human passion have some part in her constancy, and she might only be seeking in the grave a reunion with one for whom alone life was dear. All is pure, spotless, unearthly. She exhibits the most glorious perfection of the female character. Her dauntless heroism springs not from ambition, or a masculine spirit, but has its root in the purest affection, the most disinterested of loves. Sophocles, in this play, has shown that, in an age when women were scarcely regarded as reasonable beings, he estimated the true nobleness of the female heart. Excepting *Alceste*, there is no female portrait in all the works of antiquity which, in the slightest degree, approaches this. Women are constantly represented by the Greeks as weak or wicked. If we pass by the Clytemnestras, and Medæas, as anomalous, we shall find little to praise in the Electras, the Andromaches, the Hecubas, and the Iphigenias. As the heroism of Antigone is without rival, so the vengeance exacted for her death is almost without example. The whole family of the tyrant fell; even his wife, as Schlegel has observed, who was never heard of before, is introduced, that she may perish.

In "*Electra*," Sophocles has ventured to take the The Electra, ground which *Æschylus*, in the *Choephore*, had been the first to occupy. He has completely succeeded in working up a part of the materials in his own inimitable fashion, though there are others used by his precursor which, with his usual judgment, he left sacred. His piece is infinitely better conducted than that of his master. At the opening of the scene, *Orestes*, with *Pylades*, and the old servant by whom he had been snatched from sharing the fate of his father, enters, and gives to his companions an account of the warnings he has received from Apollo, expressing his intention to proceed in fulfilling them. Hearing the voice of *Electra*, venting her distress within the palace, he is eager instantly to discover himself, but his attendant prevails on him first to retire, and offer oblations at his father's grave. A pathetic scene ensues between the chorus of Argive maidens and *Electra*, in which the latter gives way to her sorrows and hopeless desire of revenge, and the former vainly strive to give her comfort. *Chrysothemis*, her younger sister, appears with an offering, sent by Clytemnestra to Agamemnon's grave, in consequence of a dream in which she had seen her husband returned to life, and planting his

* Franklin translates the latter part thus:

"Which not in dark oblivion lies,
 Nor pine away, decay, and die;
 But bloom immortal, like their native heaven!"

Biography. sceptre on the gate of the palace, which started into a tree whose foliage covered the land. The sisters debate the property of their respective firmness and submission; and Electra is informed, that on the return of Ægisthus, who is on a journey, greater severities will be put in practice towards her. Undaunted, however, by this intelligence, she prevails on Chrysothemis, instead of accomplishing the wishes of her mother, to pray at the grave for the return of Orestes and for vengeance, and to place a lock of hair with the other offerings. The chorus begins to feel that the awful retribution is at hand. Clytemnestra then appears, and after a scene, in which she reproves Electra, and is charged by her with Agamemnon's death, she proceeds to the altar of Apollo, and offers up openly prayers for other blessings, and secretly for the death of Orestes. The plot, which Orestes and his friends have completely matured in the interval, now begins to open. The old servant arrives, in the character of a messenger from Phocis, and gives a long account of the pretended death of Orestes at the Pythian games, which are described with great beauty. Clytemnestra, after a slight visit of nature, indulges her joy, and invites the messenger to the palace. Electra, believing the news, resigns herself to the bitterest sorrow, and rejects the consolations of the choral train. At this instant Chrysothemis returns, rejoicing in having found at the tomb the offerings of Orestes; but her sister rejects all hope, and in despair proposes that they alone should attempt to slay Ægisthus, which is refused by Chrysothemis, who, after vehement reproaches from Electra, retires. After a lamentation of the chorus, Orestes and Pylades enter with an urn, which they pretend contains the ashes of the former. Over this supposed relic of her brother, Electra mourns in so pathetic a strain that Orestes can no longer suppress his feelings, and, producing Agamemnon's seal, discloses himself, to his sister's inexpressible joy. While they are uniting in grateful pleasure, the old servant calls Orestes to action; and he enters the palace, with his friend, to seek his mother. The chorus now declares that the moment of justice is come. The loud and brief supplications of Clytemnestra are heard, and her cries for succour, while Electra calls to her brother to incite him to the completion of the revenge. Ægisthus approaches, and is induced to believe, from the language of Electra, that the body of Orestes is within the palace. Instantly the doors are thrown open at his eager command, and a pall is seen covering over a corpse, with Orestes standing beside it. The prince desires Ægisthus to remove the veil; he finds the body of his consort; and seems to suplicate in despair for his life. Electra refuses to hear him, and Orestes forces him to enter the threshold, that he may complete the work of justice by sacrificing him on the very spot on which his father fell.

From this meagre statement, it is evident that nothing can be better contrived than the arrangement of the incidents. That space in the action, which seems so long without proceeding in the Choeophore, is here filled up with the most beautiful and affecting situations. The exquisite narration of the supposed death of Orestes in the chœir-race—the deep and real grief of Electra, whom it deceives—her resolution gathered from despair—the contrast of her heroism with the feminine timidity of her sister—the elegant introduction of

the urn, and the tender lamentation over it—are all the inventions of Sophocles, and admirably serve to diversify the scene. The recognition, too, being hastened by the sorrow of Electra, and preceded by a deeper grief, is more joyfully affecting than Æchylus. On the other hand, there is nothing so awful or sublime as the scene of Cassandra's wailings, prophecies, and desperate rushing out to die. The development of the plot is much better conceived by Sophocles than by his precursor. The idea of veiling the body of Clytemnestra, and leaving Ægisthus to discover it, when he expects to find that of his foe, is both poetical in itself, and theatrically effective; and the determination to kill the adulterous murderer on the scene of his crime denotes a solemnity of purpose, and a sense of justice, which makes that a sacrifice which otherwise might seem a murder. These are excellencies which all may perceive. The nicer beauty of the piece has been so happily developed by Schlegel, that we shall give his words to the reader:

"That which more particularly characterizes this tragedy is the celestial purity, the fresh breath of life and youth which is diffused over so dreadful a subject. The bright divinity, Apollo, who commanded the deed, appears to have shed his influence over it: even the break of day at the commencement is significant. The grave and the world of shadows are kept in the distance. What in Æchylus is effected by the spirit of the murdered monarch, proceeds here from the mind of the still-existing Electra, which is endowed with an equal capacity for inextinguishable hate and ardent love. The disposition to avoid every thing dark and ominous is remarkable even in the very first speech of Orestes, when he says it does not grieve him to be reputed dead, when he finds himself alive in the fulness of health and strength: he is neither beset with doubts nor stings of conscience, either before or after the deed; so that here the purpose is more determined than in Æchylus; and the appalling scene with Ægisthus, and the reserving him for an ignominious execution, at the conclusion, is conceived with more austerity than in the other drama. The nocturnal vision of Clytemnestra affords the most striking image of the relation which the two poets bear to each other; both are equally suitable, significant, and ominous: that of Æchylus is grander, but appalling to the senses; that of Sophocles majestically beautiful even in terror." Lectures on Drama, Lect. v.

In the "Trachinæ" alone has Sophocles appeared to sink below the usual standard of his excellence. Corina, a mortal suffering, however dreadful, is no fit subject for tragedy; yet here there is a sacredness shed over it, from its supernatural and marvellous cause, which takes it out of the usual course of mere mortal afflictions. Hercules, caught in the dreadful toils, suffers like a god: and the death of Dejanira excites the tenderest compassion for her, notwithstanding the catastrophe of which she has been the innocent occasion.

"Ajax," although at first sight the incident on which Ajax turns, partakes somewhat of the ludicrous, is a most noble heroic picture. His insanity is, in itself, painful and debasing, but precisely suited to his former rough and ungovernable character. To have given his madness an imaginative or intellectual cast, besides that it would have destroyed the play, would have been to have changed and transformed his mind, and not merely to

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have thrown it in confusion. Nothing can be more affecting than his return to sense, when he finds himself among the cattle he has slaughtered, a mark for scorn "to point its slow unmoving finger at," and feels, in all its weight, the terror of despair. His honour blasted, and his long course of heroic deeds obliterated at a stroke, he has nothing left him but to die. Still, in this awful moment, he bids a noble farewell to the sun, the grand power of nature, which could not mock him. The conclusion of the drama, in which, after it has been proposed to disgrace the hero by refusing him burial, interment is granted to his remains, appears to us tame; but, among the Greeks, the want of sepulture was so believed to afflict the disembodied spirit, that the interest might well be extended after death, as long as this matter was in suspense, and the mind left to a consolatory repose, when the last honours are paid at the tomb.

Philoctetes.

"*Philoctetes*" is the most simple, and one of the most beautiful of all the works of Sophocles. Nothing can be more affecting than his situation when the piece opens. Left alone for ten years in the wild scenery of a desert island, and exposed to constant attack of raging pain, he seeks a scanty subsistence by his bow. And of this treachery now seeks to deprive him! He is not, however, represented as meanly sinking beneath his sufferings. In proportion as his fellow-creatures have injured and forsaken him, he cleaves with fervent love to the material forms of nature, which could neither insult nor deceive him—his dreary cave, the crisp fountain, the white cliffs, and the circling ocean, have become his dear companions, whom he laments to forsake. The struggles of a generous nature forced to attempt guile in Neoptolemus are exceedingly beautiful. The imagery of this play accords with its subject; it is most chaste, pure, and simple;—the whole seems to breathe of the sea, the caverns, and the rocky shore, which shut out the world, and are to the soul "a passion," a "feeling, and a love." It is the model which the great philosophical poet of our own country may almost be supposed to have profited by studying.

Œdipus Ty-
rannus.

"*Œdipus Tyrannus*" has possessed the singular good fortune of having excited the almost uniform admiration of the critics of every age. Some have not hesitated to pronounce it the first production of the human mind. This admiration, however, when examined, will be found to be grounded, in many instances, on an excellence which is far indeed from the highest of which the imagination is capable. The praise amounts to little more than this, that *Œdipus* is the finest, because it is the most artfully constructed of all ancient plays. Now we conceive that no mechanical skill in inventing, or in involving incident—no art in the conduct of a fable—no talent in weaving a complicated intrigue—is to be compared in value to a high sense of the beautiful and the grand, and a perfect ease in embodying the loveliest conceptions. The praise, though not the highest due to this noble piece, of exactness in the mechanism, is certainly true as far as it respects the action actually presented to the spectator. Every circumstance tends directly to produce the development; every imprecation of *Œdipus* against the guilty is so worded as to apply peculiarly to himself, even from the first scene; every effort he makes to disentangle himself from the toils of fate, only wraps them closer

about him. The ground-work of the piece is, however, Tragic Poets improbable. It is utterly incredible that no inquiry should have been made into the death of Laius, who is represented as a pious king, after the danger of the sphinx was over; and still more so that *Œdipus*, married to the queen, should never have heard the circumstances of his predecessor's fate. This is, however, of little importance, except to those who would make the art of constructing a story the basis of an immortal fame. Up to the period when the discovery is complete, the whole is moulded, though from revolting materials, into perfect beauty. How grand is the opening scene—the palace in the back-ground amidst the temples—on one side the river, and on the other the altar—the sages solemnly imploring, with suppliant bows, for the delivery of the city—and the varied crowd at a distance, of tottering infancy, tender womanhood, and feeble age, casting up prayers in silence to heaven! The kingly gentleness of *Œdipus*, the wanton levity of Jocasta, and the prophetic nobleness of Teiresias, are admirably portrayed in the foreground, while the dim shadows of fate are seen in awful distance solemnly beckoning the devoted prince to destruction. Nothing can exceed the philosophical dignity and lyrical perfection of the choral songs. Of these we have already given a specimen, and the whole will be found of a corresponding tone. The subject, however, is, to modern feelings, utterly revolting. Though the sufferer is in intention innocent, so dreadful a misfortune ought rather to be covered with a veil, than exhibited as a spectacle. The mind turns from it, as the sun refused to shine on the horrible banquet of Thyestes. In ancient times, the idea of an innately destiny confounded misfortunes and crimes; and the more tremendous the event, the more signal was the display of supernatural powers. The *Œdipus* could not be endured now were it to be written—though the modern imitation of it, "The Mysterious Mother," is infinitely more revolting.

"*Œdipus in Colonus*," one of the last, the sweetest, and *Œdipus* is the most sacred works of Sophocles, excites no feelings but of tenderness, reverence, and compassion. There is little action in it; but it is a perfect specimen of beauty in repose. The pathos is here of the most gentle kind. The storm of fate which struck down the unhappy victim has left him placidly to die; filial affection supports him to the last; the Athenian territory, which the poets delighted to honour, receives him in peace; and in the consecrated grove of the furies, which the genius of Sophocles represents as fresh, green, and lovely, the immediate hand of heaven relieves him of existence and its sorrows. The powers "which have been cruel, are yet merciful;" they appear to aid him in his death, and snatch him from the remembrance of woes too heavy for endurance. Throughout this piece, we seem to be treading on sacred ground; a consecrating gleam is every where shed over it—"a light that never was by sea or land!" Its moral, or rather its feeling, seems to be, that the great Spirit of good will not wholly forsake the most wretched and the most polluted of living things. It makes us look on death as a genial repose—the soft pillow where every suffering shall have its rest. It breathes the genial emotion of age, calm and still joyous, and awaiting, without impatience or terror, its final change. Doubtless, it speaks the sentiment of

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Biography. the venerable poet, far sunk in the vale of years. We regard it, therefore, with peculiar affection, and may close our notice of the piece and its author, in the words of our own bard:

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Euripides.

The setting sun, with music at the close,
Like the last taste of sweets, is sweetest last;
Wells in remembrance more than things long past.

Richard II. act i.

EURIPIDES, the latest in birth of the Greek tragedians, though out-lived by Sophocles, was born in the first year of the seventy-fifth Olympiad, i. e. n. c. 480, in the island of Salamis. To this place his father, Mnesarchus, and mother, Clito, had retired from Athens, according to some writers, on account of their poverty, and to others, in order to avoid the impending invasion of Xerxes. It has been the general opinion that their circumstances were far from affluent. It has, indeed, been alleged that Mnesarchus had suffered the ignominy attached to parties insolvent, and that Clito obtained her subsistence by selling herbs. Aristophanes frequently alludes to the meanness of the poet's origin. Bayle, and others, have, however, endeavoured to maintain that he was of a nobler descent, and refer, in confirmation of this opinion, to the story of his greatness having been foretold by the oracle of Delphi, which it was unlikely that persons in a very low condition of life should think of consulting. Certain it is, that however reduced in fortune the parents of Euripides may have been, they enjoyed the privileges of free Athenian citizens.

The day of the poet's birth was singularly auspicious, as it was signalized by a great victory gained by the Grecian fleet over the armament of the Persians. To this event he has been supposed to allude in *Ilin*, when he represents the tapestry covering the tent erected for the feast of Xuthus, as displaying, among other imagery, the barbaric fleet opposed to that of Greece. The conjecture, though unsupported by evidence, is very plausible, nor is the anachronism at all against it. Such violations of chronology perpetually occur in his plays; and the Athenian audience were little anxious to enter into painful calculations when objects, beautiful in themselves, or calculated to revive the remembrance of their national glory, were presented before them.

Education.

As the oracle of Apollo had intimated that the son of Mnesarchus should obtain the prize of victory, his parents concluded that he would obtain that honour by bodily exercises at the Olympic games. He was, therefore, carefully instructed in the gymnastic arts, and is said, when very young, to have actually obtained a crown at the festival of Ceres. He also made some proficiency in painting, but applied himself with peculiar diligence to the study of philosophy, then so popular at Athens. Some have alleged that he studied under Socrates; but this is scarcely possible, since that philosopher was his junior by thirteen years. He seems, however, very early to have become a pupil of Anaxagoras, and to have made considerable advances in ancient lore. In consequence of the fate of his master, who was banished on a charge of blasphemy, he changed the immediate direction of his studies, to the dramatic art, and, at a very early age, began to compose tragedies. He found, in the theatre, a more safe and ready mode of diffusing his maxims, than in

the schools; but even here he was not without danger. The jesuitical doctrine which he has most absurdly, as we shall see hereafter, put into the mouth of one of his most virtuous heroes, that a mental reservation might dispense with the sanctity of an oath, subjected him to severe though not unmerited censure. An Athenian, named Hygieonon, was so indignant at this sentiment, that he accused the poet of impiety, as teaching that perjury was lawful. He escaped, however, by alleging that he was responsible only to the theatrical judges for matter introduced into plays, and that he was ready to make his defence before them, but denied the power of any other tribunal. It is said also, that he introduced Bellerophon making an elaborate eulogy on riches, and declaring that if Aphrodite, who was denominated the Golden, shone like gold, she was deserving of universal love, which so enraged the audience, that they burst into a tumult, and desired to wreak their indignation by violence on the actor and the bard. Euripides, however, pacified them, by appearing on the stage, and assuring them, that if they would wait till the conclusion, they would find that a fit punishment would be awarded to the miser. On another occasion he gave offence by exhibiting the guilt of Ixion, and defended himself by referring to the catastrophe, when he would be broken on the wheel. Still he seems to have found a recompense for the occasional hostility of the people in the friendship of the philosophers. Socrates honoured him with peculiar regard, and always attended the theatre on the representation of his pieces. Perhaps the incessant attacks of Aristophanes, who seems to have had a peculiar delight in ridiculing both, might have served to unite them.

According to some authorities, Euripides composed ninety-two tragedies; according to others, seventy-five; but only five of them were so fortunate as to obtain the victory, four during his life time, and one after his death. If this want of success had resulted merely from the partiality of the Athenian audience to *Æschylus* and *Sophocles*, it would not certainly excite our wonder. But we know not how to account for the circumstance, which is related by Varro, that the most wretched pretenders to the poetical art were preferred before him. In the very onset of his career he was conquered by *Xenocles*, a low and contemptible writer, whose works have long sunk into merited oblivion. Some circumstances of party, or of prejudice, with which we are unacquainted, must have blinded the judgments, or destroyed the equity, of the refined people of Athens, before they could have thus decided. In other regions Euripides obtained that renown which was denied him at home. In Sicily he seems to have been admired with a feeling almost amounting to devotion. When *Nicias* had been overthrown, and his army placed at the mercy of the Sicilians, this respect for the tragedian of Athens interposed between them and destruction; and as many as could repeat the verses of their illustrious countryman were dismissed, with the respectful attentions of their foes. At another time, the crew of a Canian vessel, chased by pirates, desired permission to enter some port of Sicily, and were refused, till it was known that some among them could recite the poetry of the favourite bard, on which they were allowed admission. Euripides, like all who have attained excellence, was fondly attached to his art.

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Biography. He was accustomed to retire to a dreary cave in the isle of Salamis, to compose his pieces, in the stillness of the deepest solitude. When he complained to a cotemporary writer, named Alcestis, that he had not been able to produce more than three verses in the last three days, and the latter replied that he had made three hundred during the same period, Euripides observed, that there was this further difference between them—that the productions of this facility would last three days, while his were intended to endure for ever.

There has been much difference of opinion respecting the private life and domestic history of our bard; many of the tales related respecting him have arisen from attempts to account for the contempt and aversion towards the female sex which seems to breathe through his writings. According to some, he had two wives at the same time, with both of whom he was heartily disgusted, and therefore vented his spleen on the sex. Others contend that he took his consorts successively; that the first he was compelled to repudiate for abandoned conduct; and that the second not only disregarded the ties of her condition, but caused, by her open profligacy, so great ridicule to be poured on her husband, that he was forced to leave Athens. Sophocles is said to have attributed the low opinion which his rival entertained for women, to his having been chiefly acquainted with the vicious and degraded among them; but this opinion may reasonably be taken with some allowance for the jealousy of an author. There are several disgusting stories told respecting the conduct of Euripides, but as they are both contradictory and improbable, we do not think it necessary to pollute our pages by repeating them.

In the decline of life, Euripides, probably in consequence of the profligacy of his wives, left Athens and repaired to the court of Archelaus, king of Macedonia, by whom he was received with the most distinguished honours. There in peace and ease he passed the remainder of his days. When, however, he was importuned by his royal patron to celebrate his actions in a play, he declined, gracefully observing, that he trusted the reign of the monarch would furnish no materials for tragedy. The mode of his death is variously related, though all agree that it was violent, and took place about three years after he had come to reside at Pella. The common account is, that he was torn in pieces by dogs, some alleging that their fury was only accidental, and that they seized him while walking in a wood, engaged in deep contemplation; and others, that two poets, Aridous and Cratesus, the former a Macedonian, and the latter a Thessalian, hired the keeper of the royal hounds thus to accomplish his destruction. It seems to be the better opinion, that his death was accidental; though violent, it could scarcely be regarded as untimely, since he fell in his seventy-fifth year. His remains were removed from Bermicus, where he died, to Pella, where Archelaus honoured them with a sumptuous funeral, and erected a monument over them. This munificent patron is even said to have cut off his own hair, and put on deep mourning, as a testimony of respect for that genius, which living he had delighted to cherish. The Athenians, who had done him so little honour in life, were, according to their custom, exceedingly ready to lament his death. They sent an embassy to Archelaus, to request that they might bring his relics to Attica, a demand which was

premptorily rejected. They erected, however, a noble cenotaph to his memory, which, Pausanias says, was standing at the time he wrote. According to the superstitions of the time, Plutarch informs us, that his tomb at Pella was struck with lightning, which was regarded as consecrating the spot, and a signal token of the divine favour.

Nineteen of the plays of Euripides have reached us, besides a number of fragments. In him, many of the critics conceive that the Greek tragedy attained its perfection. Highly, however, as we estimate his powers, to which Schlegel has scarcely done justice, we are inclined to agree with that high modern authority, that we must look in this poet for the symbols of its decline. A slight view of his general character, and a rapid survey of his numerous pieces, will, we think, suffice to justify this opinion.

We have seen that a certain elevation above the common realities of life is essential to tragedy. In Sophocles and Æschylus this dignity is preserved, not merely by the circumstance of the selection of persons from among the list of heroes and of gods, but by the stateliness of their thoughts, the religious solemnity of their actions, and a kind of consecrated air breathed over them; but the ambition of Euripides seems to have taken a direction not only different from that of his predecessors, but incompatible with that peculiar style of excellence which they invented and finished. His efforts are directed less to the imagination than to the sensibilities and the understanding. He loves to triumph by involving us in metaphysical subtleties, or by dissolving us in tears. He scarcely ever labours to attain that which the other tragedians made their great object, a representation of perfect beauty. They made the very sorrows and deaths of their heroes something above humanity, which should excite awe rather than compassion; he delighted in rendering their distresses of the lowest and most physical complexion. They cast around their sufferers a solemnity in grief, which breaks the force of sympathy; he strove to tear away all the disguises of rank, and claimed our agonising pity for his persons as the lowest of mortals. The pangs of their heroes had for their causes the immediate retributions of heaven; his were exposed to cold, beggary, and pitiful needs. While the former preserve a majesty in affliction, the latter court our sympathy in the eloquence of rags. The truth seems to have been, that the mind of Euripides was more penetrating and refined than exalted. With great sweetness and elegance, he appears to have wanted a sense of high and austere virtue, and even of sustained heroic grandeur. Thus, he has scarcely, in all his pieces, one character of consistent excellence, where the virtue is brought into action. Alcestis is a beautiful picture of self-devotion, but she has nothing to do but to die. Ion is a lovely portrait of consecrated and unconscious piety; but it is the excellence of a recluse, of too glossy and ethereal a texture for this world. This poet cannot even paint high and enormous vice, or un governable passion of a uniformly grand and heroic kind. Medea, the wonder-working enchantress, that "soul of fire, with whom revenge is virtue," calmly, before she begins her terrible operations, intrigues to obtain a comfortable asylum for herself, when her revenge shall be completed. Clytemnestra is accused by her indignant daughter, not

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Character
as a poet.

His death.

Biography. only of having murdered her husband on his return, but having taken too much time in dressing her hair during his absence. If the essence of tragedy consists in the mere excitement of tears, Euripides is far the greatest of the old tragedians. He depicts situations too most wretched, cheerless, and desolate, and carefully deprives his sufferers of every possible consolation. Electra appears not only tottering beneath the weight of affliction, but of a huge pitcher of water; and Menelaus, mourns at once the mangled honour of his wife and the tattered state of his garments. His pathos is not like that feeling which dissolves us in sweet tears before the Niobe, but that oppressive grief which a real catastrophe occasions. The mirror he holds up to nature is microscopic rather than enabling. Some there are, doubtless, who think the power he possesses a higher one than that exercised by his predecessors; we only contend that it is quite of a different description.

The quality for which Euripides has been so highly extolled—the eloquence of his disputations—far which he was naturally loved by Cicero, and recommended by Quintilian to youthful orators, was alone sufficient to lead him astray from the path in which *Æschylus* and *Sophocles* had trodden. Logical quibblings have little relation to pictures of ideal grandeur; when these are thickly strewn, they necessarily destroy all the rounding and the finishing, the delicacy, and fair proportion. The composition does not appear with every line possessing a wave-like flexibility; but the curves of beauty are broken into angular points by the sharp collisions of argument, the quick turns of satire, the jostling of opposite reasons. Most of the principal scenes in the plays of this author become debates, in which the passion and the beauty alike evaporate, and instead of the persons speaking as those whose lives are in immediate jeopardy, they seem merely anxious for the credit of vanquishing, and possessed of no more earnestness than hired advocates naturally acquire in the heat of the cause. The mind of Euripides seems to have had a peculiar tendency to the poising of opposite reasons, and his great pride to have been in showing how much he could say, and how ably he could clothe his arguments, on every side of every question. Hence he takes all occasions of making his persons plead their cause; but betraying an evident consciousness that he is doing it for them. Thus Clytemnestra calls on her daughter to give her reasons against the murder of Agamemnon, and then defends herself in a long sophistical harangue. Thus he causes Hecuba, after imploring Menelaus to execute immediate vengeance on Helen, to entreat him to allow her to make her defence, in order that she may have the pleasure of replying to it. In the discussion, Helen represents her antagonist as more guilty than herself, because she had borne Paris, and her husband had refused to slay him; but for which events the evils deplored could never have arisen. Criminals are perpetually introduced defending their enormities by the most hollow and palpable sophistries; and, when all other excuses fail them, referring to fate as the sole author of the wrongs of which they have been the mere instruments. If this plea had any force to defend men from the charge of guilt, it might as well be brought forward at once to end the question, and cut the Gordian knot before so many vain efforts have been made

to untie it. Fate, however, is the cloud in which the guilty escape, like that which the divinities in Homer throw over their favourite heroes. This tendency to forensic eloquence and logical subtleties seems to have rendered every thing problematical in the mind of Euripides, and causes him to pronounce the most contrary sentiments with equal energy. The excuse that his persons only speak in character will not avail him; for some of the most questionable or bold opinions are placed in the mouths of those who were the least likely to utter them. Thus Andromache, when she is vowing to live, if possible, entirely devoted to the memory of her lord, is made to utter a piece of the coarsest ribaldry respecting her sex at large: thus Ión, brought up from infancy in a temple, whose very thoughts should be sainted, abuses the gods, with great justice but little consistency, as worse than men; and thus Hippolytus, the noble-hearted, the generous, and the self-denying, utters the famous piece of casuistry respecting an oath, and then dies rather than break his own. Nothing but an invincible love of paradox, at which even Rousseau might smile, could surely have induced the Grecian poet to this last violation of character. This philosophy, if not "lins and crabbed," is at least thorny and perplexed; a thicket so closely intertwined, that the flowers of poetry can scarcely find room to flourish beneath its shadow.

The peculiar beauties to which the genius of Euripides inclined, no less than his defects, tended to lead him from the style which the former tragedians had adopted. His imagination "looked before and after." His poetry is the sweet and lingering echo of joys past, or the hope of delight to come. Hence it is essentially different from that of his precursors, who, rejoicing in the glorious objects immediately before them, were contented to exhibit these in their fairest proportions, without introducing objects which were remote or obscure. They felt the joy of the present moment so intensely, that they required little from remembrance or hope to gild the scene. Euripides, on the other hand, with a sense of pleasure less vivid, is more contemplative; speculates more on the probabilities of our future condition, and dwells with greater fondness on the recollection of the past. He may be almost considered as the father of the sentimental style; his best passages consist of "thoughts that voluntary move harmonious numbers" and there is often a sweet accordance between the music of the verse and the images, which dwells on the mind with a soothing, tender, and gentle emotion. Nothing, for example, can be finer, in this way, than the passage in the *Mædea*, respecting the possible effects of music in harmonizing the tenor of existence. But this kind of excellence is evidently different, and even opposite, from that of *Sophocles* and *Æschylus*. The analogy to the plastic arts, so perfect in them, is lost in their rival. At the same time, he possesses a faculty of exciting genial though undefined emotions, of which they are destitute. He abounds also in *fancy*, which they either did not possess, or the austerity of their genius did not allow them to cherish or display. Notwithstanding his tendency to excite sensibility by means of low devices, he sometimes affects us with a real and genuine pathos, while he diverts the force of grief with tender remembrance of former bliss, or casts over the waves of trouble the sweet radiance of hope. Sorrow,

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Biography. indeed, is never with him of that wild and super-human cast which it wears in the works of his predecessors; but it is often still, mild, and placid, and tenderly relieved by elegant allusions, and gentle touches of humanity. In modern times, and in the imitation of the romantic models, Euripides would probably have attained a higher poetic excellence than his remaining works exhibit. It is only to the high rank assigned to him, as one of the Greek tragedians, that we object; now do we mean so much to show that his genius was, in itself, inferior to theirs, as that it was unsuited to that grand and simple style of art with which his name is usually connected.

The Medea. The "*Medea*" of our author has, perhaps, been the most popular of his works; partly owing to the dazzling terrors of its plot, and partly to the comparisons so often made in its favour with the Roman tragedy on the same subject, which bears the name of Seneca. The opening speeches of the Nurse, recounting the distresses of her mistress, which are interrupted and heightened by her sorrowful exclamations behind the scene, are singularly beautiful. In the middle of the piece, when the heroine consents to deception, in order to accomplish her design, the interest seems to languish; but nothing of the kind can be more fearfully grand than the description of the death of the bride of Jason and her father, and the ferocious joy with which the enchantress listens to the tale. Her speeches, when meditating the death of her children, are admirably varied, by the struggles of natural affection, which almost shake her soul from her purpose; and her final appearance in the air with the bodies is exceedingly picturesque. She is, however, the only character in the piece. Jason is mean, hypocritical, and low-minded; Creon at once tyrannical and imprudent; and the chorus (who are necessarily acquainted with the dreadful designs, which they make no attempt to frustrate except by persuasion) of rather dubious virtue. The versification of this play is peculiarly sweet and flowing, and a bright fancy sparkles over it.

Euripides has written, among the tragedies that survive, no less than four of which the family of Agamemnon are the subjects: Iphigenia in Aulis; Electra; Orestes; and Iphigenia in Tauris—besides others, in which the chief himself or his brother Menelaus appears. The first of this series is, we think, on the whole, the best. The struggles of Agamemnon between his imaginary duty, as commander of the Greeks, and his love for his daughter, as represented in the first scene, form a very affecting picture. The subsequent passages, however, seem greatly to destroy the effect of the opening. Menelaus is depicted as mean and selfish in the extreme. He urges, with ferocious indifference, the sacrifice of his niece to promote his revenge, after having intercepted the letter of his brother, in which he countermanded his fatal orders. On the arrival of Clytemnestra and her daughter, for the supposed marriage of the latter with Achilles, the distress of Agamemnon increases; and Menelaus, touched with something like compassion, offers to forego the sad offering; when, to the disgust of the reader, the father himself changes his purpose; and alarmed lest the Greeks should discover the oracle, and mortify against him, resolves to complete the sacrifice from which he had so lately revolted. From this point, however, the interest is sustained to a very high pitch; and the

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pathos, which would otherwise be overpowering, is relieved by pictures of tender resignation, fearful innocence, and generous courage. Achilles is represented in the most ingenious and amiable character. And though the heroine at first shrinks from the dreadful fate prepared for her, she speedily seems inspired with the most heroic feelings, and devotes herself to die with a noble firmness, which faintly reminds us of Antigone; she goes out to death as to a festival. The images of the victim, and of the hind substituted in her room, as pictured by the messenger who relates the catastrophe, possess a beauty of the plastic kind, of which Euripides affords few similar examples.

A long space of time elapses between this tragedy and that of "*Electra*," during which Orestes, who was introduced as an infant in the Iphigenia, grows up to manhood; Agamemnon returns conqueror, and is slain; Orestes is banished; and Electra discarded from the palace where Ægisthus and her mother reign. In this piece Euripides has unfortunately trod on ground which was completely occupied before him. All that the Choephore of Æschylus wanted in variety of incident, and felicity of development, had been supplied in the *Electra* of Sophocles; and nothing remained to be done by an author who should even bring to the work an equal genius. Compelled, however, to attempt some novelty, Euripides has accumulated woes on the head of his heroine,—"*step'd her in poverty even to the very lips*,"—and given her a generous present for her pretended husband. He has also removed the scene from the palace to the country, and employed artifices to bring Clytemnestra and Ægisthus to the place where they are to die, which are not very probable. Castor and Pollux are also introduced at the close, for no other conceivable purpose than to patch up a marriage between Pyrrhus and Electra; for the journey of Orestes to Athens belongs to a new action. In all respects, this piece is of a much lower tone than those of the two elder tragedians.

The "*Orestes*," in point of time, almost immediately follows the *Electra*. Euripides here represents his hero as not only driven to distraction by the furies of his mother, but as condemned to death, together with his sister, by the citizens of Argos. The distress, at the opening of this play, seems nearly to have reached its utmost pitch: Orestes is discovered lying on a couch, distracted, and Electra, worn out with grief and fatigue, sitting beside him; the Argives have forbidden all succours to be given to the miserable pair, and are about to assemble to decide in what manner they shall put them to death. This is rather an unpromising commencement of a tragedy; we see, at all events, the worst; for the actual death of the persons would be happiness compared to the prolongation of their sufferings. The wild exclamations of Orestes, however, when the madness comes over him, are at once grand and terrific. A gleam of hope breaks in on the arrival of Menelaus; but this piece, whom Euripides delights to represent as despicable, finally leaves his kinsman in despair. Tyndarus, Menelaus, and Orestes make long speeches, filled with many rhetorical flourish, which produce nothing. After the hard-hearted selfishness and unrelenting cruelty of the two relatives, the disinterested friendship of Pyrrhus is truly refreshing. He leads Orestes to make his defence to the people; but the only favour this measure procures is,

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The Electra.

The Orestes.

The Agamemnon.

Biography. holy reverence in the mind of its youthful hero, is no less distinct and lovely than that of the scenery with which he is surrounded. His feelings of humble gratitude to the power which has protected him, his virtue unspotted from the world, and his fond cleaving to the sacred seclusion which has enveloped him from childhood, are beautifully drawn. The picture seems sky-tinctured—of an ethereal purity of colouring. The poet also is very skillfully conducted to the conclusion: though, with the exception of the attempt on the hero's life, the whole might pass for a sentimental comedy. The story is quite of this cast: a foundling is discovered by a mother, who had since married, to be her son, and is palmed off on her husband as the fruit of an early amour of his own; thus securing a wished-for happiness on Xanthus, an inheritance on Iön, and, at once, her child and her character to the mother. This is strictly a piece of intrigue, though it must be allowed that the imagination of the poet, here most felicitously exerted, has elevated it far above ordinary dramas of this description. In this, as in many works of Euripides, we trace the origin of the new comedy, and find ample reason to justify the admiration of Menander. The great blemish of the piece is the contrivance of the mother to slay the youth, whom she does not know to be her son. A lady, who has been represented as of peaceable and domestic manners, bears that her husband has discovered a son, and an attendant no sooner proposes in her that she should murder him, than she acquiesces, without the slightest scruple, and only expresses her fear that so desirable an event will be difficult to accomplish. Afterwards, when the scheme has been frustrated, and the recognition takes place, all is forgiven and forgotten; Iön embraces his mother without shuddering at her baseness, and this intended murderess is rewarded by the discovery of her son, and the combination of Apollo with her to deceive her husband. One would almost think, that before Euripides could make such a representation as this, he must have lost all sense of distinction between crime and excellence among the miserable sophistries of the schools.

The Suppliants. The "Suppliants" must, in justice, be regarded as a fugitive piece: written on political grounds, and for a temporary occasion. It was acted just after a treaty had been concluded between the Argives and Lacedæmonians, during the Peloponnesian war, in order to remind the latter of their ancient obligations to the Athenians. It consists simply of the entreaties of Adrastus, the king of Argos, and the matrons of that state, to Theseus, that he would interfere, and procure for them an opportunity of burying the slain who had fallen before Thebes, and to whom that city, in the pride of victory, refused a sepulchre—the consequent expiation of the Athenians, and their complete victory—the lamentations over the bodies thus redeemed—the appearance of Minerva, who exhorts the Athenian prince not to allow the Argives to receive the favours conferred on them, without a return, but to compel them to swear never to attack Athens—and finally, the exhortation of the chorus to Adrastus to take the oaths required by the goddess. The piece also contains a long and very elegant discussion between Theseus and the herald from Thebes, on the relative value of democratical and monarchical governments; and, what is far better than this, the sweet and touch-

ing lamentations and death-songs of Evadne, the widow of one of the fallen chiefs, who, at the conclusion of her strain, leaps on his funeral pyre and dies beside him.

The "*Children of Hercules*," like the former piece, is essentially political. It was intended to remind the Spartans of the protection afforded by Athens to the race of the hero, from whom they gloried to derive their origin. It bears internal marks of haste, and was probably composed to meet the public feeling at some peculiar crisis. There are, however, two circumstances which throw a splendour over it; the voluntary sacrifice of Macaria to propitiate the gods, and the generous heroism of Iolaus, whose youth is miraculously renewed, in answer to his prayers, in order to enable him to perform the noblest feats of valour, and to save, by his prowess, the family of his friend. There is a singular want of catastrophe. In the last scene, Eurystheus, whose life has been spared by the Athenians, is menaced with death by Alcmena; and while she threatens, and he replies, the tragedy abruptly concludes. The conduct and language of this spouse of Hercules, however prompted by her wrongs, are very unbecoming—though, probably Euripides was of a different opinion.

The "*Phænician Democrats*" occupies the same ground with the Seven Chiefs of Æschylus: it is of much greater length, and contains a far more numerous dramatic personæ than the preceding tragedy; but it is almost needless to say, that it is far inferior in spirit and vividness to that mighty work, in which the heroes with their martial panoply seem like shapes of fire seen in terrific vision. In the production of Euripides there is, however, some reflection of this prodigious and meteor-like brightness. The picture of the fatal combat between the brothers is exceedingly characteristic and striking. The scene in which Antigone, from the walls, inquires and learns the names and characters of the chiefs before Thebes is very injudiciously copied from Homer; for though such an enumeration may be exceedingly beautiful in an epic poem, it is unsuitable to tragedy, because it is purely episodical, and tends, in no way, to advance the action. There is a great deal of declamatory vituperation in this tragedy; indeed Polynices seems to have entered the city for no end but to debate and retire. Jocasta, whom Sophocles had killed, is here revived to endure fresh afflictions. We cannot say we should have desired this resurrection. When we consider the involuntary offence of which she has been guilty, we look on her with shuddering; and feel relieved when she dies for whom there could be no repose hut in the grave.

The "*Raging Hercules*" consists of two distinct fables; the imminent danger of the father, wife, and children of Hercules, with their deliverance by the return of that hero, and the madness in which he kills most of those whom he had so lately saved. Notwithstanding this fault, there is much power in the latter part of the tragedy. The description given of the dreadful scene in which the slaughters are perpetrated is very striking—and the condition of Hercules when he wakes to a consciousness of the past, most heart-apalling and fearful. The force of the pathos is pleasingly broken by the kind attentions and unchanged friendship of Theseus, whom the Athenian poets delighted to extol. Sophocles has very finely delineated this favourite character; but how much more sweetly is this idol of

Biography. Athens portrayed by Shakespeare than by any even of the most gifted of his own countrymen; when with a courtesy so graceful, and a philosophy so mild and prince-like, he is made to receive the theatrical efforts of the immortal company of fanciful mechanics!

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Alcestis.

"*Alcestis*," if not the most beautiful of all the productions of its author, unquestionably contains the most exquisite scene. The descriptions given of the preparations made by the heroic wife for her approaching end—the sweet apostrophe to the nuptial chamber her own gentle departure and leave-taking of life, preceded by maternal anxieties and thoughts of love—form an instance of the pathetic of which all the works of ancient times can furnish no similar example. For the sake of the feelings thus excited, we readily pardon the necessary debasement of Admetus and his father—the strange account of the manner in which Hercules seizes the phantom Death at the tomb, and compels him to relinquish his prize, which seems at variance with every intelligible scheme of metaphysics or of mythology—and the undignified manners of the hero, who restores Alcestis to her husband. In this piece one might almost fancy that the first hints were contained of that divine picture of dying excellence which it was reserved for Richardson to exhibit in full grandeur to the world. It is astonishing that Euripides was not converted from his heresies respecting the female sex by the perusal of his own *Alcestis*.

Hippolytus. "*Hippolytus*," with the exception of the single unfortunate piece so much censured, is a most noble work. The author seems to have derived a purity of mind from the act of depicting such a character as that of the hero; for nothing can exceed the delicate propriety with which the revolting part of the subject is touched on. There is this peculiarity in the virtue of the unfortunate youth that his goodness seems altogether innate, and his soul is as unsupported as his actions. Euripides appears to have had a congenial feeling for this description of angelical beauty of mind, but to have wanted all moral principle; all sense of the struggling and subduing power of virtue which gives a mastery over itself and awes all around it. Moral beauty with him is always in repose—soft, placid, unconscious. Of all his persons who engage in the active scenes of crowded life, scarcely one has unmingled claims on our admiration and sympathy.

Rhesus. The admirers of Euripides usually give up "*Alcestis*" as unworthy of its alleged author, and have made great efforts to prove it spurious. There is, indeed, much reason to suppose it the production of a later age. No subject could have been chosen less adapted to tragedy than the episode of the liad on which this piece is founded; and the unfortunate choice of the materials is not compensated for by the skill of the finishing.

The Bacchantians. The "*Bacchantians*," though unfit for theatrical representation, is full of power, spirit, and poetry. The frenzy of the votaries of the god, with all their strange and wild frolics, are described with a vividness truly picturesque, while the choral songs breathe forth the same inspiration in verses which seem to reel and dance in union with the general emotion. The catastrophe would be too dreadful a conclusion to a piece of this kind, were it brought home with reality to our bosoms; but the whole is carried off by a sort of ethereal intoxication in which the misery is diabolized or forgotten.

Helén. "*Helén*" is as marvellous as a fairy tale. It is written on the supposition that the celebrated beauty whose

name it bears, never was really at Troy, but was entertained in Egypt, while Paris bore away a cloud instead of the reality for which the Greeks and Trojans contended. Mr. Bryant triumphantly adduces this story, which is found in several ancient writers, as a proof that the whole tale of Troy is "the baseless fabric of a vision." The conclusion of this tragedy is, like many of its author's, comic;—a universal reconciliation takes place, and all parties are made happy. The impression left behind by the perusal is pleasing; because the most exalted beauty is not here divorced from virtue, for which it is so fit a shrine.

The "*Cyclops*" is the only specimen which remains to us of the ancient satirical drama, with which the representation of the tragedies of the old tragedians was usually closed. Although the substance, and even the pun, by means of which Ulysses escapes, are taken from the *Odyssey*, the piece is worked up with great effect; the humour wears a romantic form, and the very parody on the heroic tales is itself heroic. There are, even in this ludicrous effusion, nearer approaches to the high and plastic style than in most of the serious pieces of the author; a circumstance which may lead us to believe that Euripides was seduced from the path trodden by his predecessors chiefly by his desire to triumph in the tears of his audience; so that when this temptation was removed, he was able more closely to follow them.

Of the successors of Euripides in Grecian tragedy we have no remains. Perhaps this circumstance is not to be regretted. They would only have afforded a gratification to curiosity in tracing the decline of the art, while they would have interrupted our admiration of the grand relics which we now possess. At present the Greek tragedy stands alone, as one of the grandest vestiges of the mighty times of old; and when we consider the immense number of plays which each of these poets produced, and the consequent facility with which works so perfect in their symmetry, and so exquisite in their minutest parts, were struck off at once, we are lost in admiration at the fine spirit of that golden period.

The Greek tragedies have been translated into English: those of *Æschylus*, by Potter—of *Sophocles*, by Franklin—and of *Euripides*, by Potter and Woodhull; but we cannot think, in any instance, with considerable success. The Greek language, perhaps, was essential to the harmony of these perfect works. The words themselves often form parts of that grace which is no where else to be supplied; and the divine workmanship of *Sophocles* and *Æschylus* would have been, in a degree, lost, if employed on less pure and delicate materials. Nor can we give much praise to any modern attempt at imitating these productions of Athenian genius. The texture of our minds is very different from that of those by whom they were produced or enjoyed—our joys and sorrows refer to a different sphere—the colouring of existence is altered. We have exchanged present unthinking gladness for a distant hope; the distinctness of a beautiful foreground for the dimly-seen glories of an endless perspective. Infinitely is the advantage ours, as immortality is superior to time. We must, however, resign the graces by which the ancients attempted to supply the want of prospects beyond the grave. We must content ourselves with the admiration of those works which the changes of mortality have left us. The moulds in which those exquisite groups were cast are for ever broken!

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THE LYRIC POETS OF GREECE.

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PINDAR,	B. C. 520.
BACCHYLIDES,	B. C. 452.

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Origin of the poetry.

ALTHOUGH the lyric poetry of Greece attained a degree of excellence which has in no subsequent period been surpassed, it scarcely forms so distinct a class of imaginative works as the productions of her great tragedians. Yet still this description of poetry, while its subjects vary with the ages and nations in which it flourishes, will be found nearly the same in its texture and philosophical principles from the earliest to the most recent times. The reason of this peculiarity will appear from a very slight sketch of its principles and origin.

Lyric poetry, as its name denotes, was originally accompanied by instrumental music. Not only was it sung or chaunted by the bard, like the ancient rhapsodies, but attended with such rude harmonies as could be produced from the rude instruments of the early ages. Hence it became distinguished, in very ancient times, from every other description of poetry. It was, necessarily, short, striking, vivid, and singularly harmonious; not like an epic rhapsody, referring to something precedent, and broken off as a fragment, but containing, in itself, the complete expression of the feeling which it was intended to convey. It is the musical development of some noble emotion or deep and solemn thought. In its nature it differs essentially from the epic and the tragic. In the former of these, while the poet himself relates the events which he desires to immortalize, he refers to them as at a distance, or represents them as objects rather of contemplation than of passion, and throws over the whole an air of stillness and repose. In the latter, the hard altogether disappears, and we are made at once spectators of the high scene of action, or of suffering, which is placed before us, as in actual progress. In the lyric, the poet appears immediately before us, not merely to tell of things past, or to sing the glorious deeds of other times, but to pour forth his own present emotions. The reality here is not in the memory of the past, as in the epic; nor in the view of the present, by personal representation, as in the dramatic; but in the poet's own mind. He throws himself into no other age or person, but speaks of his immediate feelings in his own character. He is triumphant, festive, joyous, solemn, or melancholy, according to the mood of his own mind. He has no guide but his own feeling, modelled and attuned by his sense of the harmonious.

Hence we may perceive the reason why the *internal principles* of the ode have not partaken of the changes which have affected other descriptions of poetry. It is the mere expression of individual feeling which does not alter. As tragedy and epic poetry relate to things

foreign to the poet himself, they have taken their form and colouring from the times, and the plastic and the picturesque have alternately prevailed as the mind was led to rest on the present, or prompted by high, though indistinct, expectations of the future. But the simple feelings of sorrow and of joy—the sense of delight—the awful throbs of suspense—the mounting enthusiasm of patriotism—the thrilling raptures of love—and the soft contemplations of lone philosophy, are essentially the same from age to age. Their objects change indeed with the progress of time; but in lyric poetry it is not the object, but the feeling, which is all in all. Thus the lyrical pieces interspersed in the Old Testament, though more sublime than any works of other times, because their objects are grander and more dignified, and the poetical feeling is supplied by the immediate inspiration of heaven, are the same in texture with the odes of the latest bards. They are equally the music of language expressing the music of thought. There is, in fact, no philosophical division of lyrical poetry into distinct classes. Some critics, who know of no distinctions in imaginative composition which lie deeper than the mere subjects on which it dwells, have divided lyrical effusions into various kinds, according to the occasions which have prompted them or the sentiments which they breathe. Such a mode of classification requires as many divisions as there are variations in circumstance and shades in passion and in thought. As we shall have proper occasion to point out the nicer adaptations of the sentiment and imagery to the feeling, in a particular view of the productions of each poet, we shall here rest contented with the glance we have taken at the philosophical principles on which all lyrical compositions are framed, and which distinguish them from the severer kinds of poetry.

But as one form prevails through the greater portion of the Greek odes, it may be proper to state here the constituent parts of which they are framed. They are, generally speaking, divided into three stanzas, which were denominated by the ancients the *strophē*, the *antistrophē*, and the *epode*; of these parts, the two former were the larger, and consisted of an equal length and measure; and the latter was the lesser stanza. The chorus sung the *strophē* on solemn festivals at the altar of the gods, and at the same time danced to the right; they then inverted the dance to the left, chaunting the *antistrophē*; and afterwards, assembling round the altar, they stood still and sang the *epode*. It has been generally considered among those who have excelled in Grecian literature, that the

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strophé and antistrophé, of the Grecian lyrists and tragedians answered to the modern recitative in music, and the epode corresponded with the "air." A passage from Marius Victorinus, an ancient grammarian, confirms the account we have above given of the parts which comprised the ode. "Pleraque lyricorum carminum, quæ versu, colossæ et commatibus componuntur, ex strophæ, antistrophæ, et epodo, ut Greci appellant, ordinata subsistunt. Quorum ratio talis est. Antiqui Deorum laudes carminibus comprehensas, circum aras eorum cantes cæbant. Cujus primum ambitum, quem ingrediebantur ex parte dextrâ, strophæ vocabant; reversioem autem sinistrorsum factam, completo prioro ædæ, antistrophæ appellabant. Deinde in conspectu Deorum soliti consistere cantici, reliqua consequentibus, appellantes id epodon.—We shall now proceed to give some account of each of the Grecian lyric poets, in the order of time.

Alcman.

ALCMAN was one of the most ancient of the lyric poets of Greece, and is supposed by some to have been the inventor of love-songs and the elegiac measure, his predecessors having uniformly written in hexameter verse. The place of his birth cannot be positively ascertained, for some authors assert that he was born at Lacedæmon, and others contend that this honour belongs to the island of Sardinia. It is, however, probable that Lacedæmon gave birth to this poet, for we find from ancient writers that the Spartans exulted that their country had produced a bard of such a genius, and after his decease erected a splendid monument to his memory. We are told by Athenæus that Alcman was addicted to the pleasures of the table, and was so popular among his countrymen for the beauty and excellence of his amatory effusions, that he was the favourite of the Spartan fair, who committed his verses to memory, and sang them at their feasts and entertainments. Notwithstanding the merited celebrity which Alcman once enjoyed, the bard of Lacedæmon has suffered so much from the ravages of time, that his very name is scarcely known to the moderns, except as attached to a particular kind of verse, which is named after him, *ALCMANIAN*, for which see *ALCMANIAN VERSE*, in our Miscellaneous Division. He is said to have written six books of verses in the Doric dialect, and also a play entitled *Colymbosus*; of these compositions only a few lines remain, and these are preserved in the works of Athenæus and Heplæstion. The works of Alcman having thus perished, we can form no accurate judgment respecting them; we are only enabled to glance at the opinion of his countrymen respecting their peculiar quality from a line which occurs in a Greek epigram:

in young Alcman.
Alcman's style was sweet.

Anacreon.

ANACREON, who carried the gay, luxurious, and festive style to its highest degree of perfection, was born at Teos, a city on the coast of Ionia, in Lesser Asia. Celebrated as the works of this poet have always been, we know little respecting his personal history. The names of his parents are lost, though, according to Plato, his family was noble, deducing their origin from Codrus, the last and best of the Athenian kings. He appears to have enjoyed, in a singular degree, the favour and patronage of the great. At the court of Polycrates, the monarch of Samos, he was held in peculiar esteem; and was honoured by

the friendship of Hipparchus, the son of Pisistratus, Lyric Poets of Greece. who, like his father, delighted in assisting the development of genius. In the earlier part of his life he seems to have left his native country, at the request of Polycrates, and to have resided at Samos; but quitted this asylum at the invitation of Hipparchus, who, desirous of enjoying the society of the poet, sent a vessel of fifty oars to convey him to Athens. In that city he continued until the murder of his patron, and the restoration of the Athenian liberties, on which event he retired to his native country, where he reached the advanced age of eighty-five. He is said to have been chafed with the stone of a grape, a characteristic conclusion of the intemperate mode of life in which he indulged.

For although we know so little concerning the events of Anacreon's story, we have ample testimony respecting his character in those of his works which have reached us. From these it appears that he was a voluptuary, not only in practice but in principle; at once one of the many who practised what he taught, and of the few who would dare to teach all that he practised. He did not, however, unite avarice with voluptuousness; for Polycrates having presented him with four talents, which prevented him from sleeping, he returned them, observing, that though the sum was of great value, sleep was of greater value still. Some parts of his conduct, as it appears from his poems, were of the deepest moral die; but it is hardly our province in this place to detail them. A statue was erected to his memory at Athens, representing him as singing a Bacchanalian air when elevated with wine; thus perpetuating at once the recollection of his genius, and of the debasing purposes to which he made it the minister.

Many of the poems of Anacreon have escaped the ravages of time. They are, for the most part, in praise of wine, and of the appetites which have been so often and so improperly dignified by the name of *force*. In their kind, however, they are matchless. "A careless charm, a natural and unthought grace," is lent to all the festivities which he celebrates. A roscate and lovely bac is thrown over every thing. His pieces abound in the happiest turns, the most appropriate imagery, and the most singular felicities of expression. His verses are exquisitely musical. The circle through which his muse ranges, if not very extensive, is crowded in every part with beauty and with grace. The wine seems to sparkle, and the flowers which crown the bowl to bloom for ever in his song. He has the power of rendering every subject subservient to his favourite themes, and extracts from every thing a spirit of festive joy. If he alludes to the shortness of life, he makes it a plea for enjoying to the utmost the present hour; and strangely makes the prospect of the grave itself to give a zest to the pleasures he is so soon to leave for ever. He strives to make up in intensity what is wanting in duration, and seems almost to succeed in living years in the space of a few short hours: there is a festive air even in his very sorrows. No one can deny to him the genuine poetical faculty, however much he must be considered as having abused it; for he eminently possessed the rare power of making a boundless variety of objects participate in one common expression, and of diffusing one feeling and sentiment over each of the beauties of the material creation at which he glances. It need hardly be added that he thus

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Biography. stands far beyond all his imitators; although, from the too fascinating taste of his poison, they have been exceedingly numerous.

From A. M. 3334. We present our readers with the following specimen, as giving some idea of the peculiar excellencies of Anacreon, subjoining the imitation of Cowley, who has very happily caught the careless graces of the original:

to A. M. 3552. *Εἰς Κένωρον.*
 Ἐν ποσειδῶνι τρυφῶν,
 Ἐν λαρύρεσσιν ἄνθος,
 Στραπὸν, δὴν σπονδῶν,
 Ὁ Ἰπποκρίτης θύει·
 Τὸν ἄλκιρον κένωρον
 Μὲν καὶ λαοκτόνον,
 Τρυφῶν ἀνταρτήσας
 Βασὶς τρυφῶν κολοῦσιν, &c. &c.

Underneath the myrtle shade,
 On flowery beds supinely laid,
 Odorous this my head overflowing,
 And around it rises glowing;
 What shall I do but drink away
 The heat and troubles of the day?
 In this more than kindly state,
 Love himself shall on me wait.
 Fill to me, Love! Nay, fill it up!
 And mingled cast into the cup
 Wit, and mirth, and rosy dews,
 Vigorous health and gay desires.
 The whet of life no less doth stay
 On a smooth than rugged way:
 Since it equally doth fer,
 Let the noxious pleasure be!

Ode iv.

Cowley.

We will present our readers with only one extract more; to give all that is beautiful of his kind in Anacreon, would be to quote the whole:

Εἰς το φίλνιστον.
 Ἢ γὰρ ποσειδῶνι τρυφῶν,
 Πῶς ἢ βελγῶν αἶμα,
 Πῶς βύσσινον ἀνθος,
 Ὁ φίλος βύσσινον,
 Τὸν ἄλκιρον κένωρον,
 Τὸν ποσειδῶνι τρυφῶν,
 Εὐφροσύνην κένωρον.

Ode xiv.

Thus rendered by a translator in Bland's "Anthology:"

The black earth drinks the falling rain,
 Trees drink the moisture's earth again;
 Ocean drinks the mountain gales;
 Ocean's self the sun inhales;
 And the sun's bright beams as ween
 Are swallowed by the thirsty moon.
 All nature drinks,—if I would sip,
 Why dash the nectar from my lip?

M.

But perhaps a favourite Anacreontic of our own country will give the mere English reader a better idea of Anacreon's peculiar character of style, than any of the passages we have quoted above:

Busy, curious, thirsty fly,
 Drink with me, and drink as I;
 Freely welcome to my cup,
 Couldst thou sip, and sip it up;
 Make the most of life you may.
 Life is short, and wears away.
 Both alike, both thine and mine,
 Hasten quick to their decline;
 There's a summer, mine's no more,
 Though repeated to threescore;
 There are summers, when they're gone,
 Will appear as short as one.

The works of Anacreon, at least in detached portions, have been very frequently rendered into our language. Cowley has translated twelve odes; but has rather given the light, airy, and sportive graces

than the full-hearted jousness of his author. He Lyric Poets was himself exuberant rather in his wit than in his sense of pleasure; and, happily for the morals of himself and of the world, but half an Anacreon. The translation of Fawkes is not unfaithful to the letter, but almost entirely destitute of the spirit of the poet. It seldom rises above respectable mediocrity. Recent attempts have been made to translate the works of this great voluptuary by Mr. Young and Mr. Thomas Moore, with very different success. The version of the first is coarse and revolting, while that of the latter is not only elegant, graceful, and most harmonious, but is executed in a spirit congenial with that of the Grecian. Perhaps, however, the very resemblance of the genius of Mr. Moore to that of Anacreon has prevented him from giving to the world a faithful translation. He has himself such singular quickness in forming the happiest combinations, and so ardent a feeling of the pleasurable, that he could not be restrained even to the text of him whom he has delighted to imitate. Unhappily for the cause of virtue, his paraphrase is more seductive than even the original. While he deserves praise for the total suppression of some things which a Christian age would not endure, he has rendered immortality more refined, and has heightened its charms by the glossy veil in which he has enveloped them. His works, in short, is liable to all the censure which attaches to his earlier writings.

The following are the principal editions of the works of Anacreon:

Anacreontis Odes, Gr. et Lat. Hen. Stephan. 1554. Editio princeps.

— Gr. et Lat. à Fabio, 12mo. Salmarsi. 1660 et 1690.

— Gr. cum Gallick Intrepretatione Annæ Dacæ, ejusque ac Tan. Fabri notis. Parisiis, 1662, in 12mo.

— Gr. cum Longopetri (Longepierre) metrica Versione Gallick et Notis. Parisiis, 1682. 12mo.

— à Baxter, 12mo. Lond. 1710. This is an excellent edition.

— à Joshua Barnes, Cantab. 8vo. 1705, 1721. Lond. 1734.

— à Mattaire, Gr. cum Lat. Versione et Notis. Lond. 1725. 4to. Excudebat Gul. Bowyer.

— Gr. et Lat. à Mattaire apud Bowyer. Lond. 1740. 4to.

These are Mattaire's splendid and accurate editions; and only one hundred copies of each were printed by Bowyer. See Nicholls's Life of Bowyer. Note, p. 168.

— à Pauw. Gr. et Lat. cum Notis. Traj. ad Rhen. 1732. 4to.

— Gr. 12mo. edit. Brunck, Argentor. 1778. This is a beautiful and correct edition.

STESICHORUS, one of the nine lyric poets of Greece, *Stesichorus* was born at Himera, a town of Sicily. Plutarch informs us that his original name was Tisias, but that he was afterwards called Stesichorus, or Stesichorus, in consequence of the improvements which he introduced in the arts of music and dancing. Isocrates, and other authors, assert that the Sicilian poet was deprived of his eyesight for writing invectives against Helen, and that he only again received it upon the condition of making a recantation of his calumnies. The anachronism of this assertion is as self-evident as its absurdity. We learn from Aristotle, in his Art of Rhe-

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toric, that Stesichorus was the first inventor of the well-known fable of the Horse and the Stag (which has been imitated by Horace and other poets), and that he composed it to prevent his countrymen from entering into an alliance with Phalaris, the tyrant of Agriguntum. Stesichorus is affirmed by some writers to have been the first who composed an epithalamium. He is said to have died at Catana, in Sicily, in the eighty-fifth year of his age; and to have been magnificently buried there at the public expence. Mr. Cumberland, in one of the numbers of his Observer, has favoured us with some remarks upon the funeral honours paid to the Sicilian bard, and the esteem and admiration in which his memory was held by his countrymen. "A tomb was erected to his memory near one of the city gates, which was thenceforward called the gate of Stesichorus; this tomb was composed of eight columns, had eight steps, and eight angles, after the cabalistical numbers of Pythagoras, whose mysterious philosophy was then in vogue; the cubic number of eight was emblematic of strength, solidity, and magnificence; and from this tomb of Stesichorus arose the Greek proverb *Ποσειδώνος*, by which was meant any thing perfect and complete. Phalaris of Agriguntum erected a temple to his name, and decreed him divine honours; all the cities in Sicily conspired in lamenting the death of their favourite poet, and vied with each other in the trophies they dedicated to his memory." This is all which is known of the life of Stesichorus. His compositions are said to have been written in the Doric dialect, and to have consisted of no less than twenty-six books, all of which are now lost, with the exception of a few fragments preserved in Athenæus and Aristotle. We must be therefore satisfied, in the absence of the poems themselves, to rely upon the judgment passed upon them by the ancient critics and writers. Quintilian esteemed Stesichorus in no degree inferior to Pindar, either in the sublimity of thought, the harmony of versification, or the beauty of language, which are the essential requisites of lyric poetry. He asserts that Stesichorus sustained all the dignity and majesty of the epic muse upon the lyre, and would have risen to the grandeur and sublimity of Homer himself, had not his style been too redundant. We may also form some idea of the genius of the Sicilian bard from what Horace, in his Odes, says respecting him.

Non latent
Stesichoræque graves Cumanæ.

The dignified strains of Stesichorus are well known.

Statius, in his *Sylve*, characterises him as

Stesichoræque ferax, &c. &c.

The impetuous Stesichorus.

The Greek epigrammatist speaks of him in the following manner:

Αἶψα Στεσιχόρου τι, &c. &c.

Stesichorus blazes or glows.

And again:

Ὀρυσσὸν αἶψ' ὡς ἄνθη

Εὐρώπης Στεσιχόρ', &c. &c.

Thus, O Stesichorus, hast drawn along with thee the European storm.

Every one of these recorded opinions bears testimony to his poetical merits, and they all agree respecting the peculiar character of his genius, which seems to

have reached the true sublime, both in thought and expression.

SAPPHO, the most celebrated for her genius of all the females of antiquity, was born at Mitylene, a city of the island of Lesbos, situate in the Ægean sea. The precise time of her birth is uncertain. According to Suidas, however, she was contemporary both with Stesichorus and Alcæus, and, if the opinion of Wolf is correct, was born in the thirty-sixth Olympiad, or about six hundred and thirty-two years before the Christian era. Herodotus and Suidas inform us, that the name of her father was Scamandronymus; while others assert that he was called Symon, Semus, or Etarchus; and that the name of her mother was Cleis, or Clois. According to Suidas, the poetess had three brothers, one of whom, Charaxus, seems, from the testimonies of Herodotus and Ovid, to have disgraced his family by his extravagance and shameless debaucheries. Herodotus represents the poetess herself as lamenting in verses the depravity of her relative, while she seems, with great simplicity, to have overlooked her own. She was married to a Lesbian of the name of Cercæla, by whom she had a daughter, whom she called by the name of her mother, Cleis. Her husband, however, soon died, and she passed the remainder of her life in a state of widowhood. After the death of Cercæla, Sappho conceived a violent passion for a young man of Lesbos, named Phaon, who seems at first to have returned her love, but afterwards to have grown weary of his mistress, and to have fled to Sicily to avoid her reproaches. Thither she determined to follow him, but was received only with contempt or hatred, and returned to Greece to put an end to her existence in shame and despair. Unable to endure the sense of her disappointment, she precipitated herself from the promontory of Leucæa, or Loucutte, in Acarnania, a country of Epirus, into the sea. The declivity afterwards bore the name of "the Lover's leap," and is now called St. Maura. To this catastrophe Anonius alludes.

Et de ninthoso vultum Leucææ mimor
Masculi Lesbicis Sappho priores sagittis.

And the masculine Sappho, about to perish with her Lesbian arrows, threatens a leap from the snow-crowned Leucæa.

Statius, in his *Sylve*, bears testimony to the fatal close of Sappho's life:

Non formidat temeris Leucææ Sappho.

Book iii. 154.

And the rash Sappho did not dread Leucæa.

Among the moderns, a noble author has described the spot where the still fond, but despairing woman put a period to her sorrows and her existence:

But when he saw the evening star above
Leucæa's far-projecting rock of woe,
And hail'd the last resort of fruitless love,
He felt, or deem'd he felt, so common glow:
And as the stately vessel glided slow
Beneath the shadow of that ancient mount,
He watch'd the billows' melancholy flow,
And sunk, albeit in thought, as he was wont;
More placid seem'd his eye, and smooth his pallid front.

Childe Har. can. ii. l. 41.

Sappho was so much esteemed by the inhabitants of her native place, Mitylene, that they paid her divine

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honours after her death, erected temples and altars to her memory, and even stamped her image upon their money. Bayle, in his Dictionary, under the article of Sappho, alludes to the last-mentioned act of esteem paid to the Lesbian minstrel; and adduces the authority of *Ælian* and *Pliny* in support of this circumstance.

Notwithstanding the amatory disposition of Sappho, there is every reason to believe she was not favoured by nature with any remarkable beauty of person. Some, indeed, infer that she possessed great personal attractions, from an expression of *Plato*, who, in his *Phædrus*, puts into the mouth of *Socrates* the phrase *ἡ καλὴ Σαπφώ*, "the beautiful Sappho." But this may well be supposed to relate rather to the superiority of her genius than to the beauties of her person. It must, however, be confessed, that both *Athenæus* and *Plutarch* follow the statement of *Plato*, and make use of the epithet *καλὴ* whenever they mention her name. But, on the other hand, *Maximus Tyrius* plainly asserts that she was both diminutive in her stature and swarthy in her complexion. *Ovid* confirms this description in his *Heroides*, in the celebrated Epistle from Sappho to *Phonon*.

Si mihi difficilis formam natura negavit,
Ingenio formæ dantes potiusda mæno,
From leavis; at nomen, quod terras implent omnes,
Est mihi; mentem notissim ipsas fero.
Candida si non sum, placuit Cephæis Perseis,
Andromedæ, patris fœcæ colore sum.

Thus elegantly translated by Pope:

To me what nature has in charms deny'd,
Is well by wit's more lasting flours supply'd.
Tho' short my stature, yet my name extends
To heav'n itself, and earth's remotest ends.
Brown as I am, an Ethiop's dance
Inspir'd young Perseus with a gen'rous flame.

Among modern critics upon this point, Mr. Bayle gives his opinion that Sappho was, "laide, petite, et noire," "ugly, little, and dark." Madame Dacier, that she was "petite et brune," "little and brown;" and Professor Dalzel holds nearly the same opinion: "Que neque inter pulchras neque inter deformes sui sexus numerari possit."

The character of Sappho sufficiently appears, even from the small remains of her works which have reached us. It is not of a description on which we should choose to dwell, even if we were to believe, as we incline to do, that the worst accusations brought against her are unfounded. There are, however, few intellectual treasures, the loss of which is more deeply to be regretted than that of the works of this poetess; for the remnants which have reached us certainly display genius of the highest order; they are rich even to exuberance, and yet directed by the most exquisite taste. In these most delicious of love-songs the tide of passion seems deep and exhaustless; it flows rapidly yet gently on, while the most sparkling fancy is ever playing over it; and the words themselves seem to participate in the sentiment which they develop. It is a mistake to imagine that the fragments of Sappho are nothing more than the elegant expressions of amatory feeling; they are really works of high imagination, which renders them as beautiful as they are intense, and, in the opinion of some writers, raises them even to the sublime. Thus Longinus quotes the

following celebrated ode as an example of sublimity: a species of excellence, however, which Dr. Blair warmly denies to it. The poem itself will be a better plea for its great enlanger than any observations of ours.

Θάνατον μὴ δέος ἀντὶ θανάτου
ἔργον ἔσθ', ὅστις παύσει τοὺς
ἰβήτας, καὶ κλέψει ἀπὸ φόνου
τοὺς ὀϊστούς.
Καὶ γὰρ ὅστις ἄνθρωπος μὴ μὲν
καρῆος ἢ τῆς ἀντιθέου ἔστιν.
Ὡς γὰρ ἴδω τοὺς ἑρπύλιν μὴ φόνου
ὄντα τὸν ἄνθρωπον.
Ἄλλα παρὰ μὲν γλῶσσον ἔσθ', ἵππον δ'
ἀνταρὰ χροὶ τοῦ σφαιροβόλου,
ὀκτανέμετον δ' ἂν φόνου θάνατον
τοὺς ἄνθρωπον.
Καὶ δ' ἄνθρωπος φόνου χροὶ, ἵππον δ'
παρὰ ἑρπύλιν, γλῶσσον δ' ἂν
ἔσθ' ἵππον δ' ἂν φόνου ἄνθρωπον.
Θάνατον ὄντα.

This exquisite composition is thus translated by Mr. Phillips:

Blas't as th' immortal gods is he,
The youth who fondly sits by thee,
And hears and sees thee, all the while,
Softly speak and sweetly smile,
Twice this depriv'd my soul of rest,
And ruin'd such transports in my breast;
For, while I gaze'd, in transport lost,
My breath was gone, my voice was lost;
My bosom glow'd; the subtle flame
Ran quick through all my vital frame
O'er my dim eyes a darkness hung;
My ears with hollow murmurs rung;
In dewy damps my limbs were chill'd;
My blood with ghastly horrors thrill'd;
My feeble pulse forgot to play;
I faint'd, I sunk, and died away.

Here are, indeed, "thoughts that breathe and words that burn." The imagery is as vivid as the passion is intense. Most truly it is observed by Longinus, that we see every thing described distinctly before our eyes: τὴν ψυχὴν, τοὺς οὖρους, τὰς ἀκούς, τὴν γλῶσσον, τὰς ὀφθαλμοὺς, τὴν χροὶν ἐκείνην.

The critique of Dr. Blair on Longinus's decision will not be uninteresting to the reader. Having remarked that there is an indefinite, and therefore an improper sense in which sublimity is sometimes attributed to mere elegance or beauty of composition;—"I am sorry," he says, "to be obliged to observe, that the sublime is too often used in this last and improper sense, by the celebrated critic Longinus, in his treatise on this subject. He sets out, indeed, with describing it in its just and proper meaning; as something that elevates the mind above itself, and fills it with high conceptions and a noble pride. But from this view of it he frequently departs, and substitutes in the place of it whatever, in any strain of composition, pleases highly. Thus many of the passages which he produces as instances of the sublime are merely elegant, without having the most distant relation to proper sublimity; witness Sappho's famous Ode, on which he descants at considerable length. He points out five sources of the sublime:—the first is boldness, or grandeur in the thoughts; the second is, the pathetic; the third, the proper application of figures; the fourth, the use of tropes and beautiful expressions; the fifth, musical structure, and arrangement of words.

Biography.

This is the plan of one who was writing a treatise of rhetoric, or of the beauties of writing in general; not of the sublime in particular. For of these five heads, only the first two have any particular relation to the sublime. Boldness and grandeur in the thoughts, and, in some instances, the pathetic, or strong exertions of passion: the other three, tropes, figures, and musical arrangements, have no more relation to the sublime than to other kinds of good writing, perhaps less to sublime than to any other species whatever; because it requires less the assistance of ornament." (Lectures on Rhetoric, v. i. 8vo.)

No less beautiful is the Hymn to Venus, preserved by Dionysius Halicarnassus, a portion of which we give, in the amended form of Mr. Upton's edition of that author:

Εἰς Ἀφροδίτην.

Πικρὸν ἄνθρωπος Ἀφροδίτην,
Παῖς ὦν, πόλιν ὠκείαν, ἡμετέρην τε,
Μοι μὲν ἀνέστη, πάλιν ἀνέστη ἡμεῖς,
Πῆμα ἔχοντες.

Ἄλλα τοῦτο τίλ', αἰ νόμα παρθένα
Ταί ποῖς ἄνθρωπος ἀνέστη πάλιν
Ἐλπίς, παρὰ δὲ ἵδμεν ἡμεῖς,
Ἐρῶν ἔστιν.

Ἀπὸ τοῦτο ἔλκεν, καὶ δὲ τὸ δῶν
Πῶς ἔστιν, ὦν, πόλιν ὠκείαν
Πῶς ἡμεῖς τε, πάλιν ἀνέστη ἡμεῖς
Πῶς ἡμεῖς τε, πάλιν ἀνέστη ἡμεῖς.

Ἄλλα δ' ἔστιν ὦν, πόλιν ὠκείαν,
Πῶς ἡμεῖς τε, πάλιν ἀνέστη ἡμεῖς,
Πῶς ἡμεῖς τε, πάλιν ἀνέστη ἡμεῖς,
Πῶς ἡμεῖς τε, πάλιν ἀνέστη ἡμεῖς.

Oh Venus, beauty of the skies,
To whom a thousand temples rise,
Daily false in gentle smiles,
Full of love-perplexing wiles:
Oh, goddess! from my heart remove
The wasting cares and pains of love.

If ever thou hast kindly heard
A song in soft distress prefer'd,
Fragrant in my tuneful voice,
Oh! gentle goddess! hear me now;
Descend, thou bright, immortal guest,
To all thy radiant charms confest.
Thus once didst leave almighty Jove,
And all the golden rooks above,
The car thy wanton spiritus drew,
Hovering in air thy lightly flew;
As to my bowers they wing'd their way,
I saw their quiv'ring gleams play.
The birds dismiss (while you remain),
Bore back their empty car again:
Then you, with looks distinctly mild,
In every heavenly feature smil'd,
And ask'd what new complaints I made,
And why I call'd you to my aid?

Philips.

Mademoiselle Le Fevre (afterwards Madame Dacier), conjectures that this ode was composed by Sappho during the absence of her lover Phaon, when he fled from her arms into Sicily. We shall close our extracts from the writings of Sappho with two fragments, the one preserved by Demetrius Phalereus, and the other by Fulvius Ursinus.

Ἐρῶν, ὦν, πόλιν ὠκείαν,
Πῶς ἡμεῖς τε, πάλιν ἀνέστη ἡμεῖς,
Πῶς ἡμεῖς τε, πάλιν ἀνέστη ἡμεῖς.

Oh, Evening! thou bringest every thing; the wine, and the goat;—thou also bringest the child to its mother.

The second fragment is of singular beauty; "we may

suppose," as Warton remarks, "the fair author looking up earnestly on her mother, casting down the web on which she was employed, and suddenly exclaiming"—

Πῶς ἡμεῖς τε, πάλιν ἀνέστη ἡμεῖς,
Πῶς ἡμεῖς τε, πάλιν ἀνέστη ἡμεῖς,
Πῶς ἡμεῖς τε, πάλιν ἀνέστη ἡμεῖς.

Beloved mother, I can no longer weave the web, inspired with love for some beautiful lay, by the gentle Venus.

This short effusion might have afforded a worthy subject for the first among the Italian painters, who alone could have transfused this inimitable expression of deep affection to the features of a love-inspired form.

Sappho is said to have composed nine books of lyric poems, besides epigrams and elegies, which seem to have been extant in the days of Horace and of Catullus. No poet of antiquity has ever been praised with more rapture by succeeding critics and bards. In the following epigram, descriptive of the merits of the chief Grecian lyriists, she is celebrated as the tenth muse.

Ἐλπίς, ὦν, πόλιν ὠκείαν, ἡμετέρην τε,
Μοι μὲν ἀνέστη, πάλιν ἀνέστη ἡμεῖς,
Πῶς ἡμεῖς τε, πάλιν ἀνέστη ἡμεῖς,
Πῶς ἡμεῖς τε, πάλιν ἀνέστη ἡμεῖς.

The last two lines, which relate to Sappho, may be thus literally translated:

Sappho is not the ninth lyrist of human beings; but she is the tenth among the lovely muses.

Horace, in his Odes, again, thus panegyriszes her poetry:

Spiculae cunctis coloribus
Alidum libetis putat.

The *Alidum* is the soft numbers breathe
The sighs of tenderness, the soul of love.

Boswell.

Dionysius of Halicarnassus and, as we have seen, Longinus, speak in terms of the warmest admiration of two fragments which are preserved in their works; but we need not multiply quotations to establish her fame.

The verse in which the two odes quoted above are written, and which he is supposed to have invented, has been always denominated Sapphic. It is a noble measure, equally adapted to the expression of tenderness and of lofty thought, as the Odes of Horace, in which it is adopted, abundantly prove. From the different construction of modern languages, attempts to introduce it in later times have, however, failed of success.—See SAPPHIC VERSE, in our Miscellaneous Division.

The translations and imitations of Sappho have been numerous in our own country, as well as in France and Italy. Addison published an entire translation of the two celebrated odes, the six fragments, and the two epigrams, in 1733, Lond. An anonymous translation has also appeared in Bland's Anthology of part of the ode "Πῶς ἡμεῖς τε, πάλιν ἀνέστη ἡμεῖς," 1813, Lond. Mr. Phillips's translations we have already given. The Ode to Venus has been also imitated by Smollett, and by Akenside, in his elegant "Ode on Lyric Poetry."

The chief editions of Sappho are as follow:

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Sapphōs Fragmenta, à Jona. Christoph. Wolfio, Gr. et Lat. 4to. Hamb. 1733.

This edition is an admirable one, and the only fault which we can find with the learned editor is, that he has, perhaps, needlessly illustrated the sense of his author by long and tedious quotations; at least, Professor Dalsē is of this opinion: "Hoc exquisitissimum odoratum Wolfius in sua editione oneravit annotationum farragine tam immensa, ut lectori fastidium pariat."

Sapphōs Fragmenta, with Anacreon, Edib. 1784.
— with Anacreon, by Tanquill Faber, Gr. et Lat. Salmur. 1660 et 1680, et cum Vers. Ital. Bart. Corsini, Neap. 1700.

— with Alcæus, in the Glasgow edition of Anacreon, Gr. 1751, 1757, 1777, and 1783.

— with Anacreon. Gr. et Ital. by Fran. Saverio di Rogati, 1782.

— Frag. Oda in Venerem, in Puellam, et Fragmenta ex Hephæstione; in Baxter's Anacreon, Lond. 1695 and 1710.

Poetris Sapphōs quæ supersunt Gr. et Lat. in Trapp's Anacreon, London, 1733 and 1742.

— Reliquis nonnullis, cum notis et quibusdam versionibus, cum Anacreonti, M. Maittari, Lond. 1740.

Sapphōs Poetris Oda in Venerem, extat in Dionysii Halicarnassensis de Structurâ Oratoris libro, ex recensione Jacobi Uptoni, Lond. 1747.

— Poetris Oda in Puellam, in Dionysii Longini de Sublimitate auro Opusculo extat, ex recensione Johannis Toupii, Oxon. 1777.

— Fragmenta inter "Carmina novem illustrium Fæminiarum," à Fulvio Ursino, Austr. 1568, 8vo.

— Omnia Opera extant in Brunckii Analect. Vet. Poet. Gr. t. i. p. 54, s-q-q. Argentorati, 1786. 3 vol. 8vo.

Alcæus.

ALCÆUS was born at Mitylene, the chief city of Lesbos, and is represented by some as the contemporary of Sappho and Stesichorus. He is reported, but perhaps scarcely on sufficient authority, to have offered his hand to Sappho, who rejected his suit. The ancient writers represent our poet to have felt an enthusiastic attachment to the cause of liberty; a feeling which was not only expressed in his poetical effusions, but which directed and impelled him in his conduct. He appears, however, to have possessed more zeal for liberty than personal courage in its defence. Herodotus informs us, that in an engagement between the Athenians and the inhabitants of Mitylene, Alcæus made his escape from the battle by flight, and having thrown away his arms, the victorious Athenians obtained possession of them, and hung them up, as trophies of their success, in the temple of Minerva, at Sigeum. The following are the words of the historian: Ἰελαμέντιον ἐν πύρῳ, παντοῖα καὶ ἄλλα κεινὰ ἐν τῷ μυχῷ ἐν ἐξ ἐξ καὶ Ἀλκαῖος ἡ ποιήτρα, συμβόληθι γυμναστῆς, καὶ κινῶντος Ἀθηναίους, αὐτοὺς μὲν φεγγῶν τεύχεσσι, τὰ δὲ οἱ σέλα κρηαὶ Ἀθηναίους, καὶ πρὸς ἀναιρέμασαν πρὸς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἐν Σέγει. τὰντα δὲ Ἀλκαῖος ἐν μὲν ταῖς πύραις, πεσὼν δὲ Μιτυληνῶν, εὐαγγελισμένος τοὺς ἰσθίους τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ἀντί τῆς ἐπαι. The two parties having made war against each other, various events took place in the battles. Among the rest, the poet Alcæus, an engagement taking place, and the Athenians proving victorious, fled, and the Athenians obtaining possession of his arms, hung them up in the

temple of Minerva, at Sigeum. Alcæus putting this account into verse, sent it to Mitylene, charging his disaster upon his friend and comrade Melanippus.

Alcæus is said to have been the first inventor of the "barbion," or harp; and has given his name to the measure which is called Alcæus, which, if he did not actually invent, he brought into high repute by constantly employing, and probably rendered it more perfect and harmonious. See ALCÆUS, Div. iv. The spirit of liberty by which he was animated seems also to have inspired the minds of his descendants; for we read that his sons, in conjunction with Pittacus, one of the seven sages of Greece, fired with indignation at their country's wrongs, gallantly delivered Lesbos from the oppression and despotism of the tyrant Melanippus. Here must close our account of Alcæus, for history supplies no further materials concerning his life and character. Alcæus, though a Lesbian, wrote in the Æolic dialect; but of his numerous lyrical compositions, which are said to have comprised satomy, Bacchanalian, political, and martial effusions, none have come down to us entire; and the few convivial fragments which survive are preserved in the works of Athenæus. We must, therefore, have recourse to the opinions of the ancients, as the only guides to a just estimate of his merits as a poet. Horace mentions him in an animated panegyric.

Est te acanastem plenis aureo,
Alcæe, plectro dura navis,
Dura figis mole, dura brili!
Utrouque sacro digna silentio
Miratur umbra dicere: sed magis
Pugnas et cæcos tyrannum
Deussum humeris libit mare vulgus.

Book i. Ode xii.

Thus rendered by Mr. Francis :

Alcæus strikes the golden strings,
And seas, and war, and rills sing;
Thus while they strike the various lyre,
The ghosts the sacred sounds admire;
But when Alcæus lifts the strain,
In thicker crowds the shadows throng
Drink deeper down the martial song.

Again :

— Alcæi mænace
— Canam.

Book iv. Ode i.

The threatening strains of Alcæus.

Ovid, in his Heroides, also hears testimony to the martial and enthusiastic strain of the poetry of Alcæus :

Nec plus Alcæus, cossos patrisque lyraque,
Laudis habet, quamvis grandis illa sonet. L. 35.
The great Alcæus more majestically sings,
And strikes with bolder rage the sounding strings.

Ppy.

The Greek epigrammatist thus speaks of his poetry and character :

Καὶ ἔπος Ἀλκαίου, τοὺς σπλάχνους αἵμα τρυφῶν
Ἐπαιρῶ, πατρὶς δαίμων ἰουμένη.

The sword of Alcæus was often bathed in tyrant's blood, in defence of the liberties of his native land.

And again :

Ἀλκαῖος ἀπαρτὶς Ἀλκίους ἄνδρ' ἄνδρ'
Τὸν ἔλκετο Ἀλκαῖος σὺν τοῖς ἑλλήσιν ἔπῳ.

The Lesbian Alcæus sung of various themes in his Æolian lyre.

Among the moderns, Dr. Akenside, in his Lyric Odes has passed a high eulogium upon the compositions of Alcæus; and the passage which we shall quote will

Biography. serve the double purpose of pointing out the probable peculiarities of the Lesbian's style and manner, and of showing the admiration which the English poet entertained for his talents and his genius :

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Broke from the fetters of his native land,
Devoting shame and vengeance to her lords,
With leader impulse and a threatening hand
The Lesbian patriot smites the sounding chords :
Ye wretches, ye perfidious train,
Ye curs'd of gods and free-born men,
Ye murderers of the laws,
Though now ye glory in your lust,
Though now ye tread the feeble neck in dust,
Yet Time and righteous Jove will judge your doubtful cause.

On Lyric Poetry, st. iii.

The measure in which Alcæus wrote has been adopted by Horace in some of his noblest compositions, and has consequently been chosen by many of the modern writers of Latin verse; among whose efforts an Alcæic ode composed by Mr. John Tweddell, a *pneumopoe*, entitled "Batavia Rediviva," which was published in the *Muse Cantabrigiense*, has received high commendation.

Ibycus.

Ibycus was a native of Rhegium, a town of Italy. The life of this poet, if possible, is involved in still greater obscurity than that of Alcæus; for of his private history nothing is known; and of his works, not a single line of them has reached the moderns. From the testimony, however, of Cicero and *Ælian*, it appears that his lyrical compositions were celebrated for their spirit and dignity; and the latter, in his "Various History," has given us a singular narrative of the poet's death. According to this, he was attacked and murdered by robbers; and when on the point of death, implored the assistance of some crows, who were at that moment flying over his head. A few days after, as the murderers were standing in the marketplace, they observed the same flight of crows, and one of them exclaimed to his companions, *Αἱ Ἰβύκειον ἄνθρωπον*, "There are the avengers of Ibycus." These words, and the recent murder, exciting suspicion in the bye-standers, they seized upon the assassins, and having put them to the torture, they all confessed their guilt, and suffered the punishment due to it. The Greek epigrammatist thus mentions Ibycus amongst the nine lyric poets of Greece—

— ἰβύκειον ἄνθρωπον
Ἰβύκειον ἄνθρωπον.

And then, too, Ibycus, hast plucked the sweet flower of persuasion.

Simonides.

Simonides, who was born in the island of Cos, a little before the time of Pindar, enjoyed the singular felicity of acquiring, while living, a large portion of honourable renown. His fame was not confined to the narrow precincts of Cos, but extended, long before his death, through Greece and Sicily. The estimation in which his genius was held by the polite and learned of those ages, may be inferred from the terms of familiarity with which he lived at Athens with the tyrant Hipparchus; the honours with which he was welcomed to Sparta by Pausanias, the Lacedæmonian general, and finally, the attentions which he received at the elegant court of Hiero. The Sicilian monarch particularly valued his compositions for their pathos, elegance, and sweetness; and he is said to have preferred the effusions of his muse to the sublimer strains of Pindar or

the moral dignity of Bacchylides. It appears that the name of the father of Simonides was Leoprepis or Theoprepis, but nothing is known of his circumstances or history. Simonides, according to Cicero and Quintilian, added the two long vowels η, ω, and the two double consonants ξ, ψ, to the Greek alphabet; and is said to have first introduced the artificial improvement of the memory: he is also reported by Horace to have been the inventor of elegiac writing. He carried off the prize for poetry when he was eighty years of age, but this was not the only instance which is recorded by the ancient writers of his good fortune; for Phædrus, in one of his fables, informs us, that he was so great a favourite with the gods, that the life of the poet was miraculously preserved at an entertainment when the roof of the house fell down upon all those who were present at the banquet. The life of Simonides was protracted to the advanced period of ninety years; he died in the capital of his royal friend and patron; and the inhabitants of Syracuse who had highly honoured and esteemed him when living, erected a magnificent monument to his memory. According to some writers, the lyric and elegiac poet of Cos left behind him a grandson, whose name also was Simonides; it is likewise said that he was the author of some books of inventions and genealogies, and flourished a few years before the breaking out of the Peloponnesian war. The poetical writings of Simonides, composed in the Doric dialect, consisted of lyrics, elegies, epigrams, and dramatical pieces, and we are told that he composed an epic poem on Cambyzes, king of Persia; but Pindar more than once insinuates that his muse was prostituted for the love of gain. There are known at present only a few fragments and epigrams of, perhaps, the most pathetic poet which antiquity can boast. One of these fragments is founded upon the following circumstance: Danaë, the daughter of Aërius, king of Argos, according to the ancient mythological fables, became pregnant by Jupiter in a shower of gold, and brought forth, as her son, the celebrated Perseus; the father of Danaë seized upon the mother and child, and enclosing them in a chest, committed it to the sea, there to drift at the mercy of the winds and waves. Our poet puts into the mouth of the suffering Danaë the following beautiful lamentation, alike inimitable for the simplicity and feeling with which it abounds. We give, in the original Greek, the verses as they stand in Mr. Upton's edition of the *Treatise of Dionysius Halicarnassus* "De Structura Oratoris":

Ὅτι λαοὶ καὶ βασιλεῖς ἀνέστη
ἐκείνῃ σπῆντι, κινδυνεύειν τὴν ἡμέραν
Δαναὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ ὕδατος ἀλάνθῃ
Περσέην, ἀπὸ τοῦ Περσέως βαλὼν
αἷμα χύει, αἷμα γὰρ ἐστὶν ὁ γέννη,
πᾶν ἔχει τὸν σῶμα τὸ κατὰ γέννησιν
ἡμέρᾳ σπῆντι καὶ σπῆντι ἡμέρᾳ
κατακτείνῃ δὲ, κατακτείνῃ
καὶ τὸν ἑαυτοῦ τὸν ὕδατος
τὸν αἷμα τὸν αἷμα
Περσέην ἀνέστη καὶ ἀλάνθῃ
Ὀδὲ ἀνέστη πρὸς τὸν ἀνέστη
καὶ τὸν ἑαυτοῦ, ἀνέστη καὶ τὸν αἷμα
καὶ τὸν αἷμα τὸν αἷμα
καὶ τὸν αἷμα τὸν αἷμα
καὶ τὸν αἷμα τὸν αἷμα
καὶ τὸν αἷμα τὸν αἷμα
καὶ τὸν αἷμα τὸν αἷμα
καὶ τὸν αἷμα τὸν αἷμα

* Alcæus.

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This exquisite fragment has been elegantly translated into Latin verse by Dr. Jortin, and admirably imitated by Dr. Markham. It is thus translated into English by a writer in the "Greek Anthology":

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When the wind, resounding high,
Bluster'd from the northern sky,
When the waves, in stronger tide,
Dash'd against the vessel's side,
Her care-mere cheek with tears bedew'd,
Her sleeping infant Danaë view'd,
And trembling still with new alarms,
Around him cast a mother's arms.
"My child! what woes does Danaë weep!
But thy young limbs are wrapt in sleep.
In that poor nook all sad and dark,
While lightnings play around her bark,
Thy quiet bosom only knows
The heavy sigh of deep repose.
The howling wind, the raging sea,
No terror can excite in thee;
The angry surges wake no care
That burst above thy long deep hair,
But could'st thou feel what I deplore,
Then would I bid thee sleep the more!
Sleep on, sweet boy, still be the deep!
Oh, could I lull my woes to sleep!
Jove, let thy mighty hand o'erthrow
The bold'st ruler of my foe;
And may this child, in future years,
Avenge his mother's wrongs and tears."

Of the Epigrams of Simonides, which have come down to us, and which are preserved in Brunck's *Analecta* and Jacobs' *Anthologia*, we shall select one as a specimen of his manner:

Μίσην γὰρ Ἀχιλλεύς Μενέλαον, οὐκ ἔμελλ'
Ζεύς τε καὶ Ἄρης ἀνέρες ἀνὰ-βόρην,
παύειν, οὐκ ἔμελλ' ἀνέρες ἀνὰ-βόρην
οὐκ ἔμελλ' ἀνέρες ἀνὰ-βόρην.

Thus rendered by an anonymous translator in the *Anthology*:

This tomb records Megistias' honour'd name,
Who, boldly fighting in the ranks of fame,
Fell by the Persians near Sperchius' tide.
Both past and future well the prophet knew,
And yet, tho' death was open in his view,
He chose to perish at his general's side.

Perhaps the old English ballad of "Sleep, baby mine," may be deemed an imitation of the *Cosan* bard; and the lines of Mr. Campbell, beginning, "Lo! at the couch where infant beauty sleeps," bear no small resemblance to the Grecian original. From the fragments which are in our hands we should imagine that the style of Simonides was remarkable from its sweetness and elegance, and we find this opinion confirmed by the Greek epigrammatist:

Ἦν ὡς Ἰωνίου πόντος ἑὸν, ἔκ. ἔκ.

The sweet page of Simonides.

Again:

Ἦν ὡς Ἰωνίου πόντος ἑὸν, ἔκ. ἔκ.

The muse of the honey-tongued Simonides breathed forth enchanting strains.

Horne merely says of his poetry "Cempe Cœmentis;" and thus praises his elegies:

Sed ne religis, mœna prociis,
Cœn retractis, mœna iuvenis.

But, oh, sacred muse! do not thus presume upon the province of the *Cosan* elegy!

Pindar.

PINDAR, the most celebrated of the lyric poets of Greece, was a native of Thebes, the metropolis of Boeotia, which country his name alone might well redeem from the stigma of dulness. His birth seems to have

taken place about B. C. 520. According to some writers, the name of his father was Daiphantus, according to others, Scopelus, and that of his mother Myrtis, or Myrtis. It is related of him, that when he was an infant, a swarm of bees settled on his lips, and left their honey there—an omen of his future excellence in the arts of poetry and music. The history of Pindar's early days seems to refute, in some degree, the opinions of those who think education has a tendency to repress originality of genius, and to tame it down into dexterous imitation or humble correctness. No poet, perhaps, ever dared so much as Pindar, and yet none was ever instructed in the finest arts with greater care. It is singular, that for much of his instruction he was indebted to the female sex, at a time when they were themselves in general excluded from the higher departments of knowledge, and regarded as scarcely endowed with intellectual faculties. According to Suidas, he was first taught to combine simplicity with elegance in the composition of his verses by Myrtis—probably his mother, who was herself the author of poems adapted to the lyre. At a subsequent period the beautiful and accomplished Corinna became his instructor. Some assert that he enjoyed also the singular advantage of having been the pupil of Simonides, though no styles of poetry can be more dissimilar than the ardent, impetuous, and daring spirit of Pindar, and the soft, peevish, and mellow tenderness of his reputed master. Not only poetry, but also the sister art of music, was carefully studied by the embryo bard. Athenæus informs us, that Lasus of Hermione, an excellent musician, and dithyrambic poet, imparted to him his skill in playing on the lyre. Certain it is, that he was prepared by no common attention for that high and glorious career in which he was about to leave every competitor behind him.

Pindar seems to have been early received with great honour by Alexander, son of Amyntas, at the court of Macedonia. He overcame his teacher Myrtis in a contest of musical skill; but was no less than five times defeated by Corinna in striving for the reward of poetry. It is intimated, indeed, by some, that the judges were inclined to favour the female candidate rather by the admiration of her personal charms, than of her poetical genius. Our hard most, however, have been very young at this time, as Diodorus Siculus asserts that he had only attained the age of forty at the time of the battle of Salamis.

In the public assemblies of Greece, Pindar no sooner appeared than he attained a height of popular favour, which seems never to have left him; nor was his fame confined to the people. As he sung the praises of the conquerors in those games at which kings and princes strove for the prize, he naturally acquired the favour and patronage of the great. He particularly enjoyed the favour of Hiero, king of Syracuse, whose munificence he delighted to repay by his songs. His partiality to the Athenians, however, drew on him the resentment of his countrymen. Because he had celebrated Athens as the chief support of Greece, they laid on him a heavy fine, on which the Athenians presented him with a sum of double the amount. Authors are divided respecting the time in which he died, some asserting that he only reached the age of fifty-six, while others maintain that he was eighty-six at the time of his decease. His departure from life was gentle, for

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it took place while he was sitting in a public assembly, and, till the spectators retired, he was thought to be slumbering. As a prodigy is related of his birth, so attempts were made by the Greeks to surround his death by mystery. It is said, that having in one of his poems represented Agamemnon and Troilus as rewarded by sudden death, for having built the temple of Apollo, he was referred by the priestess, on his inquiring what was best for mankind, to his own verses. This reply he understood as an intimation of approaching and sudden dissolution, which soon after took place.

Extraordinary honours were paid to Pindar, both during his life and after his decease. His odes and religious hymns were chanted in the temples of Greece before the most crowded assemblies and on the most solemn occasions. The priestess of Apollo, at Delphi, declared that it was the will of that divinity that he should receive half of the first fruits annually offered at his shrine. The Athenians erected a statue of brass in honour of him, representing him with a diadem and a lyre, and a book folded on his knees, which was remaining in the time of Pausanias; and a portion of the sacrifices at the great festivals of Greece was, for a long time, set apart for his descendants. When the Lacedæmonians took Thebes, they spared the house and family of Pindar; and, when afterwards, the city was taken by Alexander, the same mark of veneration was shown to his memory. His works have been extolled in terms of the most ardent admiration by some of the first ancient writers. Quintilian says of him in his Institutes, *Novem Græcorum Lyricorum Pindarus princeps, spiritus, magnificentiæ, sententiæ, figuris; beatissimum rerum verborumque copiam et velut quoddam eloquentium flumine, propter quæ Horatius nemini credit eum imitabilem.* "Of the nine Greek lyric poets, Pindar is the chief, in spirit, in magnificence, in moral sentiment, and in metaphor; most happy both in the abundance of his matter and of his diction; and, as the world, with a certain torrent of eloquence, so that Horace says no man can imitate him."

A yet higher authority—Horace himself, has thus expressed his admiration of our bard:

*Pindarum qualem studet æmulari,
Jule, cernit ipse Dardania
Nihil penitus, vitæ daturus
Nona pinto.
Monte de cæcis velut arvis, inbre
Quæ super montes solent ripas,
Fervet immensusque rull profundus
Pindarus ore.*

He who to Pindar's height attempts to rise,
Like Icarus, with waxen pinions, tries
His pathless way, and, from the venturous theme
Falling, shall leave to æneas seas his name.
As when a river, swollen by sudden showers,
O'er its known banks from some steep mountain pours;
So, in profound, unremembered song,
The deep-mouth'd Pindar, foaming, pours along.

Francis.

In the course of this ode, the epithet of *Dircæus cæcus*, "the Theban swan," is given to him; and the judgment of the Greek epigrammatist is in unison with the opinions of Horace and of Quintilian:

*Pindarus Mæcenæ ipse carmen, Æc. Æc.
Ohi, Pindar! thou sacred mouth of the Muses.*

Again:

*Πολύγλωσσος ὡς ὁδὸς ποταμὸς Πινδαροῦ, Æc.
Pindar's lyre changed loftily from Thebes.*

We cannot sufficiently regret the loss of the compositions which called forth these eulogies, because, though compared with the works of many other renowned authors, a considerable number of Pindar's odes have reached us, those which survive are not the most interesting in their subjects, nor probably the most felicitous in their execution. The works of Pindar consisted of hymns and pæans in honour of the gods; hyperchemata, songs accompanied by dances in honour of Apollo; dithyrambic verses to Bacchus; and some minor effusions; with the odes on the Olympic, Nemæan, Isthmian, and Pythian games. Of these latter forty-five remain, which, with a few fragments, form the only ground on which we can now form any opinion of the extent, or peculiar character of Pindar's genius.

No subjects, at first sight, could seem more unfitted for aniline poetry than those of the Pindaric remains; but the poet has, with characteristic impetuosity, overcome this difficulty by almost invariably abandoning the professed objects of his panegyric, and bursting into celebrations of the heroes of former days, the mighty exploits of demi-gods, and the gorgeous fables of oldest time. In the transition he uses little art; but seems to rely, as he safely might, on its being, in itself, most welcome. He is chiefly remarkable for the gigantic boldness of his conceptions and the daring sublimity of his metaphors; and may be called the *Æschylus* of lyric poetry. The flights of his imagination are not, however, like those of the great tragedian, mingled with the intensity of human passion, which, while they carry us beyond ourselves, still come home to the heart. He has the light without the heat; his splendours dazzle, but do not warm us. There is very little of human feeling in his works; they are little more than exhibitions which excite our surprise, but not our sympathy. His compositions have something hard and stony about them—the sublimity and the nakedness of the rock. The sunshine glitters on the top, but no verdure or foliage adorns the declivity. All the interest, such as it is, arises from the earnestness of the poet himself, and the intense ardour with which he is ever impelled in his lofty career. Hence we think more of him than of his work; while in Homer and the Greek tragedians the author is entirely forgotten. His conception is so ardent that he cannot wait to develop his metaphors; he often but half unfolds them, and suffers them to blend with the literal descriptions and form part of the subject; and hence, it appears to us, the obscurities so frequently complained of in Pindar have, in a great degree, arisen. In the mechanical composition of his odes, however, Pindar is by no means so irregular as some have been disposed to imagine. He commonly preserves the arrangement of strophe, antistrophe, and epode; and though the construction of these vary in different odes, all the strophes and antistrophes in the same ode are framed on the same principles, and all the epodes are composed in similar measures to each other.

The following is the commencement of the Ode to Hiero:

*Χρῆμα φεράμεν, Ἀπόλλων
καὶ καὶ ἀνθρώπων
Σύνατον Μοῦσας κτάνον
Υἱὲς αἰῶνος μὴ βέβαια, ἀνέκλιτα, ἄλκιρα,
Πότῃσι δ' ἄνδρα κερταῖον,*

From
A. M.
3334.
B. C.
670.
to
A. M.
3352.
B. C.
452.

Biography. is one in which to have failed is no disgrace; faithfully to translate Pindar into modern verse, without losing his spirit, appears to us impossible, even could it be undertaken by a congenial lyricist.

From
A. M.
3334.
B. C.
670.
to
A. M.
3552.
B. C.
452.

The chief editions of Pindar are as follow:

Pindari Carmina. Græcæ. Venetiis in Ædib. Aldi, 1513, fol. This is the Præncipes and Aldine edition.
—— Operâ Zachar. Callergi Cretensis Romæ, 1514. Heyne says of this edition, that it is the foundation of all the subsequent ones.
—— Gr. et Lat. Henricus Stephanus, Parisiis, 1560.

—— Operâ Erasmi Schmidii, Græcæ. Vitebergæ, 1616. Professor Heynæ says of the editor that he is "Editorum Pindari facili principem."

—— Jo. Benedictus, M. D. Salmurii, 1620, 4to. This is an excellent edition, and is accompanied with a Latin translation, and a paraphrase. Mr. Huntingford has made an abundant use of it in his respectable and useful edition of Pindar.

—— per Nicolaum Sudorium (Le Sueur), Oxon. 1697, fol. This splendid Oxford edition was edited by Richard West and Robert Welsted. According to Professor Heynæ, it is not celebrated for its critical research and acumen.

—— à Christian Gottl. Heynæ, Gottingæ, 1773, 8vo et 4to. Interpretatio Latina Koppil. This is by far the most complete edition which has ever been presented to the learned world. Professor Heynæ attached to it his "Additamenta" in 1791. This edition was reprinted, with the valuable Scholia, at Oxford, 1807, by Nathaniel Bliss, with great and laudable accuracy.

—— Selecta. Cum Scholiis selectis sinique notis, edidit Fredericus Gedike. Berolini, 1786. A very useful edition, and the notes are elegant and learned.

—— iterum curavit Chr. Gottl. Heynæ, 3 vol. Gottingen. 1798, 8vo. To this edition is added a dissertation upon the metres of Pindar, by Godfrey Hermann, a celebrated German critical scholar, and well known as the opponent of Professor Porson. Mr. Huntingford also published, in 1816, a new edition of Pindar, with notes, taking for his text that of Heynæ, and subjoining the excellent paraphrase of Benedict. This is a very good edition, especially for young students; and, upon the whole, may be considered as the most useful which has yet appeared; for it was the object of the editor to combine in one publication the various excellencies of his critical predecessors.

Those of our readers who would wish to see a complete list of all the editions of Pindar which have appeared, we refer to Professor Heynæ's admirable preface to his edition of that poet, where a full and detailed account of them is given.

BACCHYLIDES, the last of the nine lyric poets of Greece, was a native of Julius, a city in the island of Cos, or Ceos, and nephew to the poet Simonides. He seems to have been a favourite at the court of Hiero, in common with Pindar and his uncle; and it is said that his poetical works were preferred by the Sicilian monarch to the compositions of the latter. Of the particulars of the life of Bacchylides we know nothing, and of his numerous productions only a few small fragments remain. His writings are asserted to have been so pregnant with moral sentiment, that the Emperor Julian, on that account, particularly esteemed them, and was in the habit of committing them to memory, and of frequently repeating them.

Hesiod is said to have imitated him in several of his poems, particularly in his Prophecy of Nereus, which is founded upon an ode of our bard, in which he introduced Cassandra as predicting the fall of Troy. Of the numerous odes, hymns, and epigrams, composed by Bacchylides in the Doric dialect (although he was not a Dorian by birth), the following lines, addressed to Peace, form the principal fragment remaining:—

ΤΑΥΤΑ ΚΑΙ ΤΑ ΘΕΟΙΣΤΕΣ ΕΥΡΕΤΑ ΜΑΡΤΥΡΑ,
ΠΛΕΥΡΑ, ΚΑΙ ΠΑΡΕΠΟΡΕΥΟΝΤΕΣ ΑΝΘΩΝ ΑΝΘΩ,
ΔΑΔΕΛΑΝΕ Τ' ΕΝΕ ΕΙΡΗΝΗΝ ΔΙΟΤΕΡΟΝ ΑΝΘΩ
ΣΑΦΕΙ ΦΩΤΕ ΜΑΡΤΥΡΑ, ΚΑΙ ΤΡΟΧΩΝ ΤΑ ΜΕΛΟΣ
ΠΡΟΚΕΙΜΕΝΟΝ ΤΙ ΜΗ; ΑΝΘΩ ΤΙ ΚΑΙ ΑΝΘΩ ΜΕΛΟΣ
ΕΙ ΚΑΙ ΕΠΙΔΕΙΚΝΥΜΕΝΟΝ ΠΥΡΡΑΝ ΑΝΘΩ ΑΡΧΗΝ
ΕΝΩΝ ΣΦΟΔΡΑΝ ΕΥΧΕΤΑΙ ΤΙ ΛΑΧΥΝΤΑ
ΕΥΡΕΤΑ Τ' ΑΡΧΑΙΩΝ ΕΥΡΕΤΑ ΔΕΙΟΝΤΑ, ΧΑΛΚΕΩΝ
Δ' ΕΥΡΕΤΑ ΚΑΛΥΠΤΟΝ ΕΥΧΕΤΑΙ, ΑΝΘΩ ΕΥΛΕΙΠΕΤΑ ΜΑΡΤΥΡΑΝ ΟΥΤΩΣ
ΑΝΘΩ ΔΑΔΕΛΑΝΕ ΔΙΟΤΕΡΟΝ ΑΝΘΩ ΑΝΘΩ.
ΣΑΜΟΝΤΕΣ Τ' ΕΥΧΕΤΑΙ ΕΥΡΕΤΑΝ ΕΥΧΕΤΑΙ,
ΠΛΕΥΡΑ ΚΑΙ ΕΥΧΕΤΑΙ ΦΩΤΕΡΑΝ.

For thee, sweet Peace, abundance leads along
Her jovial train, and bards awake to song.
On many an altar, at thy glad return;
Pure victims bleed, and holy odours burn;
And fruitful youth their happy age apply
To graceful movements, sports, and minstrelsy.
Dark spiders weave their webs within the shield;
Rust eats the spear, the terror of the field;
And brazen trumpets now no more affright
The silent slumber, and repose of night.
Plausant and song and revel fill the ways,
And youths and maidens sing their roundelay. Blend.

We have only to add to this account of the life and writings of Bacchylides, that he is extolled, by two of the Greek epigrams in the Anthologia, for elegance and cheerful grace:—

—— καὶ λαλῶν Ἰσχυρῶς

Βακχυλίδης, ὅς, &c.

And Bacchylides, the eloquent stren.

Again:

Δαμνὶ τ' αὖτε εὐφραντο φθγγόντῳ Βακχυλίδῃ.

Bacchylides' was a cheerful muse.

From
A. M.
3334.
B. C.
670.
to
A. M.
3552.
B. C.
452.

Bacchylides.

C R Œ S U S.

FLOURISHED FROM A. M. 3407, B. C. 597; to A. M. 3456, B. C. 548.

Biography.

From
A. M.
3407.
to
B. C.
597.
to
A. M.
3456.
to
B. C.
548.
None.

This kingdom of Lydia comprehended a territory in Asia Minor, of various extent, in different periods of ancient history. It was sometimes called Meonia, from King Meon, and often distinguished into Lydia Superior, whose inhabitants were called Meones, and the Lower Lydia, afterwards called Ionia, possessed by the Lydi.

Josephus derives the Lydians from Lud, one of the sons of Shem; and the learned Stuckford (l. iii.) adopts that opinion. But while Bochart agrees in this derivation of Lydia, he refers the origin of the word *Lud*, not to the son of Noah, but to the circumstance of that word signifying *wind*; and this country being watered by the river *Mæander*, celebrated for its windings (hence our English word *meander*, to wind), he concludes that it refers to the inhabitants of the banks of this winding river; and he supposes Meonia to be a translation of the Phœnician word *Lud*: others deduce it from a Hebrew word signifying *metal*. Herodotus, however, supposes the appellation to arise from Lydus, one of their kings.

In this country an absolute monarchical government appears to have been very early established, and, so far as can be ascertained, the crown was hereditary. There have been reckoned three distinct dynasties: the *Atyæda*, named from Atya, the son of Manes, the first of the kings of Lydia of whom there is any record; the *Heracleidæ*, or descendants of Hercules; and the *Mermnadæ*. This Manes has been conjectured, not improbably, to have been the king mentioned by the philosopher Heraclides, who, from being slave to a cartwright, was raised to the throne of Lydia. In the reign of his son Atya, Herodotus places the event of a severe scarcity, which he describes as enduring for eighteen years. The Lydians, he says, invented games to amuse their distress, and in these occupied every day, strictly abstaining from food; by these measures, however, the calamity remitted nothing of its violence, but rather increased; at length (which is the only probable part of the story) the king divided the whole nation by lot into two bodies, one of which should continue at home, and the other emigrate.* These placed themselves under the conduct of his son, whose name was Tyrrhenus. They passed to Smyrna, where building a number of vessels, they sailed in search of another country, till they settled in Umbrina, or Etruria; and thus, according to Herodotus, was peopled the country which forms the modern Tuscany.

After Atya there is a catalogue of kings, of whom nothing has been told except their names, and a few disgusting and improbable stories. Without admitting the whole which these narratives affirm, it is nevertheless certain that the Lydians became proverbial for profligacy and effeminacy. His dynasty appears to have ended with the transfer of the crown to Argon, who made Sardis the seat of government, and whom Herodotus describes as the first of the *Heracleidæ*. A few names of Argon's descendants bring down the history of the Lydian monarchy to Candaules, whose tragical end concluded a dynasty which, according to Herodotus, had continued five hundred years.

Candaules, whose reign is placed about the year 735 before the Christian æra, was contemporary with Romulus; but has not, like the founder of Rome, provided any valuable materials for history; and unless Pliny, the naturalist (lxxxv.), had applauded his munificence, as having purchased a picture for its weight in gold, the king of Lydia would now be known only by the folly to which he sacrificed his life, if, indeed, we may rely on the testimony of Herodotus relative to that event.

Under the influence of an extravagant passion, Candaules engaged his favourite courtier, Gyges, in a conversation on the consummate beauty of the queen, and to convince him of her superior charms, would expose her to his observation. The courtier in vain expostulated against the indecorous and extravagant proposal. The infatuated prince insisted that he should be concealed in the bed-chamber, and Gyges was obliged to acquiesce. On his retiring from the chamber he was observed by the queen, who concealed her resentment from the king until the morning, but determined to revenge the indignity which he had offered her.

No sooner was she risen than she sent for Gyges, and proposed to him the alternative of death, or the destruction of Candaules, the accession to his throne, and the hand of his queen. Ambition conspired with the love of life to determine the courtier's choice, although he seems to have shown considerable reluctance to destroy his prince. He assassinated Candaules in his sleep, and attained the promised rewards. "Gyges," says Gyges, Raleigh, "being brought again into the same chamber by the queen, slew Candaules, and was rewarded not only with his wife, but with the kingdom of Lydia."

Such is the account of the accession of Gyges, on the authority of Herodotus; but, like most relations, especially in ancient history, it has been disputed. Plato describes Gyges as a shepherd, and by the assistance of a marvellous tale of a magical ring, the philosopher brings him to the court, where he seduces the queen, and then murders the injured monarch: while Plutarch represents the succession of Gyges to the throne of Lydia, as the result of a battle which he waged against Candaules. Herodotus has, however, been generally followed, as he was born in a city near to Lydia, and at a period when he was likely to be able to ascertain the particulars of its early history.

The Lydians were attached to the memory of their late monarch, and appeared in arms against his suc-

C R Œ S U S.

From
A. M.
3407.
to
B. C.
597.
to
A. M.
3456.
to
B. C.
548.
None.

* It is extraordinary, however, that the Romans should derive the word signifying sport, from the Lydians, *ludo*.

Biography. deror, when Gyges availed himself of the reverence generally paid to the oracle of Delphi. He agreed with the malecontents, that his possession of the royalty should depend on the determination of the Pythia, whom he doubtless knew how to propitiate. The decision was favourable to the usurper. The throne was secured to him, though the vengeance of the Heraclids was denounced on his descendant in the fifth generation.

Lydia abounded in mines of the precious metals; hence, as we have seen, some have deduced its name; and Gyges became renowned for his riches. He employed them in rewarding munificently the obsequious oracle, and thus gave the example, afterwards so amply followed, of presenting costly votive offerings at Delphi. This prince soon extended the bounds of his kingdom by successful military adventures, and reigned thirty-eight years, leaving his son Ardyes to complete his conquests, till he was himself invaded by the Cimmerians, Sadyattes succeeded his father Ardyes, and carried on that war against the people of Miletus, which was further prosecuted by his son Alyattes: of this prince several events are recorded.

Alyattes. He was engaged in a war with Cyaxares the Mede; the occasion of which is thus related by Herodotus. There were certain Scythians who fled from a popular tumult, and took refuge in Media, where they were protected by the king. He entrusted some youths to their care to be taught the Scythian language, and the use of the bow. These strangers were skilful hunters; but one day, returning from the chase, without bringing any game for the king, he reproved them in very provoking terms. They consulted on a method of revenge, and determined on a retaliation the most horrible. Killing one of the youths committed to their care, they dressed the flesh in the manner of game, and it was thus served up and eaten by Cyaxares and his guests. The Scythians fled and sought the protection of Alyattes, who refused to deliver them up to the justly exasperated king of Media.

On this refusal, a war commenced between the Lydians and the Medes, which continued five years; and was attended with various success.—A remarkable event happened during one of their engagements. In the sixth year, and in the midst of a battle when neither side could reasonably claim superiority, the day was suddenly involved in darkness; this phenomenon, and the particular period at which it was to happen, had been foretold to the Ionians by Thales the Milesian. Awed by the solemnity of the event, the parties desisted from the engagement; and it further influenced them to listen to propositions of peace, which were made by Syennesis of Cilicia, and Labynetus of Babylon. To strengthen the treaty, these persons also recommended a matrimonial connection; they advised that Alyattes should give Aryenis, his daughter, to Astyages, son of Cyaxares, from the just conviction that no political engagements are durable unless strengthened by the closest of all possible bonds. Alyattes also, according to the same historian, drove the Cimmerians out of Asia, possessed himself of Smyrna, and invaded Clazomenæ.

But the longest of his martial exploits was the war against the people of Miletus, which his father had begun, and which he prosecuted during six years. Of

his policy in the conduct of this war we have, from Herodotus, the following account:

"When the time of harvest approached, he marched an army into their country, to the sound of the pastoral pipe, harp, and flutes. He neither pulled down, nor burned, nor in any respect injured their edifices which stood in the fields; but he totally destroyed their trees, and the produce of their lands, and then returned. As the Milesians were masters of the sea, the siege of their city would probably have proved ineffectual. His motive for not destroying their buildings was, that they might be induced again to cultivate their lands, and that, on every repetition of his incursions, he might be secure of plunder."

In the twelfth year his soldiers burnt, by accident, a temple of Minerva. The king, soon after, being severely indisposed, inquired of the oracle respecting his recovery; but the Pythia refused to answer till he had restored the temple. To effect this it became necessary to procure a truce with the king of Miletus, who, being apprised of the circumstance, practised a stratagem, which succeeded to his purpose. "All the corn which was found, or could be procured, was, by his direction, collected in the most public place. He then ordered the Milesians, at an appointed period, to commence their convivialities; and the herald of the king of Lydia witnessed the scene. Alyattes had imagined that the Milesians suffered extremely from the scarcity of corn. The report of his messenger produced a different impression. A strict alliance was formed between the two nations, and, instead of ass, Alyattes erected two temples to Minerva." Herodotus adds, that the prince was restored to health, and presented at Delphi "a large silver goblet, with a saucer of iron, curiously insaid," which was the second offering made by his family. Alyattes dying after a reign of fifty-seven years, was buried at Sardis, where his sepulchre remained in the time of Herodotus. He was succeeded by his son Croesus, whose reign gave celebrity to Lydia, while his name became proverbial for riches, and his story has assisted the moralists of every age to describe the uncertain tenure of worldly prosperity.

It was about 563 years before the Christian era, when Croesus became king of Lydia, at the age of only thirty-five, according to the common computation. He commenced his reign with a war against the Ephesians; a family quarrel, if, as Elian relates, he was uncle to the prince of Ephesus. However that may be, he laid close siege to the city, which the inhabitants, according to a common heathen superstition, vainly endeavoured to defend by connecting their walls with a rope to the temple of Minerva.

Croesus proceeded to attack the Ionian and Æolian states, and having reduced the Greeks on the Asiatic continent, he projected the formation and equipment of a fleet to invade the islands. But Bias, one of the wise men of Greece, dissuaded him from a contention with islanders in a maritime war, and he wisely preferred to secure their friendly alliance. He now pushed his conquests till, excepting the Lycians and Cilicians, he had subdued all the nations to the river Halys.

By these conquests of Croesus the kingdom of Lydia became of great extent, far beyond what it had comprehended in any former reign. Sardis, the capital, advantageously situated at the foot of mount Tmolus, and watered by the Pactolus, famous for its golden,

Croesus.

From
A. M.
3407.
B. C.
597.
—
A. M.
3456.
B. C.
548.

A. M.
3442.
B. C.
562.

Croesus.

His conquests.

Biography. sands, was now distinguished among the cities of the ancient world. In the estimation of Xenophon, it was "the richest city in Asia, next to Babylon." According to Herodotus, it "became the resort of the great and the affluent, as well as of those who were celebrated in Greece for their talents and their wisdom."

In another place (article Solon) we have mentioned the interview of Cræsus with the Athenian sage and lawgiver, in the palace of Sardis. Plutarch, indeed, proposes some chronological difficulties, started in his time, respecting the reality of this interview, by some who considered the story as fabricated for the uses of its excellent moral. The biographer, however, considers a story not to be rejected, which is "so famous, so well attested, so agreeable to Solon's character, and so worthy of his wisdom and magnanimity." According to the combined narratives of Herodotus and Plutarch, the account of this interview is as follows:

Cræsus invited Solon to Sardis, and hospitably entertained him in the palace, where the sage beheld the magnificence of the king and his courtiers with a calm and mortifying indifference. He was conducted to the royal treasury to view and admire the vast riches it contained. At length the king flattered himself that Solon was now prepared to decide in his favour, upon being asked who was the happiest man; but he was disappointed. The preference was bestowed on Tellus the Athenian, of whom, in answer to the inquiry of the astonished and mortified prince, Solon gave this account: "Under the protection of a most excellent form of government, he had many virtuous and amiable children; he saw their offspring; and they all survived him; at the honourable close of a prosperous life, for he died in the field of victory, we gave him a public funeral."

Cræsus, not yet discouraged, inquired to whom Solon would assign the next degree of felicity, when he named Cleobis and Biton, young Argives, who, as an act of filial piety, had yoked themselves to their mother's chariot, and drawn her to the temple of Juno, where they died in the night, without sorrow or pain, in answer to the mother's prayer for their happiness.

Dissatisfied, and now indisposed to further inquiry, Cræsus exclaimed, "Man of Athens, think you so meanly of my prosperity, as to place me even beneath men of private and obscure condition?" Solon, unwilling either to flatter or to exasperate him, replied, "King of Lydia, the Greeks have no taste for the splendours of royalty. Moreover, the vicissitudes of life assure us not to be elated by any present good fortune, or to admire that felicity which is liable to change. Futurity carries for every man in its bosom many various and uncertain events. He, therefore, whom heaven blesses with success to the last, is in our estimation the happiest man. But the happiness of him who still lives, and has the dangers of life to encounter, appears to us no better than that of a champion, before the combat is determined, and while the crown is uncertain." With these words Solon departed, leaving Cræsus chagrined, but not instructed. *Æsop* was now at the court of Sardis, and said to Solon, "you see that we must either not come nigh kings, or else entertain them with things agreeable." To which the sage replied, "we should either say nothing, or what is useful."

The vicissitudes of fortune, which Solon would have led the king to contemplate, were presently exemplified

in the royal family. Cræsus had two sons; one of them was dumb, but the other, whose name was Atys, was distinguished by superior accomplishments. Cræsus is said to have had a vision, which warned him that this son would die by the point of an iron spear. The terrified father determined to settle his son in marriage, and to devote him to a pacific life; taking away his command in the army, and removing from about his person every military weapon.

In the mean time an unfortunate homicide, named Adrastus, arrived at Sardis; a Phrygian, and of the royal family. He had killed his brother, was punished by his father, and, according to the custom of pagan antiquity, sought *expiation* of a neighbouring prince. This Cræsus bestowed, and gave the fugitive an asylum in his court.

Herodotus, who is almost the only authority for the domestic history of Cræsus, next relates, that a wild boar of an extraordinary size appeared near Olympus, in Mysia. The terrified inhabitants requested Cræsus to send his son with hunters and dogs to destroy the formidable animal. The king, remembering the vision, withheld his son, but promised them a chosen band of Atys.

The young man, mortified by his father's determination, expostulated, and at length was allowed by his father to pursue the chase of this *sworn enemy*, being placed under the special guardianship of the young Phrygian. They attacked the boar; when, the Phrygian's spear, by a fatal mischance, killed the son of Cræsus. "Thus," says Herodotus, "he was destroyed by the point of a spear, and the vision proved to be prophetic. Cræsus was in an agony, and his anger was excited against the destroyer of his son, the fugitive to whose distressful tale he had listened, and whose former crime he had gently *expiated*."

While his thoughts were thus occupied, the Lydians appeared with the body of his son: the homicide followed. He advanced towards Cræsus, and with extended hands, implored that he might suffer death upon the body of him whom he had slain. Cræsus listened to him with attention; and although the father was oppressed by his own grief, he could not refuse his compassion to Adrastus, to whom he spoke as follows: "My friend, I am sufficiently revenged by your voluntary condemnation of yourself. You are not guilty of this event, for you did it without design. The offended Deity who warned me of the evil, has accomplished it! Cræsus, therefore, buried his son with the proper ceremonies; but the unfortunate descendant of Midas, who had killed his brother and his friend, retired, at the dead of night to the place where Atys was buried, and confessing himself the most miserable of mankind, slew himself on the tomb."

Cræsus passed two years in extreme affliction for the tragical death of a son, who was the only hope of the royal house. At length his jealousy was awakened, and his military ardour roused, by the progress of a neighbouring power, which was rapidly advancing to a formidable greatness.

It is remarkable that Cyrus, whose name will be connected with all the remaining history of Cræsus, appears to have assumed the military government of Media, on the death of his grandfather, Astyages (who is said to have been the brother-in-law of Cræsus), the same year in which the king of Lydia commenced his reign, on the death of his father Alyattes.

Cræsus.
From
A. M.
3407.
—
B. C.
597.
to
A. H.
3446.
—
B. C.
543.

Biography.

From
A. M.
3407.
B. C.
597.
to
A. M.
3450.
B. C.
548.

Chreos-
tical ac-
count.

But before we proceed in the history of Cræsus, we must notice an apparent inconsistency respecting the alleged years of that prince's age, and of his reign, which we know not how to explain: for if Cræsus were only thirty-five years of age at his accession, it is difficult to understand how he could have a son advanced to manhood and disposed of in marriage, apparently some time before his tragical end, which we have related. If, again, the king of Lydia reigned only fourteen years, according to Herodotus (i. 86.), and two years of inaction be allowed to pass after the death of his son, the wars he waged against his neighbours, the extension of his dominions, the accumulation of treasure, and the embellishment of the metropolis of his kingdom; all these important transactions will be crowded into three years. Such conclusions are extremely improbable; and it can scarcely be doubted that both the age and the reign of Cræsus far exceeded the extent assigned them by the common computation.

The kings of Babylon had been for some time advancing their conquests, and were permitted, as a just judgment on the Jews, to bring the land of Israel under their despotic sway. According to Xenophon, they had not only overthrown the Syrians, but also the Arabs and the Hyrcanians; they were attacking the Bactrians, and sought to break the power of the Medes, and thus to obtain the command of Asia. These conquests and further projects of dominion naturally excited the jealousy of neighbouring states. The kingdom of Media, especially, was aroused to military activity; and Neriglassar, the king of Babylon, son-in-law of the Nebuchadnezzar of Scripture, was soon alarmed by the advance of Cyrus, with an army of Persians, in support of his uncle Cyaxares, the king of Media.

Cyrus.

Cyrus, whose name has been famous for his connection with the sacred history, and the particulars of whose life and reign will be found in another place, must have been esteemed, from all the accounts of him which have escaped the ravages of time, a most formidable competitor. He had been educated under his father, in Persia, from his twelfth year, and was now at the mature age of forty. The interval had been passed, not in those pursuits of luxury and indulgence which too often enervate the constitutions and debilitate the minds of princes, but in military exercises, instructive society, hardy toils, and salutary privations. He had learned to govern from having been habituated to obey. Such was the great captain with whose rising fortune the king of Lydia was now to contend.

Neriglas-
sar's alli-
ances.

The advance of Cyrus may be easily supposed to have alarmed the king of Babylon; especially when he understood that the Persian prince had defeated and reduced to new terms of subjection the king of Armenia, a tributary prince, who had revolted from the Medes. Neriglassar, on this emergency, in the first place summoned to his aid, according to Xenophon, his own tributary states. He also sent to Cræsus, king of Lydia; to the king of Cappadocia, to both Phrygians, to the Carians, Paphlagonians, Indians, and Cilicians; loading the Medes and Persians with calumny and reproach; describing their power, their union of interest by family alliances, and their design, by attacking each nation separately, to subdue them all.

According to the same historian, the Lydians who joined the confederated forces on this occasion under

Cræsus, were 10,000 horse, and targeteers and archers upwards of 40,000. The whole of the allied army he computes as 60,000 horse, and more than 200,000 targeteers and archers. The army of Media is described by Xenophon as "in horse less than a third part of the enemy's force, and scarce half the number of their foot." But the historian was also the panegyrist of Cyrus, and this is not the only occasion on which we may raise some *historic doubts* of his strict veracity.

The confederate army, under the king of Babylon, Cræsus, and the other leaders, appeared at first disposed to remain in their strong camp, while Cyrus and Cyaxares waited to give them battle. The next day, however, according to Xenophon, the *Asians*, meaning the allied army, when they had dined, marched boldly out, and formed themselves with great resolution. The king, Neriglassar, himself ranged them in order of battle, driving round in his chariot, and exhorting the soldiers, in a spirited oration. On this occasion Cyaxares blamed the deliberate policy of Cyrus, sending messengers to entreat that he would march immediately against the enemy. He, at length, gave out the word, *Join, our assistant and leader*, and began the usual hymn to the *youths of Jore, Castor and Pollux*; in which the army accompanied him.

The spot on which this battle was fought has not been recorded. It was probably in the territory of Babylon, and on the confines of Media. If Xenophon may be credited, the Assyrians, or Babylonians, who fought from their chariots, were soon discomfited, and fled when closely pressed by the Persians, though it is admitted that Neriglassar sustained his military renown, falling in the field, surrounded by his bravest soldiers.

His death.

On the death of the king of Babylon, Cræsus, as the most considerable person among the confederates, assumed the command of the allied army, and made the best disposition for a retreat which their desperate circumstances would allow. He sent off the women and the principal part of the baggage in the night after the battle. Cyrus, reinforced by the Hyrcanians, who had revolted to him, pursued and routed the retreating army; Cræsus, abandoning the country to the conqueror, and, accompanied by his cavalry, retiring with all possible expedition into his own kingdom. Such are the representations of Xenophon in his *Cyropædia*; for Herodotus gives no account of the preceding military transactions.

That historian first connects the names of Cyrus and the king of Lydia in relating the solicitude of the latter to ask counsel at the different oracles of Greece. Some modern writers have introduced those consultations at an earlier period; but they, most probably, occupied part of the five years which are supposed to have elapsed between the retreat of Cræsus from Babylonia, which has been just described, and his fatal resolution again to pass the river Halys. This conjecture is confirmed by the pretence of the oracle to have deferred, for three years, the destruction of Sardis, related by Herodotus (i. 91.)

Herodotus.

During the five years that succeeded the battle in Nabera, which the king of Babylon was slain, Nabonodius, *dias*, who, according to Josephus, was the Belshazzar of the Scripture, had attained to the empire, on the death of Laborsorachod, the unworthy son of Neriglassar, who had reigned only a few months. In the mean time

Cræsus.
From
A. M.
3407.
B. C.
597.
to
A. M.
3450.
B. C.
548.

Biography. Cyrus was pursuing his advantages, and continually increasing the preponderance of the Medo-Persian power.

From
A. M.
3407.
B. C.
597.
30
A. M.
3456.
B. C.
548.

Dositheos from Babylon, says Xenophon, and prisoners which were now taken, reported, that the Assyrian, as he always calls the king of Babylon, was gone into Lydia, carrying with him many talents of gold and silver, with treasure and rich ornaments of every description. Some suspected that he was already flying with his treasures to a place of security, but Cyrus wisely concluded that the king designed to purchase alliances, and to collect a military force, which he immediately prepared himself to oppose. The sequel shows the nature of this visit to the king of Lydia, while the importance of the projects he was now led to entertain would naturally incline him to ask the counsel, and to hope for the sanction of oracular wisdom. As the king of Lydia stands prominent on the pages of heathen antiquity, among the venerated and the dupes of oracular pretensions, we shall here abridge the narrative of Herodotus (i. 46—56).

Cyrus
consults the
oracles
oracles.

He sent messengers to Delphi, the Phocian Abas, Dodone, Amphiarhus, Trophonius, and the Milesian Branchidae, in Greece; and to the Libyan Ammon. He directed his messengers that each should consult the oracle to which he was sent, on the hundredth day of his departure from Sardis; asking about what Croesus, the son of Alyattes, was then engaged; and communicating to this king whatever answer he received. The answers in general have not been preserved, and were unsatisfactory to the king; but the Lydians had no sooner entered the temple of Delphi, and proposed their question, than the Pythia answered thus, in heroic verse:

I count the sand, I measure out the sea;
The silent and the dumb are heeded by me;
Even now the oceans to my voice that rise,
A torpine boiling with a fume of sulphur,
Where brass below and brass above it lies.

When Croesus was informed of the reply of the Pythia, he exclaimed, that there was no true oracle but at Delphi; for on the day appointed for consulting the several oracles, determining to do what it would be equally difficult to discover or explain, he had cut in pieces a tortoise and a lamb, and boiled them together in a covered vessel of brass. He now determined to propitiate that divinity by a magnificent sacrifice, previous to his more important inquiries. Three thousand chosen victims, a great number of couches, decorated with gold and silver, many goblets of gold, and vests of purple; all these he consumed together upon an immense pile, to which he persuaded his subjects to make costly additions. As thus a great quantity of gold was melted into a mass, he formed of it a number of large tiles, and a lion, weighing ten talents, which was placed on the tiles, and presented to the Delphian temple. He also sent to Delphi cisterns and basins of gold and silver.

The Lydians, who were entrusted with these presents, were directed to inquire whether Croesus might auspiciously undertake an expedition against the Persians, and whether he should procure any alliances? The answer assured the king, that if he prosecuted a war with Persia he should overthrow a great empire; and recommended to him an alliance with the most powerful of the Grecian states.

Croesus was now elated with the expectation of becoming the conqueror of Cyrus. He, however, consulted the oracle a third time, anxious to learn whether his power would be perpetual; the Pythia answered,

When e'er the Medes a mole shall sit on high,
O'er pebbly Herosus then, soft Lydian, fly—
Fly with all haste; for safety near thy fate,
Not scruple to deserve a coward's name.

Croesus was now more delighted than ever, confident that a mole would never be sovereign of the Medes, and that he could have nothing to fear for himself or his posterity. Such, according to Herodotus, were the transactions of Croesus with the famous oracle of Delphi, and the delusive confidence which the crafty Pythia inspired: Tertullian, in his Apology (ch. xxii.), has referred to this vain curiosity of Croesus, and remarked the dexterity of the oracles in tempering their responses with an ambiguity which would justify the most opposite conclusions. It may be added, that Oenomaus, a cynic philosopher, has also ridiculed this ambiguity of the Pythia. He is quoted from Eusebius, by Vandale, in his learned History of Oracles (ch. vii.) The orator Demosthenes did not hesitate to accuse her of bribery by Philip, and said, "the Pythonesse Philip paid."

Croesus now directed his attention to the situation and comparative importance of the Grecian states, that he might determine with whom to propose an alliance. Thus he at length concluded with the Lacedæmonians, to whom he had formerly rendered some kindness, and who having heard of the oracular declaration to Croesus, which they also misinterpreted, were rejoiced to avail themselves of his distinction in their favour.

Xenophon, in describing this second and fatal contention of the king of Lydia with Cyrus, has enumerated among his allies, besides the Lacedæmonians, the kingdoms in his immediate neighbourhood, with the Ionians, Æolians, and the Greek colonies, and especially the prince of Babylon. But that historian has entirely omitted all the military transactions of Croesus beyond the river Halys, till his return into Lydia, which brought on the battle of Thymbra. These we thus learn from Herodotus.

Deluded by the promise of the oracle, that if he passed the river Halys he should overturn a mighty empire, Croesus prepared to march an army into Cappadocia, anticipating the conquest of Cyrus, and the Medo-Persian power. While the king was thus employed, Sardanis, a Lydian, renowned among his countrymen for his sagacity, thus addressed him:—"You meditate, O king! an attack upon men who are clothed with the skins of animals; who, inhabiting a country but little cultivated, subsist on what they can procure, not on what they desire; strangers to the taste of wine, they drink only water; even figs are a delicacy with which they are unacquainted, and all our luxuries are entirely unknown to them. If you conquer them, what can you take from such as have nothing? But should you be defeated, it becomes you to consider of what you will be deprived. When they have tasted our delicacies, we shall never be able to dispossess them. I, indeed, thank the Gods for not inspiring the Persians with the desire of invading Lydia." Croesus, despising this salutary counsel, advanced towards Cappadocia, instigated, according to Herodotus,

Croesus.
From
A. M.
3407.
B. C.
597.
30
A. M.
3456.
B. C.
548.

These
and
guilty.

Lacedæmonians
and
ance.

Croesus
en-
tered
Cappadocia.

Biography. tus, not only by the delusive encouragement of the oracle, but by the desire of revenging on Cyrus the wrongs which his brother-in-law, Astyages, who, as already mentioned, had married his sister Argenis, was suffering from the Persian princes, by whom he had now been conquered, and was detained in captivity. This account, however, is utterly inconsistent with the previous narrative; and it is difficult to believe that Cressus could have been at once the contemporary of Cyrus and the brother-in-law of his grandfather, Astyages. When the king of Lydia arrived at the river Halys, he passed over his forces on bridges, according to one account; though others have related that Thales the Milesian, contrived to divide the river into two branches, which thus became shallow and easily fordable.

Having passed the Halys, Cressus came into that part of Cappadocia then called Pteria, the best situated in point of strength of all the district. Herodotus adds, that it was near the city of Sinope, on the Euxine. That city, however, now the Sinop of the Turks, is on the hither side of the Halys. Cressus, after wasting the Syrian lands, besieged and took the principal city of the Pterians, which was afterwards so completely razed by Cyrus, that every vestige of its ruins has been long obliterated. Cressus destroyed also the neighbouring towns, and almost exterminated the Syrians, a barbarous policy, as from thence he had received no injury.

It appears to have been narrated by one of the ancient Jews, and believed by some of the early Christian fathers, that Cyrus, intimidated by the threats of Cressus, would have now retired to India. But his wife, Bardane, inspired him with new courage, and advised him to consult Daniel, who, on more than one occasion, had predicted future events both to her and Darius the Mede. Cyrus, having consulted the prophet, received from him an assurance of victory. Such is the story, on which Josephus is entirely silent, and which M. Larher, the learned French translator of Herodotus, has justly ranked among fabulous history.

It is more worthy of credit that Cyrus now collected his forces; and to this period we should probably assign the measure which Xenophon ascribes to him of sending spies into Lydia. In one instance, he employed some Indians, and in another, Araspes, the young courier, whose self-confidence had betrayed him to violate his trust when Cyrus had committed Panthea, the interesting wife of Abradates, to his protection. These spies returned with formidable accounts of the preparations of Cressus.

Battle. Cyrus, accompanied by those nations which lay betwixt himself and the king of Lydia, advanced to meet him. After a vain attempt to detach the Ionians from the Lydian alliance, he moved forward, and attacked Cressus in his camp. The battle was fought on the plains of Pteria, with equal violence and loss, till night parted the combatants, leaving the victory undecided.

Cyrus, slaying on disposition to renew the battle, the king of Lydia, whose army was inferior in numbers, determined on returning to Sardis, that he might collect the aids for which he had engaged with the kings of Egypt and Babylon, and the Lacedæmonians. These he appointed to assemble at Sardis within five months, having dismissed the mercenary forces which he had led across the Halys.

Cressus little suspected that Cyrus would bring the war home to him; yet he presently found, to his astonishment, that these allies would arrive too late; for Cyrus conducted his army instantly into Lydia, so that, says Herodotus, he was himself the messenger of his arrival. Cressus, though distressed by an event so unexpected, immediately prepared the Lydians for battle. At that time, adds the historian, no nation of Asia was more hardy or valiant. They fought principally on horseback, armed with long spears, and formed a very expert body of cavalry.

Of the battle of Thyndra, which we are now to describe, it is not very easy to give any correct account, especially as to the forces which composed the army of Cressus. It has been computed, from the various particulars mentioned by Xenophon, that the army of Cyrus amounted to 196,000 men, and that of Cressus to 420,000. But this account cannot be reconciled with the unprepared condition of the king of Lydia, as described by Herodotus, who may, indeed, be most worthy of credit on this occasion, as having no apparent purpose to serve, while Xenophon had evidently proposed to describe the Elder Cyrus as the model of a consummate hero. Yet, as the battle of Thyndra was the first pitched battle of which any particulars are preserved in the annals of the ancient world, and as its result opened to Cyrus the undisputed dominion of Asia, the interesting, but probably exaggerated description of Xenophon has been generally preferred. We shall here, however, copy the succinct account of Herodotus, as most likely to be authentic, and as most intelligible, especially to an unimpaired reader. Those who would see the diffuse description of Xenophon connected in the most advantageous form, may consult a learned Frenchman, M. Freret, in the *Memoirs of the Academy*, vol. vi. which Rollin, in his *History of Cyrus*, professes to have largely followed. According to the account given by Herodotus of the decisive conflict at Thyndra—

The field of battle was a spacious and open plain, in the vicinity of Sardis, intersected by many streams. Here Cyrus found the Lydians prepared for the encounter; and, as he greatly feared the impression of their cavalry, by the advice of Harnagus the Mede, he took the following method to obviate the danger: he collected all the camels which followed his camp, and taking off their burdens, placed on their backs horsemen in military accoutrements. These he ordered to advance against the Lydian horse; his infantry were appointed to follow the camels, and his own cavalry to close the order of attack. Having thus arranged his forces, he commanded that no quarter should be granted to the Lydians, but that whoever resisted should be put to death, Cressus himself excepted, who, whatever opposition he might make, should, at all events, be taken alive.

Herodotus describes this employment of camels as a stratagem of Cyrus to disorder and render useless the cavalry of Cressus, from the supposed antipathy between the horse and the camel. This the moderns dispute: while it has also been remarked, that the horses of Cressus might be alarmed, as they had never seen a camel. Herodotus, however, thus proceeds:

The engagement had no sooner commenced, than the horses, seeing and smelling the camels, threw their

Cressus.

From
A. M.
3407.
O. C.
897.
to
A. M.
3456.
B. C.
548.

Battle of
Thyndra.

Biography. ow ranks into disorder, to the total discomfiture of Cræsus. Yet the Lydians did not immediately yield the battle; they discovered the stratagem, and, quitting their now unmanageable horses, engaged the Persians on foot. A great number of men fell on both sides, but the Lydians were finally compelled to fly.

From A. M. 3407. **R. C.** 597. **to** A. M. 3456. **B. C.** 548. Cræsus, with the remains of his army, retreated within the walls of Sardis. He now sent messengers to his allies, imploring their immediate assistance; but before any could arrive, the king was become a captive, and Lydia a province of the Persian empire. The manner in which Cyrus acquired the possession of this famous city, Sardis, has been variously related.

Sardis taken. According to Polyænus, a Greek writer, in the second century, on the Stratagems of War, Cyrus availed himself of a trace which he had concluded with Cræsus, to advance his forces, and, making his approach by night, took the city by surprise. Cræsus still remained in possession of the citadel, expecting the arrival of his Grecian succours; when Cyrus putting in iron the relations and friends of those who defended it, presented them in that condition before the besieged, to whom he offered the alternative of the immediate execution of their friends, or their own unconditional surrender. The besieged preferred the latter, and Cyrus became master of Cræsus and the citadel.

If Herodotus may be credited, Sardis was thus taken: on the fourteenth day of the siege, Cyrus sent some horsemen round his camp, promising a reward to him who should first scale the wall. The attempts were unsuccessful, till a Mardian soldier observed an unguarded part opposite to Mount Tmolus, where he had seen a Lydian descend to recover his helmet. He revolved the incident in his mind, attempted to scale the wall in that undefended part, was seconded by other Persians, and the army followed. Thus, according to Herodotus, with whom, substantially, Xenophon agrees, was the citadel of Sardis taken; and it is remarkable, that, according to Polybius, the army of Antiochus, some ages later, reduced this citadel of Sardis by a similar stratagem.

The conduct and condition of Cræsus upon this occasion, and the manner in which the city was treated by the conqueror, have been also variously related. According to Herodotus, Sardis was stormed, and given up to plunder. And here that historian relates a very improbable story, which has, however, furnished a fine allusion in a modern Essay on History, and which must always find a place in any account of Cræsus.

The dumb son of Cræsus. He had a son, who, though accomplished in other respects, was unfortunately dumb. Cræsus, in his former days of prosperity, had made every attempt possible for the cure of his defect. Amongst others, he sent to inquire of the Delphic oracle. The Pythian answered,

Wide-ruling Lydian, in thy wishes wild,
Ask not to hear the accents of thy child;
Far better were his silence for thy peace;
And sad will be the day when that shall cease.

During the storming of the city, a Persian, meeting Cræsus, was, through ignorance of his person, about to kill him. The king, overwhelmed by his calamity, took no care to avoid the blow, or escape death; but his dumb son, overcome with terror, exclaimed, "Oh, man, do not kill Cræsus!" This, adds Herodotus, was

the first time he had articulated, and he retained the faculty of speech ever after.

The same historian proceeds to relate the interesting circumstances connected with a barbarous revenge of Cyrus on a vanquished foe, who was also his relation. It was a cruel insult, which the manners of those times render highly probable, but which Xenophon, who has omitted every thing disparaging to his hero, was not likely to record. Cræsus being taken prisoner, was conducted to the presence of Cyrus, who ordered him to be placed in chains upon the summit of an immense pile of wood, with fourteen Lydian youths around him. The unhappy monarch stood erect upon the pile: he remembered the saying of the *son of Athens*, and, rousing himself from the silence of that profound affliction in which he had been wholly absorbed, thrice pronounced aloud the name of Solon. Cyrus desired to know who (or probably what deity) he invoked. The interpreters approached him, but he continued silent. At length, being urged to explain himself, he said, "I named a man with whom I had rather that all kings should converse than be master of the greatest riches." Pressed still further on the subject, he related, that Solon, an Athenian, had formerly visited him; a man who, when he had seen all his immense riches, treated them with disdain, but whose sayings were at that moment verified in his fate.

While Cræsus was thus speaking, the pile was lighted and the flame began to ascend. Cyrus now felt compunction for his unworthy treatment of a man formerly not inferior to himself; he commanded the fire to be instantly extinguished, and the unfortunate prince, as well as his companions, to be saved. Herodotus, who could not be expected to conclude such a story without an addition of the marvellous, asserts, that the Persians could not, by all their efforts, extinguish the flames till Apollo, on the supplication of Cræsus, interposed by a seasonable deluge of rain; conscious, no doubt, that he owed some regard, in this extremity, to a deluded votary whom he had so often plundered under false pretences. Such were the lying vanities of the pagan adoration!

Cyrus, causing his prisoner to be taken down from the pile, thus addressed him—"What could induce you, Cræsus, to invade my territories?" "O king," replied Cræsus, "it was the prevalence of your good, and my evil fortune which prompted my attempt. I attacked your dominions, impelled and deluded by the deity of the Greeks; for none can be so infatuated as not to prefer tranquillity to war. In peace," continued Cræsus, "children utter their parents; while war violates the order of nature, and imposes on parents the painful duty of burying their children." Thus reasoned, as taught by the salutary discipline of adversity, this once haughty monarch.

From this moment Cræsus was received by Cyrus into his familiarity and confidence. The advice of the captive king immediately to stop the further plunder of Sardis, was well received, and that city remained for ages a splendid prize to successive conquerors. He next easily obtained leave from Cyrus to send the fetters by which he had been confined to the god of Delphi, as the first fruits of his splendid promises. The god explained the story of the mule as designing Cyrus born of a Persian and a Mede, the kingdom to be overturned was that of Lydia, and the whole dis-

C R E S U S.

From A. M. 3407. **B. C.** 597. **to** A. M. 3456. **R. C.** 548.

Cræsus exposed to death.

Released by Cyrus.

Admitted into his confidence.

Biography. appointment of the king's expectations was charged upon the fates, to whom Apollo himself was equally subject. Such was the value of oracular counsel!

The kingdom which Croesus had been thus constrained to abandon to the ascendancy of Cyrus, was a conquest of no inconsiderable importance. Xenophon (lib. vi.), makes a Persian describe Lydia as a country "where wine, and figs, and oil abound; a land whose shores the sea washes, and by means of which valuable commodities are conveyed, such as before no one ever saw." It is, indeed, probable that maritime commerce was the chief source of the prosperity of that kingdom; for Herodotus remarks (i. 93), that "if we except the gold dust which descends from Mount Tmolus, Lydia can exhibit no curiosity which may vie with those of other countries." He goes on to describe them "as the first people on record who coined gold and silver into money, and traded by retail;" also as the inventors "of certain games (of chance), since practised among the Grecians." They also were distinguished by an infamous custom, too familiar to the ancients, but carried by this people to an unparalleled extent—all the young women of Lydia prostituted

themselves for hire (in some temple), and thus procured their marriage portion.

Cyrus appears to have left to his captive all the accommodations of life which can be enjoyed in a private condition. He lived in the society of his wife and daughters, and had his friends, servants, and table, at his command. Indeed, if Xenophon does not indulge his invention (lib. vi.), Croesus enjoyed, rather than merely supported this exchange of public cares and the pomp of royalty for the agreeable society of his wife and children. He had ceased to be a king, only to become a philosopher; yet he was permitted to retain the title of majesty. Xenophon adds, that Cyrus earned Croesus with him wherever he went, either to employ or to secure him—a hint which sufficiently estimates the professed friendship between a conqueror and his captive.

It appears, from a passage in the same historian, that the king of Lydia was in the train of Cyrus at the capture of Babylon, and he probably survived his conqueror. His country was governed by Persian satraps, of whom Chrysanthus was the first. The further history of Lydia will appear in the successive fortunes of the Persian empire.

CYRUS.

FLOURISHED FROM A. M. 3405, B. C. 599; TO A. M. 3475, B. C. 529.

Biography. THE history of Cyrus, in addition to that obscurity which belongs to remote records, and which especially overshadows the lives of heroes, to whom fabulous events were imputed in order to increase the splendour of their real transactions, is peculiarly complicated and perplexed, because of the very opposite accounts furnished by those historians who have professedly undertaken to write the life of this illustrious prince. The lessons furnished by ambition seem always to come too late for any practical and beneficial result. It is seldom that the individual derives any advantage from his own experience: chagrin and disappointment may cause a momentary suspension of his purposes, but renewed success re-assures him; and he presses forward along his dangerous path, until he finds himself engaged in that warfare "from which there is no discharge," and is compelled to yield, in the midst of his victories achieved, his extending fame, and his promising dreams of future aggrandisement, to the arm of a more restless conqueror than himself, who dismises him from his warlike toils for ever: he is placed out of the reach of the salutary instruction, which his successor, either by force, fraud, or descent, regards with indifference. If such men as Nebuchadnezzar and Cyrus could be called from their graves, it would be some mortification, supposing the same ambitious temper to remain with them, for the one to learn that his conquest of Egypt made so little lasting impression, as to leave it doubtful to posterity at what period of his life and reign it took place; and for the other to be informed, that the historians who contended for the honour of transmitting his renown to future ages, so widely differed in the most simple as

well as the most momentous facts, that neither his birth, his principal achievements, nor his death, are known with certainty. Both of them owed the renown they possess to a people whom neither of them knew, except as conquerors; whom both of them despised; whom the one enslaved, and the other, after long captivity, but partially restored; and to actions, in which they were unconscious instruments of the will of an Unknown God.

In the account already given of Croesus, no inconsiderable portion of the life of Cyrus, and of his victories, has appeared. These have been deduced from the joint testimonies of Xenophon and Herodotus. It does not seem possible to acquire the little we think we know of this distinguished hero, except by extracting facts from both these writers, and sometimes inferring truth from their collision. Xenophon was represented by Plato as having given in his work his own conceptions of what should constitute a just prince rather than a true account of Cyrus; and Diogenes Laertius has inferred from his expressions, that he regarded the *Cyropædia* altogether as a fable. But it ought not to be forgotten, that Plato and Xenophon, disciples of the same master, were rivals; and, in more instances than one, discovered towards each other all the petulance and deterioration of competition; nor is it impossible, that a feeling of this order may, in some measure, have influenced the opinion of Plato in the present case. Cicero, probably upon this authority, asserts, that the *Cyrus* of Xenophon was drawn up expressly as a model of government, and was not even intended as a true history. This conclusion is expressly contradictory, however, of the pretensions of Xenophon himself, who distinctly

Croesus.
From
A. M.
3407.
—
B. C.
597.
to
A. M.
3456.
—
B. C.
548.

Cyrus.
From
A. M.
3405.
—
B. C.
599.
to
A. M.
3475.
—
B. C.
529.

Xenophon
and Herodotus
con-
tained.

Biography.

From
A. M.
3405.
B. C.
599.
to
A. M.
3475.
B. C.
529.

avens, that he had diligently set himself to obtain the most accurate information relative to the education, achievements, and character of his hero. He had opportunities of effecting this better than any other historian who undertook the task subsequently (among others, Herodotus), because of his station in the court of the Younger Cyrus; because of his acknowledged penetration and judgment, to which the ancients bore a concurrent testimony; and because of the undivided attention which he paid to his subject, as unmixt with any other countries or events, except in so far as they were brought into contact with the exploits of his principal personage. Scaliger admits no other events in the *Cyropædia* as authentic than those which are also recorded by Herodotus. Erasmus denies him even the merit of having produced a moral fiction, and impugns the character of the prince, while he agrees with others in regarding it as imaginary. Thus Xenophon has been stripped, by the merciless hands of ancients and moderns, of all his laurels, as a philosopher as well as an historian. In these respects, palpable injustice has been done him.

Herodotus relates more surprising, and therefore more improbable, events of Cyrus than Xenophon: so far presumption is on the side of the latter; and it is not unlikely that those extraordinary transactions, narrated by the former, and which were peculiarly adapted to the taste of the age in which he wrote, so captivated his readers, as to induce the preference shown to his narrative over that of Xenophon. It is not intended to deny that the structure of the *Cyropædia* is such as most writers have represented—a picture of government as it existed in the idea of Xenophon, both regarding war and policy, and blended with the character of his hero. But an historical novel is not, therefore, necessarily destitute of truth: it is, on the contrary (and this is its charm), built upon acknowledged facts, over which the writer throws the rich colouring of his own imagination. It is not necessary, probably it is not just, to consider the production of Xenophon as a mere fable, constructed out of a few general facts attached to a real character; we are disposed to go further, and to consider his work as authentic in all its prominent details, although mixed with his own sentiments, and the speeches, especially, of the respective parties in it, supplied by his own hand—in a method adopted by Josephus, and by all the ancient historians. The inferences appear to us rather in favour of Xenophon than Herodotus, as well from the superior advantages of the former over the latter (who is nevertheless an excellent historian, and in most cases to be relied on) in the information regarding this particular subject, as from the greater simplicity of his narrative of the events connected with his hero. But we have evidence beyond conjecture, when we turn again to revelation, as to the polar star of this night of history, and find the record of Xenophon, in some leading particulars, agreeing more distinctly with the facts related in the Scriptures, than the history of Herodotus, which has been so generally followed.

Advantages of Xenophon.

Mistakes of Herodotus.

Herodotus founds the Persian empire upon the destruction of the Medes; Xenophon unites the Medes and Persians in the conquest of Babylon: the last accords precisely with the prophecies and the records of the Bible on these facts: the former is entirely incompatible with them. At the same time it may not

be impossible that some of the discrepancies between these historians, and which are wholly irreconcilable, relate to different persons of the same name, who may have been originally confounded by different writers, the perplexity naturally increasing as time caused them to recede from the era of their history: and thus, not only the different actions, but the different deaths, imputed to the great Cyrus, may all have been true, partially at least, of some heroes of a similar name, all whose individual distinctions may have been absorbed in the first illustrations personage. Such things have happened in relation to other distinguished persons, and are at least possible in this case. We shall, therefore, as before, present a brief sketch of the narratives of Xenophon and Herodotus respectively, making the Scripture narrative our umpire in all cases of disagreement, and drawing our conclusions from it in such as are doubtful.

According to Herodotus, Cyrus was the son of *Haradates* the Mede, and of *Cambyses*, a Persian of ancient family, but of inferior rank and circumstances. The inducement of the king to marry his daughter so far below her royal dignity, and to a foreigner, is stated to have been the apprehension of the loss of his kingdom by the issue of her marriage. Two dreams, which he had related to the magi—the one, that a vine springing from his daughter's womb overshadowed his empire; the other, that water issuing from her overflowed all Asia—were interpreted by them to portend the subversion of his own throne, and the subjugation of all Asia, by his grandchild. Alarmed by these prognostications, he first selected *Cambyses*, as a man whose inferior circumstances were not likely to inspire ambition, and as possessed also of a mild disposition, little suited to war and enterprise. But as the latter dream did not take place until twelve months after his marriage, and seemed to signify a similar result with the former, he became still more terrified; and sending for his daughter, then pregnant, he shut her up until after her confinement, resolving to destroy her offspring, should it prove a son. Under these circumstances *Cyrus* was born, and delivered to *Harpagus*, one of the courtiers, to be put to death. Unwilling himself to be the executioner of infant innocence, he transferred the cruel order to *Mitradates*, one of the king's herdsmen, enjoining him, upon pain of death, to expose the child to perish by hunger, or wild beasts, among the most perilous recesses of the mountains. The wife of the herdsman having been delivered of a still-born son, prevailed upon her husband to put the dead child in the place of *Cyrus*, and to rear the royal infant as their own. This expedient being adopted, the herdsman's still-born babe was dressed in the robes of the grandson of *Astages*, placed in the same coffin, and exposed three days on the mountains: at the end of which, *Mitradates* summoned *Harpagus* to bear witness that the king's mandate was executed; who sending some friends to ascertain the fact, supposing the dead child to have been the royal infant, they reported accordingly, and the babe was interred as such, while *Cyrus* was educated as the herdsman's son.

In this obscurity the prince remained until he reached the age of ten years, when some sparks of his native greatness discovered themselves. He was one day

Cyrus.

From
A. M.
3405.
B. C.
599.
to
A. M.
3475.
B. C.
529.

Alarms of
Astages.

Birth of

Biography.

From
A. M.
3405.
—
B. C.
529.
to
A. M.
3475.
—
B. C.
529.

He is
brought be-
fore Asty-
ages.

playing with companions of his own age, of whom, it would appear, one at least was the son of a man of superior rank. Cyrus had been elected king, for the superiority of his genius and agility. In conformity with his imaginary dignity, he distributed his little subjects into several ranks and degrees, and enforced his orders by punishments and rewards. The nobleman's son refusing to obey his prescriptions, he caused him to be so severely chastised, that the boy complained to his father; who, incensed beyond measure at the presumption of the supposed son of a herdsman, brought the matter before the king. Astyages commanded him to be sent for, and, upon reproving him for his insolence in striking the son of a man of rank, was astonished at the spirit and eloquence with which Cyrus defended himself, in asserting the right inseparable from the dignity conferred upon him to punish the disobedient. These were circumstances which he deemed so much above the rank and education of the young offender, that he began to examine his features, in which he fancied he traced a resemblance to his own, and to inquire his age, which agreed with the date of the exposure of his daughter's infant, and finally concluded that this was his own grandson. The herdsman was now summoned to the court, who at first denied the fact, which afterwards, intimidated at the threats of the king, he confessed unreservedly. Astyages sent instantly for Harpagus, who, confronted with the herdsman, could not deny the fact, but affirmed truly that he had himself been deceived. The king, concealing his resentment, directed Harpagus to sup with him that night, in honour of the discovery of Cyrus, and in the mean while to send his own son to the palace as his companion. The young man had no sooner arrived than the tyrant caused him to be murdered, and the body prepared as food, under different disguises. A splendid banquet was served to the king and the nobility, but the table of Harpagus was furnished only with this horrible flesh, dressed in the most attractive and delicate manner. The miserable father had no suspicion that he had fed upon his only child, until the royal monster presented him the head, hands, and feet, in a basket. He dissembled his rage and horror, that he might have opportunity to execute a deeper revenge, which from that moment he meditated, and returned home, feigning resignation to the absolute will of the sovereign. Astyages, meanwhile, again consulted the magi, informing them that his grandson was alive, and of the circumstances under which he had discovered him. They persuaded him that the destiny predicted by the dreams had been accomplished already, in the sportive election of him by the boys as sovereign; and that he might therefore dismiss all apprehension. Accordingly he resolved to send Cyrus to his real parents, Cambyses and Mandane, in Persia; by whom he was received with transports of tenderness, and to whom he related the occurrences of his infancy and childhood to that hour.

In this country, and with his parents, Cyrus grew up to manhood; but years could not efface from the bosom of Harpagus the barbarous and irreparable injury inflicted upon him by Astyages. He secretly planned, with the principal nobility of the Medes, a conspiracy against the tyrant; and judging Cyrus the fittest person to whom to commit the execution of it,

by the dethronement of his grandfather, as well from his transcendent talents, so early developed, as on account of the cruelty he had himself experienced from his unnatural relative, conveyed a letter to him in the belly of a hare, sent by a trusty domestic in the habit of a hunter, which unfolded the plot, and earnestly pressed him without delay to hasten it to its execution.

The Persians were then subject to the Medes, and subjection opens an easy door to revolt. By a forged letter from his grandfather, Cyrus first enjoined the severest labours upon the Persian forces one day; and the next, as at his own instance, banquetted them with the choicest dainties. He then asked them, whether they would prefer living the laborious life of the day preceding, or in the plenty and ease of that moment in which he was addressing them. It was not difficult to anticipate their decision; and he explained to them, that to live under the government of the Medes was to wear the yoke, but that to follow him would be to secure liberty and peace. After this, finding in them the impatience to emancipate themselves from their oppressors which he desired, he detailed to them the particulars of the conspiracy, and was placed at their head with acclamations.

So serious a revolt as that of Persia could not be long concealed from the king of the Medes: accordingly, Astyages receiving information of the transactions with which Cyrus had connected himself there, commanded the young hero to repair to his court without delay. Cyrus answered, that he would be there sooner than his grandfather wished. The king accordingly called out his forces to resist the invasion with which he was threatened, and committed the command of them to Harpagus, who, with the principal officers of the army, in the first general onset, went over to the Persians, and the Medes were consequently defeated with great slaughter. The tyrant, enraged to find that the treason had made its way into his army, first caused the magi to be impaled, who had interpreted his dreams in a way that lulled him into security, and then assembling all the Medes capable of bearing arms, put himself at their head. Another general engagement ensued, in which the Persians were again victorious, and Astyages taken prisoner. It was now the turn of Harpagus to insult his tyrant, which he did not fail to do; but his circumstances did not so despise Astyages as to withhold him, notwithstanding the danger he incurred, from reproaching this officer with his treachery. Cyrus kept his grandfather a prisoner until he died; but without seeking any further revenge than securing his person, and rendering the Medes subservient to the Persians, transferring the empire thither. From this period commenced the victories of Cyrus over the Assyrians, the Lydians, and finally the Babylonians, with other distinguished empires. In his march to Babylon, one of his sacred horses was drowned in the Gyndes; upon which he caused the river to be divided into three hundred and sixty channels, a work which employed his whole army the entire summer, and compelled him to defer the siege of Babylon until the following spring. Finally, he invaded the Massagetes; and by a feigned flight, in the first conflict, abandoned the field covered with booty, and a considerable quantity of wine, which his enemies seized, indulging to an excess that rendered them an easy prey to his soldiers, when return-

Cyrus.

From
A. M.
3405.
—
B. C.
529.
to
A. M.
3475.
—
B. C.
529.

Conspires
against As-
tyages.

Defeats and
imprisons
him.

Invades the
Massagetes.

ing, he surprised them in a state of intoxication, defeated them, and took many prisoners, among whom was Spargapises, the son of queen Tomyris. The royal mother sent heralds desiring the ransom of her child; and when the conqueror refused, the high-spirited young prince, preferring death to slavery, committed suicide. Tomyris, incensed at this fatal catastrophe, and animated with the desire of revenge, assembled her forces, and headed them against the Persians; over whom, after a sanguinary and obstinate conflict, in which Cyrus fell, the Massagetes obtained a complete victory.

The body of Cyrus was found in the field after the engagement, upon which Tomyris took a cruel but impotent revenge. The queen caused his head to be cut off, and cast into a vessel filled with blood, with this bitter taunt—"Satisfy thyself with that after which thou hast always thirsted, and with which thou hast never been satisfied?"

Such are the principal occurrences of the life of Cyrus, as recorded by Herodotus, and adopted, with little variation, and that chiefly relating to the manner of his death, by Trogus Pompeius, as appears from Justo, who abridged his history, and by other ancient writers. Besides the exception already taken to this narrative at its onset, and which appears to us to be fatal (namely, that it supposes the extermination of the empire of the Medes by the Persians before the conquest of the Assyrians—whereas the Scriptures represent these powers as united in the investment and capture of Babylon), there are other improbable and incongruous circumstances. It is not probable that Astyages should commit the command of his army to Harpagus, after the cruel injury which he had inflicted upon him, and which it required no great depth of acquaintance with human nature to know, was of a kind that could never be forgotten, and not likely to be forgiven. It is incredible that Cyrus, so persevering, so prudent, so moderate, so experienced, as a commander, as he has always been considered (and Herodotus himself joins in the representation), should have wasted a year, and exhausted the strength and spirits of his troops in the fruitless labour imputed to him, in revenge upon the river Gyndes. The death of Cyrus we shall see hereafter to be a point that cannot be absolutely determined; nor does Herodotus seem to have any sufficient authority for his account of it.

The history furnished by Xenophon is much more probable, simple, and dignified. He says that Cyrus was the son of Cambyses, king of Persia, by Mandane, the daughter of Astyages, king of the Medes. He was educated after the Persian manner, whose mode of instruction was calculated to form a character of heroism; as it comprised to hardships, constant and laborious exercise; with the most simple habits and diet. Twelve years of his life were passed in this salutary discipline; at the close of which he accompanied his mother to the court of his grandfather, Astyages, where every thing was the reverse of the plain and natural scenes in which he had been educated; every thing was luxurious, splendid, deceitful, and enervating. He remained, if we are to credit his historian, unseduced by these temptations, a model of temperance, generosity, and affability, in the midst of a proud, selfish, and voluptu-

tuous circle. He won the admiration of his grandfather, and of the principal nobles of Media, by his unassuming and dignified deportment; and their confidence in his talents and virtues was soon increased by an unexpected irruption of the Babylonians upon the empire. It was a wanton and unprovoked invasion by Evil-Merodach, the son of Nebuchadnezzar, and, as it should seem, during the interval of the suspension of his father's reascend, and while the regency of that mighty state devolved upon him. Cyrus was at this time about sixteen years of age, and accompanied his grandfather to the war, where he reaped his first military laurels, and discovered a wisdom and valour that rendered it, it is said, the decisive victory gained by the Medes over the Babylonians, on that occasion, principally his own. After this exploit he returned to Persia, and remained with his father until he was forty years of age, when he was recalled into Media to the assistance of his uncle Cyaxares (by his mother's side), who was one year older than himself.

Nerigassar, king of Babylon, determined to invade Media, of whose rising power he was jealous. Babylon had scarcely touched the zenith of its glory, under Nebuchadnezzar, before it began to decline under the short and violent reigns of his unworthy successors, until it was finally overthrown by the victorious arms of Cyrus. The monarch of Babylon, aware that he fought for no light stake, and with no formidable enemy, addressed himself to the conflict with all his force, and called in the energies of surrounding nations, whose alliance he courted. Ambassadors had been dispatched into Phrygia, Cappadocia, Paphlagonia, Caria, Lydia, Cilicia, and to the Indies themselves, to ferment hostility against the Medes, as aspiring to universal monarchy. How well this pretext became the king of Babylon, whose ancestor had affected this beyond all other men, and achieved it more than most; and against the Medes, who had been the first to resist his exorbitant demands, and to break his yoke of slavery from their necks!

To meet this formidable armament, Cyaxares recalled Astyages, his nephew Cyrus from his paternal home into Media, which he entered at the head of 30,000 Persians, to his assistance. The most formidable of the king of Babylon's allies was the king of Lydia, whose contest with Cyrus, and defeat, with all the various circumstances attending them have already been given under the article CROISUS.

The king of Armenia was the first to revolt against the dependent provinces of Media. Cyrus, under the feint of hunting on the hills of Armenia, took with him a chosen body of horse, entered the country by surprise, crushed the rebellion, compelled the monarch to pay his wonted tribute, restored to him his kingdom, and returned triumphant to his uncle.

After a preparation of not less than three years both parties took the field: the king of Babylon and his allies, the aggressors—the combined forces of the Medes and Persians, acting on the defensive. After some days, the Babylonians and Lydians quitted their intrenchments, and the engagement became general. Nerigassar was defeated and slain in the battle. Croisus, who assumed the command, as the next in dignity among the allies, was so hotly pursued in his retreat, that many prisoners were made, and a large booty taken. The prisoners, with his usual magnani-

Cyrus.
From
A. M.
3405.
—
B. C.
559,
to
A. M.
3475.
—
B. C.
539,
Early re-
plants.

Assia-Cy-
ases.
A. M.
3445.
—
B. C.
559,
Armenian
Arbellon.
A. M.
3447.
—
B. C.
557,
Crusis the
Armenian
Arbellon.
A. M.
3447.
—
B. C.
557,
Crusis the
Armenian
Arbellon.

Biography.

From
A. M.
3405.B. C.
599.
toA. M.
3475.
B. C.
529.Laborosoarchod.
clot.Nabonadius
or Belshazzar.A. M.
3449.
B. C.
555.Cyrus in-
vades Ba-
bylon.

mity, Cyrus set at liberty, after exacting a promise that they should no more serve against him and his allies in the war; and the spoils he appropriated to his uncle Cyaxares.

Laborosoarchod, who succeeded Nerighassar, was as savage and effeminate as his predecessor had been warlike and politic. By acts of the most wanton cruelty, he drove two of his most distinguished officers, Gobius and Gadates, to revolt; and they placed in the hands of Cyrus their respective provinces.—Learning that the tyranny of the Babylonian monarch had alienated the hearts of his subjects, while he was engaged in every species of debauchery, the Persian hero established himself in Assyria, defeated Laborosoarchod, ravaged the country, twice shewed himself before the walls of Babylon itself, and reduced some fortresses upon the frontiers on his return into Media. At length the tyranny of Laborosoarchod became insupportable, and he died by assassination, in the ninth month of his sanguinary reign.

Nabonadius, who was the principal conspirator, was elevated to the throne. This is the Labynitus of Herodotus, and the Belshazzar of the Scriptures. His character was not at all better than that ascribed to his predecessor; whose reign, because it did not complete the year, is not entered upon Ptolemy's canon. Bot Nitocris, his mother, was as distinguished for talent, as her son was infamous for debauchery. She had the honour of completing, so far as they were ever finished, the works carried on by Nebuchadnezzar, on so magnificent a scale, in fortifying and adorning Babylon. To her that city was indebted for the stupendous work of walls on each side the river, and brazen gates of the same strength and magnitude with those which surrounded the city, and a vault of communication beneath the bed of the river, leading from the old to the new palace. To her counsels it must be imputed that the shaking fortunes of the empire held together so long as they were maintained; for her son had shunned himself wholly to sensuality, as unmindful of the safety of his people, as careless of his own glory. Cyaxares and Cyrus resolved upon a more effectual mode of warfare; and to direct their force to the reduction of the principal towns of the Babylonians, until it might be practicable to take Babylon itself. For some time they advanced towards the completion of their design, and had reduced considerable provinces to subjection, until even Nabonadius felt it necessary to adopt some measures to divert or crush the increasing influence of his opponent, who now even menaced his capital. He applied in person to Croesus, who, by flatteries and presents, was induced to make common cause with him. The assistance and interest of the king of Lydia brought over to his arms the Greeks, Thracians, Egyptians, and the nations of the Lesser Asia. Immediately upon receiving intelligence of this armament, Cyrus advanced to give the allied powers battle, with an army of 196,000 horse and foot, three hundred chariots of war armed with scythes, with others still larger, as carriages of towers about twenty feet high, each capable of containing as many archers. The battle of Thybris followed; into the detail of which we do not enter, as it has already been substantially given, both as to its circumstances and consequences. After a desperate resistance on the part of the Egyptians, Cyrus obtained a complete victory. Croesus re-

treated into Sardis, which city Cyrus invested, took its citadel, and with it Croesus, whose life he spared, and constantly retained him about his person. He proceeded to prosecute his victories in Lesser Asia, until he subdued the several nations from the Aegean sea to the Euphrates; after these, Syria and Arabia; and having reduced almost all Asia, he repassed the great river, invaded the Assyrians, and marched directly against Babylon. It was here that one of the boldest projects that ever occurred to the mind of man employed this mighty hero, who, in undertaking the siege of the last city in the east that held out against him, was in danger of wrecking all his military glory upon this final enterprise, from the improbability of this untried capital. An immense lake having been excavated to receive the waters of the neighboring mountains, in the event of any inundation, by Nebuchadnezzar (or, as others think, Nitocris), Cyrus meditated the plan of turning the river into the lake, as Nebuchadnezzar is said to have done when he constructed its banks, and entering the city through its channel. He effected his purpose, and drained the river during a night of profanity and dissipation in Babylon, the interior scenes of which are described by a greater historian than either Herodotus or Xenophon—the prophet Daniel, from whose stores we shall derive the certain record of this great event.

The king of Babylon, whom we shall now call by Belshazzar's scripture name, Belshazzar, presuming upon the impregnable strength of the city, and upon the magazine of provisions, which, without any fresh supplies, less than a twenty years' siege could not exhaust, derided the efforts of his powerful adversary. In the mean time the invaders encompassed the city with a deep trench, keeping their purposes a profound secret; and Cyrus was informed of the feast which was about to be held in Babylon. Upon this night he determined to suspend the fates of his army, and of the empire for which he fought. On this occasion of festivity, Belshazzar, with a bold impetuosity, at which his predecessors, proud and daring as they were, would have shuddered, profaned the vessels of the temple of Jehovah. The apparition of a hand, writing on the wall of the palace, in unknown characters, first excited the apprehensions of the king. In vain he called the astrologers and the magicians; in vain he alternately threatened and entreated them; they could neither read the writing, nor make known the interpretation. The sentence was written in Samaritan characters, which the Chaldeans did not understand; and could they have deciphered these, they could not have explained them. The words literally rendered are, "He hath numbered, he hath numbered, he hath weighed, and they divide." Daniel was sent for, and announced from them the immediate fall of his empire. While this was the state of things Babylon at the palace, Cyrus had drained the river into his moat, till it was fordable. Informed of the confusion which reigned in the city, he issued orders to his troops to enter it that very night, at north and south, by marching up the channel. They were commanded by two eminent officers, and advanced towards each other, without any impediment, till they met in the centre of the river. God, who had promised to open before him the gates of brass, preceded them,

Cyrus.

From
A. M.
3405.B. C.
599.
toA. M.
3475.
B. C.
529.

Belshazzar's feast.

A. M.
3466.
B. C.
538.

Babylon taken.

* Mene, Mene, Tekel, Upharsin.

Biography. otherwise this singular and adventurous expedition must have failed. Had the gates which closed the avenues leading to the river been shut, which was always the custom at night, the whole scheme had been defeated. But so was it ordered by Providence, that on this night of general riot and confusion, with unparalleled negligence, *they were left open*! so that these troops penetrated into the very heart of the city without opposition, and reached the palace before any alarm was given. The guards were immediately put to the sword—Belsazzar slain—and the city taken almost without resistance!

Thus fell the Babylonish empire, which had risen to such a pitch of glory, and enslaved so many nations; and up to this eventful period, such is the general history of Cyrus, when stripped of its ornamental circumstances as given by Xenophon; and which accords with Herodotus in respect to the names of his father, mother, and grandfather, the union of the Medes and Persians in a common cause, and the conquests of this prince with the particulars of his subjection of Babylon; and these are important points of agreement. It is still more important, that they are substantially ratified by the Scriptures, which also supply us with many interesting additional circumstances.

Agreement between Xenophon and Herodotus.

Mixed descent of Cyrus. The descent of Cyrus from a Mede and a Persian occasioned his being designated a *male* in several oracular descriptions, and, among others, that said to have been delivered by Nebuchadnezzar before his death, and preserved in the fragments of Megasthenes.

The name of *Cyrus* had been foretold one hundred and twenty years before his birth, and in connection with his greatest achievement—the conquest of Babylon; and that victory again as associated with the deliverance of the Jews from their captivity. It is also stated, that the hero was prepared for this grand exploit, by previous successes, and that he came to destroy the Babylonian power from the subjugation of other mighty empires. It was further intimated in what way he should enter the city, and promised that the gates of brass leading to the river should be left open. “I am the Lord that saith to the deep, Be dry—and I will dry up thy rivers: that saith of Cyrus, He is my shepherd, and shall perform all my pleasure: even saying to Jerusalem, Thou shalt be built; and to the temple, Thy foundation shall be laid. Thus saith the Lord to his anointed, to Cyrus, whose right hand I have holden, to subdue nations before him; and I will loose the loins of kings; to open before him the two-leaved gates, and the gates shall not be shut; I will go before thee, and make the crooked paths straight: I will break in pieces the gates of brass, and cut in sunder the bars of iron: and I will give thee the treasures of darkness, and hidden riches of secret places, that thou mayest know that I the Lord, which call thee by thy name, am the God of Israel. For Jacob my servant’s sake, and Israel mine elect, I have even called thee by thy name: I have surnamed thee, though thou hast not known me.” Is. xlv. 24, 27, 28. xlv. 1—4. Accordingly, the spoils found in Babylon were immense: those accumulated alone in the temple of Belus, “the treasures of darkness,” were almost incredible: besides that laid up in “the secret places” of the old and new palaces. The profane historians have informed us of the marriage of Cyrus with the daughter of Cyaxares, his uncle, which took place after the reduction of Babylon. Thus the union between the

Predictions respecting him.

Marries the daughter of Cyaxares.

Persians and Medes became again cemented by the ties of blood. That they should jointly besiege Babylon is hinted in a very obscure prophecy, and was justified by the event. In Isaiah, chapter xxi. which describes so accurately the events connected with that memorable night of the taking of Babylon—the debauchery of Belsazzar, the terror succeeding the vision of the hand-writing on the wall, with other, even the most minute circumstances—a watchman is represented as looking from the walls of Babylon, “and he saw a chariot, with a couple of horsemen; a chariot of asses, and a chariot of camels:” or, as Bishop Lowth more accurately translates the passage, “a rider upon an ass, and a rider upon a camel;” a prophetic symbol of the alliance of two nations in the invasion; and we know that the Persians used camels in warfare, since we have seen their effect upon the army of Croesus. But, at the opening of the chapter, it is distinctly said, “Go up, O Elam” (the name of a part of Persia); “besiege, O Media.”

Babylon being taken, Cyrus, who shared the empire with his uncle, yielded him the first rank in it; and Cyaxares—called, in Daniel, Darius the Mede—ascended the throne of Babylon, while Cyrus retired into Persia to his father and mother. Having returned thence, in conjunction with his uncle, now also his father-in-law, he divided the empire into one hundred and twenty provinces; reviewed its forces, which he found amounted to 120,000 horse, 2,000 chariots armed with scythes, and 600,000 foot; set three presidents over the princes of the provinces; invested Daniel with the supreme authority over these, and, leaving Cyaxares on the throne alone, again departed to push his conquests still farther. While he was absent on this expedition, Daniel was cast into the den of lions, and delivered, as has been related. He reduced all the nations to submission, from Syria to the Red sea and the confines of Ethiopia. The death of Cyaxares recalled him to Babylon, and upon him devolved the crown of Media, Persia, and Babylon. The first he held in virtue of his marriage with the daughter of Cyaxares, who being his only child, his kingdom was her dowry; the second descended to him from his father: the last was his own by conquest.

Cyrus.

From A. M. 3405.
— B. C. 559.
to A. M. 3475.
— B. C. 529.

Shares the empire with Cyaxares.

Reigns alone over Media, Persia, and Babylon.

A. M. 3468.
— B. C. 536.

He lived in tranquillity seven years after acquiring this united empire, bounded on the east by the river Indus, on the north by the Caspian and Euxine seas, on the west by the Egean, and on the south by Ethiopia and the sea of Arabia. This extensive dominion is hinted at in the opening of his decree in favour of the Jews, which he passed, doubtless by the persuasion of Daniel, the first year after he had seated himself upon the throne of Babylon, after the death of Cyaxares. “Now in the first year of Cyrus, king of Persia (that the word of the Lord, by the mouth of Jeremiah, might be fulfilled), the Lord stirred up the spirit of Cyrus, king of Persia, that he made a proclamation throughout all his kingdom, and put it also in writing, saying, Thus saith Cyrus, king of Persia, the Lord God of heaven hath given me all the kingdoms of the earth; and he hath charged me to build him an house at Jerusalem, which is in Judah: Who is there among you of all his people? The Lord his God be with him, and let him go up.” 2 Chron. xxxvi. 22, 23. “Also Cyrus the king brought forth the vessels of the house of the Lord, which Nebuchadnezzar had brought forth out of Jerusalem, and

His proclamation in favour of the Jews.

Biography. had put them in the house of his gods: even those did Cyrus, king of Persia, bring forth by the hand of Mithredath, the treasurer, and numbered them unto Sheshbazzar, the prince of Judah." Ezra i. 7, 8. He further enjoined, that in whatever provinces the Jews were scattered, they should be assisted in furtherance of this great design of restoring their temple and city. This decree was not so effective as had been expected, through the stratagems of the Samaritans, who obstructed, by bribes and misrepresentations, what they could not annul. The work proceeded so slowly, that it remained unfinished at the death of Cyrus; and it is supposed that the fasting and mourning of Daniel, mentioned as occurring in the third year of the reign of Cyrus, arose from this cause. Dan. x. 1—3. Cyrus divided his time between the three capitals of his newly-erected empire—the warmth of the climate induced him to spend the seven cold months at Babylon, the three months of spring he resided at Susa, and two months, during the summer's heat, he lived at Ecbatana. If we calculate from the time of his first assuming the command of the Persian and Median armies, he reigned thirty years, and died, beloved and lamented, in the seventieth year of his age. The manner of his death has been differently stated by different writers, nor can we arrive at any certainty respecting it. We have already seen the account of it by Herodotus; but it

does not comport with the wise and prudent character of the hero to undertake so rash an expedition as that against Scythia is represented to be, at his advanced time of life. Diodorus Siculus, agreeing with Herodotus as to the expedition against the Massagets, and its event, differs as to the circumstances of his death, and says, that he was taken prisoner by Tomyris, and hanged, or crucified, by her directions. Ctesius narrates, that he was wounded in the thigh by an Indian, in a battle against the Derbicans, a people bordering upon Hyrcania, and died three days after. John Melele, of Antioch, cites a forged writing, ascribed to Pythagoras, which declares him to have been slain in a sea-fight by the Samians. Xenophon's account is by far the most probable close of such a life, and represents him as dying in his own country, covered with glory, surrounded by his friends, and leaving his vast empire to his son Cambyses. In evidence of this fact, he asserts that he was buried in Parsagada, in Persia (in which place Xenophon says he died), and that his monument was to be seen there in the time of Alexander the Great—a circumstance totally irreconcilable with the account of Herodotus and others, who ascribe to him a violent and ignominious death in a foreign country. The assertion relative to the monument is confirmed by Plutarch, by Quintus Curtius, by Arrian, and by Aristobulus, an eye-witness, cited by Strabo.

Cyrus.
From
A. M.
3405.
B. C.
699,
to
A. M.
3475.
B. C.
629.

A. M.
3475.
B. C.
629.

Various accounts of his death.

NUMA.

FROM A. M. 3289, B. C. 715; TO A. M. 3332, B. C. 672.

Biography. WHEN the tumult occasioned by the mysterious manner of the death of Romulus had subsided, a new case of contention arose: not, indeed, as was the former one, between the people and their senators, but between the Romans and the Sabines, who, though united into one nation, could not entirely forget their different extractions and their different interests. Romulus had died without issue; the throne was thus left without a legal claimant, and became the object of dispute between the two people. The Romans, having been so long and prosperously governed by a Roman monarch, were unwilling, as may naturally be imagined, to submit to the rule of a Sabine; and the Sabines, urging that a considerable portion of the augmented wealth and increased population of the city originated with them, thought it but fair that the election of the second king of Rome should become their privilege, especially as they had so long and so cheerfully obeyed and supported Romulus. In this unsettled state of the country, the senate assumed the sovereignty. The numerous pretenders to the throne were kept in awe by the boldness of this measure, and although the authority exercised arose only from the necessity of the occasion, it carried the laws into effect, by the prudence and vigour with which the executive power was dispensed under this temporary administration.

The supreme rule was distributed amongst the whole body of the senate with much equiponderance and jus-

tice. The two hundred Sabine and Roman fathers divided themselves into small bodies of decuries or tens; and these decuries then drew lots who should govern first. It was agreed also that the decury to whom the fortune of the sovereignty fell should hold the power only for five days; and, at once to concentrate and to limit that power, one person alone out of the chosen decury bore the badges and distinctions of the kingly office. At the expiration of the five days, another decury succeeded to the government, held it in like manner, and thus each senator, in his turn, exercised the powers, enjoyed the privileges, and assumed the pomp of royalty. This mode of government they called an interregnum; the individual who exercised for a time the regal authority they nominated interrex; and the empire was governed in this manner during a whole year. The people then becoming wearied by so continual a change of rulers, asserted that their slavery was but multiplied, and that they were subjected to the will of two hundred masters; they preferred the government of one man, and loudly demanded of the senate to elect a king over Rome. The patricians, however unwilling to submit to a monarch after having themselves tasted the sweets of power, complied with the general requisition. The interrex convoked an assembly of the people, and addressed them thus: "O, Romans, we hope your determination and your choice may be advantageous to the empire. Name yourselves a king to reign over

Numa.
From
A. M.
3289.
B. C.
715,
to
A. M.
3332.
B. C.
672.
Decuries.

Contention after the death of Romulus.

Biography.

From
A. M.
3289.

B. C.
715.

A. M.
3332.

B. C.
672.

Numa
Pompilius.

you, and the senate are ready to confirm your choice, if it be one fit to succeed our great Romulus." Won by this condescension, the people, with equal generosity, remitted the right of election to the senate; and thus the old difficulty recurred, whether the king of Rome should be of Roman or of Sabine extraction. A long debate ensued on this subject; it was, however, at length determined, with much justice and equanimity, that the Roman part of the senate should choose the sovereign, but that he should be a Sabine.

At this time, in a town called Cures, in the Sabine territory, lived Numa Pompilius, a man of respectable station, whom certain domestic afflictions had softened into a meditative and religious philosopher. He passed the greater part of his time in study, and was supposed to be eminently favoured by the conversation and inspiration of the goddess Egeria. He was, besides, particularly skilled in a science, which was then held in the greatest reverence, that of augury and of religious ceremonies. On this unassuming individual the senate fixed their choice as king of Rome, and their determination appears to have been wise and fortunate. Romulus, their former monarch, taught the kingdom war, and had extended it by means of arms and violence; Numa was now selected to strengthen the city by the arts of peace, and at once to soften and to fortify the minds of the Romans by philosophy and religion. But besides the will of the people, Numa had still other claims on the possession of the throne; for the wife whom he had recently lost, was Tatia, the daughter of Tatius, the former Sabine king of Rome, and co-partner in the empire with Romulus. So great, therefore, was his reputation, and so sensible were the Romans of his superior pretensions to the regal power, that both the senate and the people unanimously called him to govern; and not a single murmur of discontent was heard throughout Rome at his nomination. Two senators of distinction, Julius Proculus and Valerius Volusus, were sent to invite him to accept the empire. The unambitious philosopher at first rejected the offer, but, at the entreaties of the deputies, and in compliance with the wishes of his more aspiring relations, he obeyed the general call; with a reservation, nevertheless, that if, on a celebration of their religious rites, the gods sent inauspicious auguries, he should still be at liberty to decline the proposal. To this mysterious trial, therefore, Numa, and an augur selected for the purpose, proceeded. They ascended an eminence, and the augur, having placed Numa on his left hand, seated him on a stone, and turned his face to the south, but covered it with a mantle. He then took a view of the city and country round, and marked out with his rod the different divisions of the air, from the east to the west, having the north to his left, and his right hand to the south. After this he placed his right hand upon the head of the king elect, and uttered the following prayer: "If, O powerful father, Jove! thou deemest it right that this Numa Pompilius, whose head I now touch, should be king of Rome, I pray thee to show certain and manifest omens of thy consent, within that part of the heavens which I have marked out with my sacred rod." The augur then cast his eyes upwards, observed the skies with eagerness and attention, and ultimately declared

the auspicious tokens of consent to have appeared. Other mystic ceremonies were afterwards performed; and Numa, being consecrated with due form, was ultimately brought into the city by the augurs. There he was nominated king, and invested with the civil power by the interrex before the curies of the people, who had been assembled for that purpose; and his title was confirmed with one voice by a decree of the senate.

The new king entered with earnestness on the task of ameliorating the minds and manners of his subjects, hitherto accustomed to little else but violence and rapine. Determined to hold his authority only by their affections, one of his first steps was to dismiss the royal guard of the three hundred Celeres; deeming it unwise, as he alleged, to suspect a people who voluntarily submitted themselves to his rule, and unjust to continue that rule by force after it had become irksome to those who gave it. His next object was to allay the internal dissensions, and the discordant parties of the city. For the accomplishment of this purpose, and of his general plans of civilization, he addressed the most powerful motives of which the human mind is susceptible, and to which he was himself professedly attached—the institution of the offices and the celebration of the rites of religion. Some historians are of opinion, that the philosophic king possessed secretly greater knowledge and juster notions on this subject, than he yet ventured to inculcate on his uneducated and superstitious subjects; and that he had attained an idea, however indistinct and imperfect, of the one great First Cause. Be that, however, as it may, he certainly fostered the grossest superstitions of the age, and encouraged both the Alban and the Sabine mythology, restricting only the solemnization of their different mysteries to the rules of order and decency, and forbidding the worship of any beast or its images. He named and established a regular priesthood in Rome, whom he called pontifices; and either appointed his relation Numa Marcius, or accepted himself the office of their superior, by the title of pontifex maximus. The preservation of the bridges across the Tiber was allotted to the pontifices, from which circumstance it is supposed their name was derived (from *pons*, a bridge, and *facere*, to make or act). The privileges and the powers of the pontifex maximus were various and extensive: he sat in judgment upon all the causes relating to religion; inquired into the manners and the morals of all inferior priests, and censured or punished them as occasion required. The persons who administered the offices of religion, and the manner of the rites themselves, were alike subject to his legislation. He regulated at will the public feasts, the sacrifices, and all other sacred institutions; and to his superior knowledge was it referred to determine the legality or illegality of different works and employments on festival days.

Besides the pontifex maximus, Numa in part created, and generally regulated various other religious offices, whom he divided into seven different classes; namely, the Curiones, the Flamines, the Celeres, the Angures, the Vestals, or Vestal Virgins, the Salii, and the Feciales. The curiales were the particular priests attached to each curia; the flamines, so named from the colour

Numa.

From
A. M.
3289.

B. C.
715.

A. M.
3332.

B. C.
672.

Accepts the
throne.
Abolishes
the Celeres.

Establishes
religion.

Biography.

From
A. M.
3289.
B. C.
715.
to
A. M.
3332.
B. C.
672.

and make of their caps, were the officers or priests belonging to some particular god, whose name they assumed in addition to their title, as the Flamen Dialis, or the Flamen Martialis; the flamen of Jupiter being adorned with a richer robe than others, seated in a magnificent chair of state, and enjoined to offer daily sacrifices to his peculiar deity. The *celeres* were inferior to, and under the direction of the tribunes, and their duty consisted in managing the sacrifices generally; they were the officers who had been formerly commanded by the tribunes when they formed the guards of Romulus. The augurs were priests, whose title sufficiently explains their peculiar function to have been that of superintending the auguries, which were declared by the flights of birds, the instincts of sacrificed animals, and many similar superstitious and uncertain modes of divination. The *vestals* were priestesses, who vowed perpetual virginity, and whose duty it was to preserve the fire unextinguished and perpetual in the temple of the goddess Vesta, to these virgins high honours and distinguished privileges were allowed; and, on the contrary, the severest punishment was inflicted upon them, in case of any infringement of their vows, or neglect of their duties. The *salii*, in number twelve, were devoted to Mars, and were the guardians of the twelve sacred shields, or *ancilia*, suspended on the walls of the temple of that god; they took their name as being *dancers* in the annual celebration of a festival in honour of a shield which Numa pretended had fallen down in a miraculous manner from heaven: in their solemn dance the *salii* wore a richly painted coat, a brazen breast-plate, and carried with them the *ancilia*, which were the peculiar badges of their office. It was the office of the *feriales* to demand satisfaction from the enemies of Rome for the injuries done to the city; to proclaim war, with all due solemnity, should reparation be denied; and to enforce the observance of all treaties by their own countrymen with their allies, or with the neighbouring nations.

Temple of
Janus.

In order to win the Romans to the love of tranquillity, and more effectually to divert those turbulent and ambitious passions, which had led them into so many bloody wars, and often on such slight provocations, the politic Numa built and consecrated a temple to Janus, the symbol of prudence, and the encourager of peace. This temple was decreed to stand open in time of war, and in peace the gates were to remain closed. Janus himself was represented with a double face, looking in two opposite directions; the apparent signification of which was, that prudence consisted in examining circumstances that had passed, and thus being enabled to foresee those which were to come. The worship of the goddess *Bona Fides*, or Good Faith, was adopted by Numa with a view to inculcate principles of honour in the Romans, not only in the observation of their public treaties, but also in their private contracts between man and man. The solemnities attendant upon the worship of this goddess were celebrated with great pomp: he ordered the priests to be carried to her sacrifices in a chariot, covered with a rich canopy, and drawn by two horses. The sacrifices themselves were performed by the priests, with their arms covered as low as their fingers, to signify that good faith and common honesty are sacred,

and extend to the hand that ratifies, as well as to the heart that dictates, the stipulation. To promote the same love of equity, Numa introduced several new deities, under the title of termini, or boundaries. These he caused to be placed, not only on the borders of the Roman territories, to repress the ambitious desire of his subjects for the enlargement of the empire; but so as to mark and circumscribe the bounds of each individual's private estate. The removal of these gods was decreed to be an heinous offence—a sacrilege which subjected the transgressor to instant death by the hand of any man who might be disposed to inflict it. A solemn festival was instituted to their honour, called *terminalia*, which was annually celebrated on the 23d or 24d day of the month of February. All these institutions being sustained with due pomp, solemnity, and perseverance, made a gradual but lasting impression on the minds and manners of the Romans; so that the effect not only became apparent in the city itself, where honour and good faith began to take place of fraud and violence even in the most trivial of their transactions; but the neighbouring nations, who had been accustomed to look upon Rome rather as a tumultuous and hostile camp, than a stable and civilized state, were now compelled to admire the wisdom of its laws, and regarded it, according to the aspiration of the age, as the solemn abode even of the gods themselves. The king was not unwilling to countenance this latter notion. There was a stream which ran through the city, the banks of which were covered by a dark grove, in the innermost part of which Numa consecrated a certain grotto to his favourite goddess Egeria. Often retiring thither himself alone, for the purpose of study and meditation, he encouraged the popular opinion that the nymph in person conversed with him in this sacred solitude, and consecrated the place to the Camene, or Muses, the companions of Egeria. Juvenal has given another interpretation to this retirement, and his midnight visits, insinuating that they were of a character less honourable to the monarch than he wished it to be supposed. (*Juv. Sat. iii. v. 12.*)

Upon this foundation of religion, Numa erected his civil laws for the government of Rome; and, indeed, it is not easy always to discriminate the line which divided his religious institutions from his legal decrees. Generally speaking, the former were such as have been described, and his civil institutions remain to be stated. He had a particular respect for the female character, and softened many of the laws of Romulus relating to marriage. It cannot, however, be denied that much of barbarism remained. Thus he still permitted husbands to lend their wives to others after they had borne children; and this custom continued in Rome even in the zenith of its splendour and civilization, being practised by the wisest and the most enlightened of its citizens. It was regarded as a temporary kind of divorce, in which the husbands did not resign their power over the wives, but could recall them, either to transfer them to others or to resume them as their own. Numa further altered and amended the laws of Romulus respecting the power of parents over their children before and after marriage. He decreed it unjust that a woman who had married a free citizen should, from circumstances not within his or her control, be after-

Numa.

From
A. M.
3289.
B. C.
715.
to
A. M.
3332.
B. C.
672.

Biography.

From
A. M.
3289.
B. C.
715.
to
A. M.
3332.
B. C.
672.

wards obliged to live with a slave; and a father was therefore restricted from selling his son to slavery after the marriage of that son.

To agricultural improvements Numa was not less attentive. Having divided all the land which Romulus had attained by his numerous conquests amongst those of the citizens who had no employment, he stimulated them to the cultivation of it by wise and prudent regulations. The territory thus granted was divided into pagi, or villages, and to each of these he appointed an officer, who was chief or superintendent over his particular district. It was the duty of this officer to watch with an attentive eye the labours of the agriculturist, to reward the diligent, to punish the negligent, and to report from time to time to the king the progress of agriculture. By these salutary regulations the waste lands were improved; and those disorderly and dangerous members of the community, the idle and disbanded soldiers, the number of whom had, under Romulus, increased to an alarming amount, were not only furnished with employment, but the occupation itself was rendered especially subservient to the use of the state.

His great master-stroke of policy, however, was that division of the citizens by which he broke up amongst them all distinction of the Roman and Sabine extraction, and thereby crushed those restless factions which, from the time of the junction of the two nations, had constantly disturbed the quiet of Rome. Numa, to effect this purpose, classed his subjects together according to their different trades and occupations, appointing to each profession a particular rank, and making it a separate company or society, with courts, officers, and privileges of its own. In these divisions the musicians held the first rank, their employment being chiefly in the ceremonies of religion: then followed the goldsmiths, the carpenters, carriers, dyers, tailors, and others, each division making bye-laws amongst themselves, celebrating its own particular festivals, and possessing its characteristic sacrifices and religious ceremonies. Thus the Sabines and the Romans, who had hitherto been one people in little else than in name, became completely united; and not only in time of war, but in peace also, forgot their animosities and party distinctions in the absolute and indissoluble concord which connected their personal interests.

The final task which Numa undertook, was one in which his science perhaps was still more requisite and more displayed than his philosophy; and from the accomplishment of which a correct judgment may be formed of the depth of this monarch's learning and the strength of his mind. The principles of ancient philosophy are concealed in much obscurity, and were they more accurately known by us, we should probably find them little better than a more refined and more poetic version of the superstitions of the vulgar. But Numa's division of the calendar bears with it, as transmitted to us, an evident proof of considerable science, and no small accuracy of observation. Romulus had rudely and unequally divided the year into ten months, and these months were still more confused in their duration, consisting, some of twenty, some of thirty-five, and others of a still larger number of days. Macrobius, indeed, tells us of a more accurate division of the year

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by Romulus; but it is universally allowed, that the order of time was still unequal to the motion of the heavenly bodies, and that only ten months had been fixed to comprise the annual revolution of the sun by the first Roman king, whose calendar contained 304 days. Numa, from a more correct knowledge of the movements of the celestial orbs, added January and February to the calendar, making the whole number of months twelve, and the year to consist of 365 days and six hours. To compose the two additional months, he added fifty days to the old year of 304 days; he then deducted six days from the six months that were even in days, one from each month, and allowed one day more than he ought to have done, from the superstitious notion of making the number fortunate. He further named an interstitial month after February, which Plutarch in one place calls Mercedinus, and in another Mercedonius; derived, perhaps, from the days appointed in this month for the payment of the wages (*"merces"*) of the domestics and workmen. This interstitial month, that it might complete the 365 days and six hours, assigned to the year, was made to consist of twenty-three days after every four years; intercalations which, being afterwards left solely to the priests, they omitted or inserted when and as often as their superstition decided it to be fortunate or unfortunate so to do. From this negligent and absurd practice, so much confusion in process of time ensued, that the religious ceremonies and solemn days were kept on seasons quite contrary to those on which they were at first appointed to be held, and thus many of them lost the propriety of their original institution.

Numa thus reigned over Rome in peace during the long period of forty-three years; a circumstance, not only remarkably in contrast with the reign of his predecessor, but having scarcely a parallel in ancient history. In the eighty-second year of his age, whilst the vigour of his mind was still unimpaired, a distemper seized the venerable monarch, which brought him by slow degrees to the grave. In his long reign he had so far succeeded in his plans, that his subjects, whom he found little better than lawless plunderers to surrounding countries, and unprincipled ruffians amongst themselves, became peaceable neighbours and honest citizens. They remained free from wars abroad; nor, during the time of his government, do we hear of a single public commotion of consequence at home. His death was an universal sorrow. The citizens felt as if each one had lost a personal friend; and when the intelligence spread into the surrounding countries, many of their most distinguished inhabitants came to Rome to assist at his funeral solemnities, bringing with them rich presents and offerings. Numa had forbidden his body to be burnt; a stone coffin was therefore prepared, and his remains were enclosed within this sarcophagus, and buried, with those ceremonies which he himself had dictated, at the foot of the hill Janiculum. By the same authority, many of his books were likewise deposited in this place. Four hundred years after his death, these books are said to have been dug up, and burnt by order of the senate; they contained the reasons which induced Numa to institute many of his religious ceremonies, and the worship of many of the Roman gods. These were thought, upon examination, to be either extremely trivial, or

Numa.

From
A. M.
3289.
B. C.
715.
to
A. M.
3332.
B. C.
672.

Death of
Numa.Regulation
of the calendar.

Biography. dangerous to be promulgated, and the records which contained them were therefore destroyed. The body of Numa was borne to the grave on the shoulders of the senators, followed by an immense concourse of the Romans of all ranks, and multitudes of strangers. This second king of Rome left behind him only one child, a daughter, named Pompilia; although some writers assert, without any apparent foundation, that he left four sons, to whom they attribute the origin of four several illustrious Roman families. Pompilia was born to Numa by his second wife, Lucretia, a lady

whom he had married shortly after his elevation to the government. Numa Marcius was the husband of this daughter of the deceased sovereign; and a boy, Ancus Marcius, was the fruit of their marriage.

This grandchild of Numa, being, at the time of the venerated king's death, only five years old, was considered as too tender an age to be invested with the sovereignty; and his claim to the crown was therefore passed by on the next election to the monarchy; although he afterwards ascended the throne as the fourth king of Rome.

Numa.
From
A. M.
3289.
—
B. C.
715.
to
A. M.
3332.
—
B. C.
672.

THE PISISTRATIDÆ.

FROM A. M. 3444, B. C. 560; TO A. M. 3478, B. C. 526.

Biography. NOTWITHSTANDING the wise laws and prudent administration of Solon, the Athenian government was too democratic in its tendency long to retain its strength. The republic was divided into three distinct factions, each of which, alike unswayed by the voice of authority, became every moment more violent, clamorous, and dangerous. At the head of those Athenians who dwelt without the walls of the city, and composed the country people, was an Athenian, Lycurgus; a more powerful party, who inhabited the sea coast, had chosen Megacles for their chief; and the renowned Pisistratus was the leader of the third party, consisting of the lowest order of the Athenian citizens. Each of these chiefs, indeed, stood in some dread of the superior wisdom, the unshaken honesty, and the general popularity of Solon; each was alike anxious to win this illustrious lawgiver and philosopher to his own interest; and with this view they all appeared earnestly to unite in calling him to the resumption of the supreme authority. Solon, however, declined the invitation; his advanced age was incompatible with the activity necessary to the proper execution of the office; and though he clearly foresaw, and even predicted, the fall of Athenian liberty, he yet contented himself with watching the conduct of each party, and applying, as occasion offered, such assuages as he judged best adapted to temper the ambition, or allay the animosity of the contending chiefs.

Division of Athens.

In the struggles for mastery which ensued, the superior strength of those under Pisistratus soon made itself felt and acknowledged; and whilst this party subdued the rival factions, their own liberty, and the liberties of the country, yielded to the artful demeanour, the splendid talents, and the restless ambition of their leader and favourite. This celebrated Athenian was admirably qualified for the demagogue of a democratic faction. He was the descendant of a good family, possessed of an ample estate, and his talents, acquired and natural, were not only more brilliant and powerful than those of Lycurgus and Megacles, but were said even to rival those of Solon himself. He had shown his valour abroad in the field of Salamis, and had acquired much reputation by that part he had taken with Solon in the recovery of that island. At home he began his career of distinc-

tion by assuming every appearance of patriotism. He scattered abroad his riches with an unsparring hand, and practised courtesies and affability to the lowest of the citizens in a degree unknown before. In public, Pisistratus was always attended by slaves carrying bags of silver coin; and on meeting in the streets any of the sickly or distressed citizens, although personally unacquainted with them, he would immediately bestow on them a sum sufficient for their comfort and relief. The gardens and orchards of this pretended patriot, and even those private walks which had descended to him from his ancestors, were thrown indiscriminately open to the public, and became as much the property of his countrymen as of himself. He every where advocated, with affected zeal, the cause of equality and complete republicanism, and eagerly seized every occasion to express his attachment to the constitution, and his particular admiration of the character and laws of Solon. His relationship to, and apparent intimacy with, that eminent and honourable man, afforded a still closer cover to his real thoughts; and though Solon himself was not deceived by the artifice, he yet found himself unable to suppress the ambition of the dissembler, or finally to prevent the attainment of his object. "Pisistratus," repeated Solon, "would be the best citizen in Athens, were it not for his ambition; but in vain was this warning addressed to the citizens in public; and still less was it regarded when bestowed upon the pretended patriot himself in private; that caution, which would, in all probability, have delayed, if not prevented the impending slavery of Athens, was lulled to repose, or utterly extinguished by the splendour of those talents from which alone resulted the danger. The looks and whole behaviour of Pisistratus were calm, placid, and sedate; and the character of his ever-ready oratory, mild, smooth, and persuasive. These artifices soon produced the intended effect upon the people, and when Pisistratus perceived that he had acquired a sufficient degree of their partiality and confidence, he practised a stratagem which procured him additional power, and was the first step towards annihilating that liberty which the Athenians knew neither how to use nor to preserve. On a sudden, the artful chieftain appeared in the market-place of

Pisistratus, &c.
From
A. M.
3444.
—
B. C.
560.
to
A. M.
3478.
—
B. C.
526.
Affects the
monarchy.

Pisistratus.

Biography. Athens, himself, and the cattle which drew his chariot, covered with wounds and blood; and when the citizens assembled around him, Pisistratus appealed for protection. He declared that he had been assailed by a ferocious band of his enemies, in consequence of his devotion to them, and his love for his country. The popular outcry on behalf of the dismemberer was loud and vehement, and a general assembly of the people was instantly convened. Ariston, an Athenian citizen, especially devoted to his interest, now proposed to the assembly that Pisistratus should be allowed a body-guard of fifty men armed with clubs; and the motion was clamorously seconded by the voice of the common

Opposed by Solon.

people. Solon was the only orator who spoke in opposition to this dangerous proposal: "Son of Hippocrates," said he to Pisistratus, "you act not well the part of Homer's Ulysses, for you deceive your fellow-citizens; but that hero, when he had wounded himself, practised only on the enemies of his country." He afterwards addressed the assembly, and told them, that if misfortune should befall the commonwealth, they must not consider it as the consequence of accident, nor charge the gods as the authors of their calamities, but would have to blame their own credulity in their crafty favourite as the exclusive cause of their sufferings: he ended by denouncing the proposition of Ariston as a direct innovation of the constitution. But these arguments were of no avail against the popular voice; and the eloquent reply of Pisistratus, which followed the speech of Solon, decided a question that before could scarcely be said to have been doubtful. The motion passed into a law; and the higher order of the citizens only daring to withhold their assent by a disapproving silence, Solon, at the head of these few retired, exclaiming, in allusion to the speech of Pisistratus, "You doat upon his words and soothing speech." Thus was the first wound to the liberties of the Athenians inflicted by themselves; and their constitution fell by their own decree.

Receives a guard.

The number of the guard assigned to Pisistratus has been variously stated: some authors having affirmed that he was attended by four hundred men, whilst Plutarch mentions only fifty. But whatever might have been its strength, it proved sufficient for the purpose to which Pisistratus designed it; he immediately seized the citadel of Athens, and assumed the honours of the sovereignty. Shortly after, a jealousy of the still-remaining strength of the citizens induced this unauthorized master of Athens to practise another artifice upon the people. He summoned a meeting of the citizens to be held near the temple of the Anacium, and directed that all persons should repair to the spot with arms. When the assembly was collected, he began to entertain them, as usual, with an oration; but artfully uttered his harangue in so low an accent, that the people soon complained of not being able to hear him. The orator, in answer, asserted, that the clangor of their arms overcame and stifled his voice, and advised them to deposit their weapons in the portico of the adjoining temple. The multitude, it is said, immediately complied with his proposition, and Pisistratus continued to amuse them with a long and eloquent oration, whilst his guard, according to the previous orders of their master, secured the arms which had been deposited without. Thus were the Athenians

Dismiss the Athenians.

deprived of their last means of defence, and found themselves entirely at the mercy of their seducer. We are told, indeed, that after this notorious event, a fruitless attempt was made to resent the insult and to regain their liberty: an assembly of the people was held, and the intrepid and patriotic Solon stood foremost as the advocate of the constitution. He strongly inveighed against the duplicity of Pisistratus, and, by every possible argument, urged the Athenians to rise in their own defence: but all his efforts proved unsuccessful; the majority of his countrymen were deaf to the call of freedom: he retired, with the self-consciousness of having acted rightly, though ineffectually, and testified, as he withdrew, that, to the utmost of his power he had striven for his country and her laws. Pisistratus is said to have sent to Solon, requiring to know what inspired him with this audacity which had prompted such disrespectful treatment of his successful kinsman; one who was the avenger like of his and of the Athenian fate? "My old age," replied the venerable patriot; repressing insolence with dignity, and passing over his menaces with contempt.

But Pisistratus, although he had possessed himself of the supreme power by unlawful means, is said to have directed it to the ends of justice. The laws of Solon were not only respected by him, but enforced with all possible vigour; the legislator himself was treated with veneration; and some historians assert that this celebrated philosopher ended his days in Athens under the protection of that ruler whom he at first opposed with all his influence, and to the last laboured to displace. But, if it be true that Solon, on the assumption of the supreme authority by his kinsman, withdrew from Athens, it is on all sides agreed that his person was protected during the time of his abode in his country; and Pisistratus is said to have written to him repeatedly, earnestly soliciting his return.

No sooner was the sovereignty vested in Pisistratus, than his rivals, Megacles and Lycurgus, fled with their respective families and friends; but, fully aware of the unsteady nature of the Athenian democracy, and still retaining an influence in the city, the two chiefs, rendered wise by misfortune, combined together, and redoubled their efforts to effect their return. It was not long before the wishes of the confederates were accomplished; the giddy populace, incited by the artifices of Megacles and Lycurgus, disgusted with their choice, and provoked at their own credulity, revolted from their new master, and obliged him to seek, as his rivals had done, shelter and protection in a foreign country. To mark their resentment more strongly, his effects were publicly offered to sale; but, whether from the personal respect still retained for him, or from an apprehension of his speedy restoration, only one person, it is said, named Callias, could be found who would venture to become a purchaser. His triumphant enemies now entered Athens without opposition.

Scarcely, however, had the confederated factions attained the power they desired, before fresh jealousies arose between them, and the tottering republic again felt the radical evils of its democratic constitution. Megacles, disgusted with Lycurgus, made overtures to the banished Pisistratus, who readily accepted the proposed alliance. On the part of Megacles it was stipulated, that he would restore Pisistratus to the sovereignty.

Pisistratus, &c.

From A. M. 3444. n. c. 560. to A. M. 3478. n. c. 526.

Assumes the government.

His rivals.

Pisistratus banished.

Factions.

Biography. reigny; and Pisistratus engaged to marry the daughter of Megacles; thus cementing the new connection, and elevating the family of his former rival into a participation of his honours and his power. These newly-compacted chiefs were well acquainted with the disposition of the people whom they undertook to govern: they were aware how little force could avail against an indignant and alarmed democracy, but they were also fully sensible how easily their ferocity might be softened by artifice into credulity, and even into admiration. They fixed upon a favourable moment, when the desire of change was strong upon this mutable people; and the better to effect their object, they selected, as the agent in their absurd, but successful fraud, a woman from a mean and almost unknown family. This woman, named Phya, the daughter of one Socrates, they seated by the side of Pisistratus, in a superb chariot, dressed in armour, and in all the appropriate accoutrements of the goddess Minerva, whom she was designed to represent. The appearance of the actress whom they had chosen to perform this part was well adapted to delude the multitude; she was tall and graceful in her person, and her features were warlike and commanding. Every thing being duly concerted between the chiefs, the chariot moved slowly towards the city, while heralds ran before it, exclaiming to the people, "Give a kind reception, Athenians, to your citizen Pisistratus, who is so highly honoured by the goddess Minerva, that she herself deigns to restore him to your wishes." By this ridiculous project was the sovereignty of Athens restored to Pisistratus, leaving us in doubt whether more to detest the faithlessness and instability of this weak and impetuous people, or to despise their egregious folly.

Family connections. Pisistratus, reinstated in his power, first showed his gratitude to Phya, the fortunate representative of Minerva, by giving her in marriage to Hipparchus, his son, and afterwards his successor in the government; he then fulfilled his contract with Megacles, by nominally espousing the daughter of that chief; and seems to have conceived himself bound no further by his promise. Fixed in this resolution, either by partiality to the children of his former marriage, or by the sense of disgrace attached to his new connection (for the family of Megacles had been made execrable by the Athenian law), it was not long before Pisistratus again incurred the warm opposition of Megacles, who determined to resent this insult. He set on foot a negotiation with some discontented citizens, and took his measures so effectually, that Pisistratus, perceiving the rising tumult, again betook himself to a voluntary exile from Attica, and found an asylum in Eretria.

Pisistratus again expelled. But the sweets of power are not to be forgotten by those who have once possessed it. In his banishment the expelled ruler busied himself solely in forming alliances with the surrounding states, and at length thought himself strong enough to determine on reducing Athens by force of arms; a resolution in which he was confirmed by his sons Hippias and Hipparchus, the former of whom was most forward and confident in the proposed expedition. The strength of the Pisistratide was rendered formidable by the assistance of the neighbouring cities; several troops were levied by the Argives, who joined their party; Lycdamis, a

Naxian, advanced a large sum in the cause, and came forward with his personal services and a considerable body of soldiers who followed his fortunes. But the Theban troops composed by far the greatest part of the invading army. Thus supported, in the eleventh year of their banishment, the Pisistratide marched from Eretria into Attica; and possessed themselves of the village of Marathon, which stood only ten miles from the city of Athens, without a struggle. Here they were encouraged by the junction of many Athenian citizens, who now affected to prefer the just and equal rule of Pisistratus to the tumultuous and unsteady scenes of a democracy. The rulers of Athens, although they could scarcely have been ignorant of the large preparations of the invader, which had been some years in agitation, and had been conducted without any attempts at privacy, were yet unprepared to receive, or effectually to resist him; the force of the city was hastily assembled, and, without discipline, marched forward to meet their opponents. Pisistratus in the mean time having advanced from Marathon, and halted his army before the temple of the Palladian Mercury, one Amphilytus, a prophet of Acarnania, inspired, as was pretended, by the impulse of the presiding god, addressed to the chieftain, an oracle in hexameter verse, which mysteriously alluded to the unguarded and open state of the Athenian camp. With a characteristic quickness and presence of mind, Pisistratus instantly comprehended the allusion of the oracle, and declaring aloud that he accepted the omen, pushed his army immediately forward. He reached the camp in an auspicious hour—the army had dined, and they were all either asleep, or amusing themselves with dice, according to the manner of the Athenians when at peace within their walls. In this unguarded and defenceless state they were easily routed, and the genius of Pisistratus manifested itself still more in the flight which succeeded than in the conflict itself. He forbade all slaughter, and caused his sons Hippias and Hipparchus to ride swiftly before and amongst the fugitives, loudly calling to them that they had nothing to fear from their citizen Pisistratus, and that every man might repair in peace and in safety to his own home.

After this, which may rather be called a rout than a battle, Pisistratus became a third time master of the town, Athenian state, and by the wisdom and lenity of his measures, so firmly established himself in the government, that he never more was materially disturbed in it. During the whole of his administration he continued to enforce the laws of Solon exactly; to which he added some important regulations of his own against idleness, and for the encouragement of agricultural pursuits. By these measures, and the close occupation of all the different classes of the rising state, those tumultuous assemblies were prevented, which had been so frequent in the city, and were the cause of such repeated changes. The people in general soon began to feel the immense advantages of this domestic discipline; and the cultivation of the Athenian territories proceeded with great rapidity. Attica became fruitful in corn, an essential of life which the people had been accustomed to buy at a dear rate from other nations; and the beautiful and productive olive-tree sprang up around the city, adorning and

Pisistratus, Acc.
From
A. M.
3444.
—
B. C.
560.
to
A. M.
3478.
—
B. C.
526.

Biography.

From
A. M.
3444.
B. C.
560.
to
A. M.
3478.
B. C.
526.

His taxes.

rendering useful the site of their former quarrels. Pisistratus even regulated the dress of the Athenians, giving them a vest of sheep-skin which reached only to the knees; and so impatient were the people of subordination, that this very habit became, in after-times, proverbially the badge of slavery, merely because it was enjoyed by the edicts of Pisistratus. From the same spirit of independence arose the subsequent use of the term *tyrant*, now applied to Pisistratus; not that he could with any truth be accused of cruelty or injustice in the execution of his office, but that the officiousness which he exercised had been obtained unlawfully, without the full consent of the people, and even without the pretext of a right derived to him from his ancestors. To a people so unmanageable, the revenue which Pisistratus, as prince of Athens, established, appeared doubly oppressive and unjust, although expended freely and judiciously for the service of the state. One-tenth part of every man's rents, and of the produce of his grounds, was extorted with difficulty.—That this tax, however, was by no means rigidly enforced, is proved by an anecdote, which, at the same time, affords an instance of the generosity and clemency of the monarch himself. Pisistratus, whilst riding across the country, perceived an aged rustic busied in gathering some herbs amongst the rocks; with his accustomed affability, he accosted the labourer, and to an inquiry concerning the nature of his employment, received the surly and uncouth answer, "that he was gathering wild herbs and sage-leaves, but that of those even Pisistratus was to be paid the tenth part." The ruler smiled, and pursued his journey in silence; but, when returned to the city, he remitted the imposed duty to the labourer.

His conduct.

Thus firmly seated on the throne of Athens, Pisistratus aimed at exhibiting the princely virtues of his station, and, maintaining due order amongst others, exhibited frequently, even in his own person, the most rigid observance of the laws. He presents one of those rare, but real instances, which are to be found in the history both of ancient and modern times, of men, who, having much of the love of power for its own sake, wish to reconcile all other men to their exercise of it. His sense of justice was made instrumental to his ambition. His knowledge of mankind showed him something of the hold of virtue on the heart, and its inseparable connection with the permanent interests of a government; and he seems to have been anxious that all men should submit to its full dominion but himself. Hearing that he was to be accused in the court of the Areopagus of murder, he appeared there without attendants, as a private person, ready to submit to the judgment of the people, and succeeded in convincing the court that the accusation was groundless. Several of the principal citizens of Athens having taken offence at some unguarded incidents in his conduct, had no sooner quitted the city in disgust, than the prince followed them, offering every possible atonement: he even appeared before them under the walls of the castle of Phyle well provided with food, and declared that he came resolved "either to stay with them, or to bring them back to the city." His tardiness to resent any personal injury was likewise remarkable; for although parti-

cularly cautious of his own manners, and even anxious to exhibit to the Athenians, in himself, a model on which they might form their temper and deportment, some young men, overcome with wine, having behaved rudely to his wife, when they appeared before him, on the succeeding day, to confess their offence, he calmly replied, "As for my wife, she was not abroad yesterday; but I advise you to be more cautious and modest in your behaviour for the future." To these merits he added every appearance of moderation, when he could scarcely be said to practise the reality, for although every office of honour and trust was held by his own family and dependants, yet he was especially careful that none of the ancient magistracies of the city should, under his administration, be abolished; and we find the nominally high office of archon continued in the person of his grandson, the younger Pisistratus, the son of Hippias. His love of the arts and of literature, induced him to adorn the city with some elegant public buildings; he built and well-furnished a library for public use; and it was Pisistratus who claims the honour of having digested the poems of Homer into the form under which they now appear. In other respects, he proved himself a great patron of learning and the arts; he was the intimate friend of Crotonatus, the epic poet, who wrote the adventures of the Argonauts; and there is good reason to suppose, that the celebrated fabulist, Æsop, was his friend and favourite. The famous temple of the Pythian Apollo was founded by this magnificent prince, nor was he destitute of military talent; for besides the active part he took in the capture of Salamis, which has before been stated, we have the authority of Herodotus for his having subjugated the island of Naxos, which he afterwards gave up to Lygdamis as its sovereign, in gratitude for the services rendered by that chief to him in his last restoration. He besides reduced to the Athenian control the city of Sigeum, and greatly improved the sacred island of Delos. In a word, he wanted only a lawful title to the sovereignty which he exercised to have left his name to posterity as one of the most splendid examples of princely virtue. Over his fierce and discontented, yet not unfrequently admiring subjects, Pisistratus reigned in Athens, from his first usurpation of authority, including his exiles, to the time of his death, thirty years. Herodotus says, that his second exile lasted eleven years; and as Aristotle mentions sixteen years as the period which included his first and second exile, five years must be given to the first, and fourteen years of sovereignty will remain; at the expiration of which he died peacefully at Athens, leaving his sons Hipparchus and Hippias to succeed him in the government.

Of Hipparchus and Hippias, the two sons of Pisistratus, it is uncertain which was entitled to the claim arising from priority of birth. It, however, appears clear that the sovereignty of Athens was equally enjoyed by both, although there are not wanting historians to advocate the primogeniture of either party; and some affirm that Thesealus, a third son of Pisistratus, partook in the government with his two brothers. Of Hipparchus and Hippias we possess, however, records sufficiently full to enable us to judge of their character and conduct. As they reigned con-

Pisistratus,
B.C.
From
A. M.
3444.
B. C.
560.
to
A. M.
3478.
B. C.
526.

His love of
science.

His death.

His success.

Hipparchus.

Biography. jointly, claiming the throne as derived to them from their father, so they followed, in all respects, the principles and maxims of his government. Hipparchus was particularly distinguished by his evenness of temper and his suavity of manners. He was not only a great encourager of literature, but himself a considerable scholar. Simonides, the elegiac poet of Ceos, almost constantly near his person, was a peculiar favourite; and he dispatched a galley on purpose to bring the celebrated Anacreon to Athens. At the Panathenæa, the great festival of Minerva, the patroness of the city, Hipparchus caused the bards, called the rhapsodists, to sing all the poems of Homer, that the Athenians might be generally instructed and entertained by them. But his love of learning and of learned men did not hurry him into injustice or impety; for when he understood that the oracles of Musæus, which were held sacred, had been interpolated by Onomacritus, he immediately banished that poet from Athens. In order to impress upon the citizens certain principles of morality and rules of behaviour, he caused to be erected in the city many statues of Mercury, and inscribed them with sentiments, laconic in their expression, but in their import full of truth and virtue. "*Decree not thy friend,*" was found upon one statue; and the words, "*Be thou strictly just,*" upon another.

Joint sovereignty. In the exercise of these virtues, the reign of Hipparchus and Hippias continued for some time in peace, and afforded every prospect of permanence. But an unforeseen event suddenly cut off the former prince, and menaced the reign and life of the latter. A conspiracy was formed against both sovereigns; and although the causes which induced it are differently related, the event itself is incontrovertible. Harmodius and Aristogiton, names held sacred by the Athenians in after-times, were young men of singular beauty, and sincerely attached to each other. Some historians relate, that Hipparchus, enamoured with Harmodius, offered to his person a brutal outrage, which called forth the joint revenge of himself and his friend Aristogiton. Others state, that the sister of Harmodius having been first seduced by Hipparchus, that prince afterwards refused her the honour of officiating in the sacrifices to Minerva, perhaps for the very reason which his own immoral and lawless conduct had occasioned. But whatever might be the cause, it is certain that these youths were the chief agitators of the plot, and relying upon the assistance of the Athenian people generally in its execution, admitted only a comparatively small number of immediate confederates. The day arrived for accomplishing their design, when Harmodius and Aristogiton perceived, at a distance, one of the conspirators talking familiarly with Hippias. Alarmed at this circumstance, and naturally suspecting that their scheme was betrayed, they prematurely attacked Hipparchus alone, who was near them: the people, however, did not join the conspirators, and Hippias arrived with his guards too late indeed to rescue, but sufficiently prompt to revenge the assassination of his brother. Harmodius was killed on the spot, and Aristogiton taken prisoner. Hippias secured the rest of the conspirators, who were detected by their concealed weapons, or by other suspicious circumstances, and dispersed, without further severity, the collected multitude.

Whether Hippias, when he felt himself possessed of the sole sovereignty, gave a loose to a disposition which had before been restrained and softened by his coadjutor in the empire; or that the assassination of the laient and gracious Hipparchus effected a deep and important change in the disposition of his surviving brother, cannot be now determined; but, from the time of his assumption of the authority singly, he completely altered the conduct and character of his government. Treating the Athenians with a severity unknown to them in the times of his father or his brother, from the remembrance of that very lenity he became still more intolerable to his subjects; those who were before discontented were rendered ungovernable, and the rude were exacerbated to natableable ferocity. Hippias first wreaked his vengeance upon the captive Aristogiton, who bore every species of torture with the fortitude of a hero. In the midst of his agonies he accused several persons of being joined with him in the late conspiracy, and their names had every appearance of being forced from him by the excess of pain; but these persons were instantly executed, in consequence of his information, though afterwards discovered to have been amongst the best and firmest supporters of the Pisistratide. Aristogiton being interrogated concerning other individuals, is said to have died replying, "that he knew no other person deserving death, excepting Hippias himself." Another extraordinary instance of heroism was found in the person of one Leona, a mistress of Aristogiton, who bore the tortures inflicted upon her by the command of the tyrant for a considerable time, and at last bit off her tongue lest it should betray, in the excess of her agony, any thing to the prejudice of him she loved. The conspiracy being fully defeated, and its authors punished, Hippias, no longer confiding in the love of his subjects, sought foreign assistance, and endeavoured to establish his authority by the most coercive measures. He increased his revenue by every possible exaction; and, not satisfied with the twentieth part of every man's income, which he had hitherto required, he compelled the citizens to bring into his treasury all their silver money, which he sent into circulation, much diminished in weight and in value, in the shape of a new coinage. He took also especial care to provide against the reverses of fortune, by forming alliances with foreign states, and thus securing to himself an asylum in the event of the deprivation of his kingdom.

In the mean time Megacles and his family, who, on account of their descent from Alcmaeon, were called the Alcmaeonidae, being banished from Athens on the restoration of Pisistratus, had established themselves at Lipsydrum, in Peronia. Here they gave refuge to all those who fled from Attica discontented with the government of Hippias, the number of whom increased daily. Every opportunity of increasing the disturbances in Attica was readily embraced by these exiles; nor were the Alcmaeonidae wanting in means to effect the purpose, for they had carried away with them from Athens a considerable treasure. It so happened that the Amphictyons, or general council of Greece, had contracted, about this time, with the Alcmaeonidae for the rebuilding of the temple of Apollo, at Delphi. This contract they performed in a manner

Pisistratus.
From A. M. 3444.
B. C. 560.
A. M. 3478.
B. C. 526.
Tyranny of Hippias.

Assassination of Hipparchus.

Biography. exceedingly sumptuous; and, besides accomplishing what they had promised, they constructed the façade with Parian marble, instead of common stone. By this display of their generosity they gained considerable reputation; but their treasures were employed still more advantageously for themselves, when, by presents of various kinds, they had corrupted the Pythian priestess of the temple, who delivered the sacred oracle. To all the Lacedæmonians who repaired to the temple, the Pythia incessantly denounced the government of Hippias as tyrannical and cruel; and that people, then the most powerful of the Grecian states, stimulated at length into action, raised an army, under the command of Archimolus, to invade Attica. Hippias, on the information of these proceedings, sent to the Thessalians, one of the people with whom he had formed an alliance, and who immediately answered the application by supplying him with a thousand horse, commanded by Cinesa a Thessalian prince. The army of Archimolus, which had been transported by sea, had scarcely landed on the Attic territories before Hippias and his confederate Thessalian troops suddenly attacked and routed them: their general himself was slain in the contest; and so complete was the victory, that the shattered remains of his army with difficulty escaped the slaughter by reaching their ships. Thus ended the first invasion of the territories of Hippias by the Lacedæmonians; and it is creditable to the generosity of that prince, that, amidst the barbarity of the times and the peculiar ferocity produced by the contest, he nevertheless caused the body of the Lacedæmonian general, Archimolus, to be interred, with every mark of honour, near the Cynosargian temple of Hercules, the tutelar god of the Spartans.

Division by the Lacedæmonians.

This defeat, however, only irritated the enemies of Hippias, and Cleomenes, king of Sparta, commanding another Lacedæmonian army, soon appeared in Attica. Defeating with ease the Thessalian horse on the frontiers of the country, he pursued his march unopposed, and laid siege to the Pelasgian fortress, within which the Athenian tyrant had taken refuge. Here, however, the prospect of success on the part of Cleomenes appeared doubtful at least. Hippias and his garrison were strongly fortified, and amply supplied with provision, whilst the besieging force were nearly destitute of every thing. It is, therefore, probable that, but for one of those accidents which sometimes decide the fate of kingdoms, Cleomenes would have been obliged to measure back his steps to Sparta with disgrace, if not overtaken by destruction; and the Athenian prince would have been reinstated on his throne. But the menace which Hippias took for his greater safety proved his total ruin. The better to secure his children, as well as to disencumber the garrison, he attempted to send them out of Attica; and they had no sooner left the fortress than they fell into the hands of the Lacedæmonians. This was a rich prize to the captors, who were well aware of the high value which the Pisistratidæ set upon their children, and demanded, as the only terms of their ransom, that Hippias, his family, and adherents, should, in five days, quit the territories of Athens. These conditions were accepted by the besieged, and at this juncture the Pisistratidæ felt the benefit of those

alliances which they had formerly contracted. The king of Macedonia offered them a refuge in his dominions; and their active allies, the Thessalians, pressed upon the exiles a like proposal. But Hippias and his family retired to the city of Sigeum, preferring that place, as more certainly devoted to their interest; for it had been first conquered by Pisistratus, and had been bequeathed by that prince to Hippias, his natural son, who still possessed it. Thus ended the sovereignty of the Pisistratidæ over Athens; the reign of Hippias, after the death of Hipparchus, continuing only three years. On the expulsion of its master, the spirit of liberty, which had been so long with difficulty repressed, diffused itself throughout Athens, exhibiting every where the most inextinguishable rancour against the fallen family, and the highest admiration of their opponents. To the slaughtered conspirators, Harmodius and Aristogiton, although their enmity to the late sovereigns was excited by personal motives, and even those by no means, perhaps, of an honourable kind, the Athenians nevertheless decreed immortal honours. They employed the most exquisite of their sculptors, Praxiteles, to erect brazen statues of these heroes in the forum; they caused verses in their praise to be sung at the sacred festivals of the Panathenæa; they forbade any slave to be called after either of their names, and they granted several immunities and honourable privileges to their descendants. But their aversion to the late dynasty carried them into still further extravagance; for although it was held indecent to erect a statue to any woman of immodest character, the figure of a lioness without a tongue was set up in a public place at Athens, with an inscription on it, in honour of Leana, the mistress of Aristogiton, and in allusion to her name as well as to her heroism in biting off her tongue when under the torture. From this time forward, not only were the Pisistratidæ universally known by the name of tyrants, but the term of monarch, or king, was always used synonymously with that of tyrant; so that the virtues of a sovereign, or even his lawful right to his power, did not shield him from the stigmatising appellation. Lastly, the bad effects of this excess was occasionally felt as long as the repulsive stood; for so jealous were the Athenians of every eminent person in the state, lest by his talents he might usurp the sovereignty, that the sentence of banishment was repeatedly pronounced against their most meritorious citizens; and on some, as in the case of Aristides, on account of their being conspicuous for their justice, and their love of the constitution itself.

Uncontrolled public liberty was now established in Athens, but internal union and peace amongst the citizens were by no means its consequences. Two different factions quickly disturbed and divided Attica; the Alcmeonidæ, a popular party led by Clisthenes, were opposed to the party of the nobles of Athens, at the head of which appeared Isagoras, the son of Tirander, a man of noble family and connections. The former leader possessing great talent, and encouraged by the lower orders of the people, succeeded in his attempts to alter many things in the form of government established by Solon. He introduced the mode of popular condemnation by ostracism, augmented the number of the tribes of the people from four to ten, and increased the senate to

Deposition of Hippias.

From A. M. 3444. — B. C. 560. to A. M. 3478. — B. C. 526.

Biography. five hundred. These measures gave an additional strength to the democratic part of the constitution, and nearly extinguished the rights of the aristocracy of Athens: Isagoras was obliged to quit the city, and to seek refuge in Sparta. The Lacedæmonians readily listened to the proposals which he made to them, for it seems to have been the policy of that people, at this time, to force an aristocracy, or even kingly form of government, upon all the states with which they were connected, from the little confidence they could place in an unsteady democracy. Isagoras too had formed a strict friendship with the Spartan king, Cleomenes, who now dispatched a herald to Athens, demanding the restoration of his friend, and the instant banishment of Clisthenes and the Alcmeonidæ; or denouncing war in case of a refusal. The unexpected compliance of the Athenians, which was occasioned by their dread of the Lacedæmonian power, now obliged Cleomenes to avow his real object to be that of establishing another form of government in Athens, to effect which he at once marched his army to the city, and banished seven hundred Athenians from Attica, besides those who had before been exiled with the Alcmeonidæ. He afterwards proceeded to invest Isagoras, with three hundred chosen senators, in the honours and authorities of the government, until these measures roused the Athenians once more to arms. Cleomenes and Isagoras, with their invading force, were now obliged, in their turn, to give way to their adversaries; and they took refuge in the citadel of Athens, where, for two days, they were closely besieged. On the third day they agreed upon conditions of surrender, which were, that all the followers of Cleomenes and Isagoras should give up the fort, renounce their pretensions to the Athenian government, and, in consequence, be permitted to retire unmolested from Attica. The Spartans now quitted the fort, and the breach of treaty which followed on the part of their antagonists, fully exemplified the truth of the principle on which those had acted who endeavoured to overturn the democracy: for the Athenians, regardless of their public faith, fell on all such of the Spartan army as they could reach, and sacrificed many to their indiscriminating fury, amongst whom Timotheus, the brother of Cleomenes himself, was a victim.

The Alcmeonidæ. The Athenian people now unrestrained in their choice of government, immediately decreed the recall of their favourites, the Alcmeonidæ, and of the seven hundred people who had been forced into banishment by the Spartans; and collected all their force, in order to meet the war which they anticipated from the resentment of Cleomenes and Isagoras. On the other side, the exiled chief and the Spartan king were not idle; they prepared the whole disposable troops of their own city, and made alliances throughout all Peloponnesus, with the intention of again invading Athens. The Boeotians, accounted the most barbarous people of Greece, engaged to enter Attica on the one side, and the Chalcidians on the other; whilst, at the same time, Cleomenes and Isagoras, with a powerful army, were to march direct through the country of Elisis. The Athenian plan of defence was to resist the main attack, led by Cleomenes, with their whole strength, and to give up all thoughts of protecting those parts of their country which lay adjacent to Boeotia and Chalcidonia. But the main army, commanded by Cleomenes, was composed of too many

nations, and influenced by too various interests to retain their energy. The Corinthian force first proved themselves cold in the general cause, and retired from Cleomenes. Next Demaratus, the son of Ariston, the other king of Sparta, who had never before acted but in unison with his colleague, retreated in disgust with the expedition, leading his army back to Sparta. By these defections, Cleomenes and Isagoras found themselves so much weakened, that they also retired, obliged thus to abandon their allies, the Boeotians and Chalcidians, to the unequal contest. An easy victory was achieved over these people, who were obliged to redeem the prisoners of their nation taken in battle from the chains of the Athenians, at the rate of two mine for each man. The Boeotians, however, again collected their forces, and forming an alliance with the people of Ægina, ravaged the sea coast of Attica, and whilst the Athenians were preparing to avenge this outrage, their whole attention was suddenly occupied by a more formidable enemy.

The various disappointments of Cleomenes, and the death of his brother, through their perfidy, served but the more to kindle his resentment against the Athenians. During his stay at Athens, in the late expedition, he had become possessed of certain oracles which predicted that *that city should in time become the rival of Sparta*. He had discovered too, at the same time, the corruption of the Delphic oracles by Clisthenes against Hippas, whom he yet esteemed the lawful king of Athens. The purport of these prophecies and discoveries he industriously circulated amongst his countrymen to excite their jealousy against the common enemy; and the effect was answerable to his wishes. Hippas, who, in the mean time, was not destitute of friends in Sparta, nor unoccupied by intrigues with that country, was now sent for, in all haste, from Sigeum, and readily obeyed the summons. On his arrival he found the Lacedæmonian kings, and the deputies of the states in alliance with them, in consultation upon the proposal of restoring him to the sovereignty of Athens; but the Corinthian ambassador, Sosicles, took so decided a part against the project as fully to persuade the other confederates of the Spartans to reject it, and thus Cleomenes and his party, finding themselves without adequate support, were obliged reluctantly to abandon the cause of Hippas, which they had so warmly advocated. The disappointed prince himself again retired to Sigeum, still occupying himself with schemes for the future, and encouraging himself with hopes of one day regaining the dominion he had lost. Meanwhile, the war between the Æginians, the confederates of the Boeotians, and the Athenians continued with varied success. Darius, the Persian king, having demanded earth and water, as tokens of submission from the different states of Greece, the Æginians alone complied with the requisition, hoping for the protection of that monarch against Athens. This submission was represented by the Athenians to the other states of Greece as a gross instance of treachery, and the Lacedæmonians sent their king, Cleomenes, to Ægina, with orders to bring back as prisoners those persons who were the principal advisers in this disgraceful measure. But a disturbance which occurred in Sparta during his absence, at the head of which was Demaratus, the other king, induced Cleomenes to

Philostatus, &c.
From A. M. 3444.
B. C. 560.
to A. M. 3478.
B. C. 526.

Defeat of Cleomenes.

Disappointment of Hippas.

Biography. return thither without having effected his object.

From A. M. 3444. — E. C. 560. to A. M. 3478. — E. C. 526. These tumults were, however, soon quelled by the de-thronement of Demaratus, and the elevation of Leotychides, the kinsman of Cleomenes, to the honour of acting as his colleague. Both the Spartan kings now marched to Ægiois, and brought away Crisus, the son of Polycrius, and two other Æginians as prisoners, whom, in pursuance of the former arrangement, they sent to Athens. Shortly after this Cleomenes died, and the Lacedæmonians, repenting of their hostile conduct to the Æginians, delivered up Leotychides, the surviving author of the measure, to that people, who only required of him to procure from the Athenians the release of Crisus and their other prisoners. Upon this office Leotychides entered with great good faith, and even energy; but the most earnest applications which he made to the Athenians were utterly unavailing, so that the war between Athens and the people of Ægiois continued unabated. An Athenian galley, which was annually sent to Delphos, lay at anchor at Sunium, where the Æginians seized it with many of the Athenian nobility on board: the Athenians, in their turn, requested their allies, the Corinthians, to furnish them with a squadron of ships now otherwise dispersed. This was at a critical moment for the Æginians: Nicodromus, an eminent man of that nation, having offered to betray his country to its enemies, and to appear in arms in their favour as soon as the Athenian fleet should appear off the coast. The treason was accepted, and the Athenians appointed a day on which they were to anchor off the Ægean shore. But the treaty with the Corinthians, whose laws forbade them to lend their ships, and who at last only evaded them by selling to their allies, the Athenians, five gallees, caused a delay in the expedition, which defeated its object; and Nicodromus, having risen in arms against his country at the appointed time, looked in vain for the promised succour, and found himself compelled to fly to Athens for refuge. No other events of this contest are recorded, for it was interrupted in its course by one of infinitely more importance, and in which all the minor dissensions of the Grecian states were necessarily forgotten.

Some time before the last-mentioned events, the Athenians had imprudently listened to the eloquence of one Aristagoras, a Milesian, who, having fled from Ionia, where he had in vain endeavoured to excite an insurrection, and having failed in his attempts to obtain the assistance of the Lacedæmonians, came, as his last resource, to Attica, soliciting help. The Athenians granted him twenty ships, and placed them under the command of Mesotheus, one of their nobles. This force, united with the followers of Aristagoras, made considerable ravages on the surrounding country, and, amongst other places, took and sacked the town of Sardis. These outrages on the Ionian territories, then under the dominion of Persia, particularly the pillage of Sardis, much incensed Darius, the Persian monarch, against the Athenians, and hastened the war with Persia against Athens; this in turn producing that tremendous conflict of the Persian monarch with all the states of Greece which so long agitated that part of the world, and ended in nearly destroying the Persian power. But these were not the only excitements to the war with Persia. The exiled Hippias, al-

though little personally concerned in these affairs, had yet unceasingly viewed Athens with a watchful eye, and endeavoured at this juncture to heighten the displeasure of Darius by every possible means; hoping, in a favourable moment, to recover, by the force of the Persian arms, his former authority in Athens. He had now attained to an advanced age, but the recollections of his youthful days, passed in the bewitching pomp of power, had not forsaken him. After his return from Lacedæmon, in consequence of his disappointment from the rejected projects of Cleomenes in his favour, he applied to Artaphernes, the Persian governor of the adjacent provinces, and endeavoured to provoke him to make war upon Attica. In order to influence this minister still further in his favour, he distinctly promised, that should he be reinstated on the throne of Athens by the means of Persia, he would hold his kingdom subservient to the power of Darius, and be ever ready to second the designs of "the great king." To these overtures of Hippias, the Persians lent a favourable ear, although the Athenians, aware of the intrigues of their late usurper, immediately despatched ambassadors to Artaphernes, entreating him to beware of the proposals of an exiled tyrant, and to suffer the Athenian people to remain at peace. The Persian officer, conceiving that more reliance might be placed on the friendship of a monarch than on a fierce but unstable democracy, answered, in haughty terms, "that if the Athenians would have peace with the great king, they must consent to receive Hippias as their sovereign." This reply irritated the Athenians to open expressions of hostility, and, with a view of engrossing the attention of Darius to enemies nearer home, they immediately resolved to render every assistance in their power to the revolted Ionians under Aristagoras, as before related; and thus, through various co-operating causes, the pretensions and the intrigues of Hippias produced the Ionian, and that again the great Persian war with Athens and the other states of Greece.

The first attempt of the Persian monarch against Greece was made by a force under the command of Mardonius; but the fleet in which it sailed was dispersed and disabled by a storm as it doubled the promontory of Attos; while the Athenians obtained a salutary respite from a conflict for which, at that time, they were ill prepared. Another and a more considerable army soon appeared under the command of Datis and Artaphernes the younger, the son of the governor of that name. These commanders, learning caution from the misfortunes of the former general, Mardonius, led their troops by land through the plains of Cilicia, and, passing thence by the Cyclades to Eubœa, appeared in full and undiminished force before the city of Eretria. As the commission of the Persian commanders was utterly to destroy the cities of Eretria and Athens, and bring away the inhabitants of both places as slaves to the Persian king, the Athenians hoped that their own cause and that of the Eretrians would have been considered but one, and that their utmost and joint efforts would have been exerted against the invaders. Under these impressions, they, without hesitation, ordered a body of 4,000 men, which had been left in the Chalcidian territories, to march to the aid of their besieged allies; but at this crisis of affairs, the unsteady

Pisistratus, &c.

From A. M. 3444. — E. C. 560. to A. M. 3478. — E. C. 526.

Policy of Hippias.

Biography. nature of its government, proved at once fatal to the city of Eretria itself, and highly dangerous to the other states of Greece. The people of that city were dissuaded in their sentiments respecting the Persian king. One party amongst the besieged advised the abandonment of the city, and the inhabitants to retire to the mountains for their defence; another advocated its surrender, unconditionally, to the Persian force; while a third, though by far the smallest party, were for admitting the Athenian succours within their walls, and resisting the Persians to the utmost. During the confusion produced by these disputes, one Nothon, the son of Eschines, generously and wisely informed the Athenian army of the internal intrigues and disturbances at Eretria, and urged them to return for the protection of their own country, as the preservation of his was hopeless. It was, probably, in consequence of the adoption of this measure that the Athenians escaped the destruction which soon overtook their dastardly and perfidious allies. The Athenian army retreated to Oropus, a town of Boeotia, near the borders of Attica; and Eretria, betrayed by its own citizens, was sacked and burnt to the ground by the Persians.

The Persian victory. The victorious forces of Darius now continued their march into Greece unopposed. The exiled Hippias was their guide and encourager; actuated at once by the hopes of regaining his former power, and by the prospect of being revenged on the revolted Athenians. By his advice the invading army encamped on the extensive plains of Marathon, with a view of offering battle to the Grecians on a spot where the Persian light troops and their numerous bodies of horse might act with advantage. This choice of their ground they carried into effect unmolested—the result forms one of the proudest tales of Grecian story.

Although the news of the destruction of Eretria had spread considerable alarm throughout Greece, the Persian army was, nevertheless, permitted to advance into the country unopposed, and with the avowed object of enslaving those whom it should conquer. The Athenians, of all others, had most cause of dread from the resentment of Darius; and as his troops penetrated into the interior, all disturbances amongst themselves were quelled, and no effort was left untried to raise a force capable of repelling them. They sent deputies to the different states of Greece around, but with little success. To the Lacedæmonians they dispatched Pheidippides, an especial messenger, who, in two days, performed the journey from Athens to Sparta, a distance of one hundred and fifty miles. He addressed the Spartans in an energetic speech, recapitulating the successful events which had attended the march of the invaders, and strongly representing their common danger. The Spartans appeared to be roused, and prepared to march to the assistance of that state which they had heretofore considered as their rival; but whether from any latent jealousy, or really for the reason assigned, they delayed their expedition for five days, in allured veneration of a law, which forbade them to march but on the full of the moon; and thus bore no part in the ensuing conflict. The journey of Pheidippides is remarkable not only for its celerity, but for one of those events which, in the prolific ages of superposition, the ready credulity of man has so often created,

or his ingenuity invented and applied as auspicious to his hopes. The courier affirmed that, as he ran by mount Parnithen, in Arcadia, he heard his name loudly repeated by an unknown voice; and, upon directing his eyes to the place whence it came, he was favoured with a vision of the god Pan. The deity complained to Pheidippides of the neglect with which the Athenians treated his solemnities; but assured him of his divine protection in their future plans, if this friendly admonition were duly respected. The Athenians regarded this circumstance as a most auspicious omen; it encouraged their hopes, and redoubled their efforts for success. They were, nevertheless, left nearly alone in the contest, for the glory of the field of Marathon was wholly divided between themselves and the Plataeans, their ancient and faithful allies, who, in gratitude for former protection, added a body of 1,000 men to the army. Their united strength consisted only of 10,000 men. On the other side, some have reckoned the invading army at 600,000 men, and the least computation is that of 100,000, still decuple the number of the little opposing band of patriots.

The organization of the allied Grecian army appears to have been dictated by the same jealousy of absolute power which breathed in the constitution of their republics. The supreme command was distributed amongst ten officers, each of equal rank, and each of whom commanded the army for a single day; whilst, at the same time, one of their highest civil magistrates, an archon, accompanied them, and decided all differences which might occur, under the title and authority of a polemarch. It was fortunate for Athens that, at this important juncture, she had entrusted her defence to men not only of superior talent, but of unimpeachable honesty. Callimachus of Aphidia was the polemarch; and MILTIAGES, ARIANTIDES, and THEMISTOCLES, names renowned in history, were amongst the commanders. A difference of opinion arose, as might have been expected, amongst the generals. On one side a defensive warfare was recommended: it was urged that, in the smallness and disproportion of their force, it were little less than desperation to attack in the open field the overwhelming army opposed to them; that if the fastnesses of their country were defended as the invaders advanced, the Greeks would combat to advantage from a superior knowledge of the country; their invaders would waste their strength by degrees, and, at all events, time would be given to collect the Spartan, and other states of Greece, who might yet be expected to assist the general cause. On the contrary; Miltiades, in his speech to the polemarch, eloquently enforced the arguments of those who recommended immediate battle: "You alone, O Callimachus," exclaimed this zealous chieftain, "must now determine either to see the Athenians reduced to the condition of slaves, or, by preserving the liberty of your country, raise an eternal monument to your own fame, surpassing the glory even of Harmodius and Aristogiton. Never were the Athenians, your countrymen, in so imminent a danger of destruction from the time when they first began to be reckoned as a people. If they fall under the power of the Medes and Persians, what direful usage may not they anticipate from the tyrant Hippias, the conductor of their enemy? but if, thus almost unassisted, they conquer,

Illustrations.
From
A. M.
3444.
B. C.
560.
to
A. M.
3478.
B. C.
526.
Enslavement of Pheidippides.

Biography. Athens shall reap the principal glory, and she will become the chief city of Greece. To convince you at once of the means whereby either of these things may be effected, and from what cause the fate of Athens is now in your hands, observe that we are at this very instant divided in opinion respecting an immediate battle. If we decline a battle, I foresee some great dissension will shake the fidelity of the army, and induce them to a compliance with the Persian commands; but if we fight before the corrupting gold of the Persian tyrant steals into the hearts of our soldiers, from the favour of the gods and the justice of our cause, we may confidently anticipate a victory. The event is in your choice, and entirely depends upon your decision. Support my opinion with your power and influence; you will see your country free, and Athens elevated to the most illustrious place in Greece; but if you join with those who would dissuade you from a battle, you can expect no other consequences than the very contrary to these hopes."

This eloquent appeal to his patriotism decided the polemarch, Callimachus, who instantly pronounced in favour of an immediate battle; where Aristides, fearing the weakness of a divided command, was the first who resigned his authority to Miltiades; the other generals instantly followed his example. Miltiades himself, although he nominally accepted their offers, wisely declined to engage until the return of his regular day of command; fearful that some latent sparks of jealousy or envy might yet retard the general operations on so important an occasion.

The day at length arrived on which the fate of Athens was to be decided. Miltiades had well considered the kind of enemy with whom he had to contend. To the Persian cavalry, the javelin-men, and the light-armed archers, famed for the rapidity of their attack and the celerity of their retreat, he was careful to oppose every possible obstacle. He had drawn the armies to the most confined place of combat, on the vast Marathonian plain. A morass skirted the ground on the one side, and a mountain on the other. To add to these natural obstacles, large trees had been felled and thrown across the roads, and trenches cut in every direction; obstructions which, while they were well calculated to distress the movements of the enemy, were easily surmounted by the steadiness and strength of the Grecian phalanx. Considerable difficulties, however, were yet to be overcome. The long line of the Persian army was to have some opposing force presented to it in its whole extent; for although the two wings of the Grecians were rendered formidable by the heavy phalanx, and thus fronted the Persian wings in no unequal strength, the centre of their adversaries was left unopposed, except by the Athenian light troops, joined by a number of slaves who had been hastily armed for the purpose, and on whose strength and fidelity Miltiades could scarcely rely. The Grecian general was thus reduced to the dilemma either of leaving the Persian centre totally unresisted, or of opposing to it his weakest and most inefficient troops. As the least of the two evils he chose the latter, and the event was answerable to his expectations. The two wings of the Athenian army advanced slowly but firmly to the attack. To the missile weapons of the Persians they returned not a single dart, but pressed onward in one

heavy and compact body. Availing themselves now of their weapons for close attack, they soon obliged the Persians on the right and left to abandon the field, and seek for shelter in their ships; many of which even were destroyed by the Greeks. But though the greater part of the Persians were thus routed and dispersed, much was yet to be achieved to make the victory complete. The centre of the Greeks had given way to their adversaries, and a large body of the Persians yet remained on the field, not only unconquered, but in their turn victorious. As he had foreseen, so Miltiades had prepared for this event. The Grecian wings now closed, by a skilful evolution from both sides of the field, upon the remaining body of the Persians, whom, after a desperate conflict, they utterly annihilated. Thus was this great battle won, by a mere handful of men animated with the hopes and the consciousness of fighting for liberty, against an immense multitude of mercenary troops, scarcely any of whom possessed the least degree of self-interest in the combat beyond their common thirst for plunder. Indeed the pillage which the Persians had already been loaded from the conquest of Eretria, appears to have been no light cause of their easy defeat; for when they were more seriously opposed by the Greek phalanx than they expected to have been, many of them immediately gave up all thoughts of further conquest, and retreated at once to their ships, to secure their ill-gotten treasure.

But although the Persians had thus lost the field of Marathon, those who escaped in the ships were in sufficient force to have taken and plundered the unprotected city of Athens. With this intention, and invited, as some represent, by the faction of the Alcmeonids, their fleet now doubled the cape of Sunium, and sailed towards the city. Miltiades, however, no less vigilant than valiant, apprehending their design, left his colleague Aristides with 1,000 men, to guard the prisoners at Marathon, and, with the other part of the allied forces, hastening homewards, appeared before the gates of the temple of Hercules at Cynosarges, very near to Athens, some time before the Persian fleet could by any possibility reach the Attic shore. Thus disappointed in their ultimate project, the Persians, with the shattered remains of their army, sailed direct for Asia, closing the first unfortunate attempt of the "great king" upon the liberty of the states of Greece.

The number of the slain in this battle does not appear at all proportionate to that of the force engaged. On the side of the Persians we read of 6,300 having fallen, and of the Athenians and Plataeans only one hundred and ninety-two. The importance of the battle consisted, not in the direct defeat alone of the invaders, in the amount of their loss, or the deliverance of the allies from their immediate danger; but was rather found, in convincing the Athenians of their strength, untried before to any such extent. It was the commencement of that bright career of glory in which Athens afterwards shone so conspicuous amongst the Grecian states, and which excited, and must ever excite, the astonishment of mankind. Two of the Athenian commanders were slain; Callimachus, the polemarch, fell, after having displayed all the skill and valour required from his exalted rank; and Stasieus, the son of Tharsylus, one of the ten co-generals of the army. Some other

Biography.

Athenians likewise greatly distinguished themselves in the battle. Cynegetus, the son of Euphorion, having pursued the Persians to their ships, seized on one of them, in which the enemy were about to sail, with both his hands, which were immediately struck off by the blow of an axe, and he gave up his hold only with his life. Others relate this story more marvellously: they say that this Cynegetus having performed extraordinary feats of valour in the battle, pursued the flying enemy to the shore, and seized on a ship which was ready to sail, with his right hand; that this being instantly hewed off, he detained the vessel for some time with his left hand; and being at last deprived of both, he made use of his teeth to keep his hold, until he sunk, covered with wounds, by mere exhaustion.

The Athenians (besides this fame, their immediate deliverance, and the excitement of their valour) pursued

another important advantage from their victory; for, on the field of Marathon, the hopes, and the very family of their abhorred tyrants, the Pisistratides, were utterly extinguished. At Marathon the exiled Hippias, the last of his family, the instigator and conductor, if not the first and immediate cause of the invasion, fell; and with him fell the fears of the Athenian people, ever alive to his threatened tyranny. After this battle, too, gained by Athens almost unsupported, that city was regarded amongst the states of Greece, as equal, if not superior, in patriotism, valour, and general importance even to Sparta herself; and although we have no particular instances recorded of the behaviour of the Plataeans, yet the Athenians were so well satisfied with their brave and faithful allies, that a decree was immediately passed, making that people free of the city of Athens.

Pisistratus, &c.

From
A. M.
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—
B. C.
560.
—
to
A. M.
3478.
—
B. C.
526.

Æ S O P.

FLOURISHED ABOUT A. M. 3444. B. C. 560.

Biography.

THE use of allegory or fable, as a means of instruction, appears to have been one of the earliest dictates of enlightened reason; and has been resorted to in a greater or less degree, by the moralists and philosophers of all ages and countries. Hence it is, that throughout the classical historians, we meet so often with the name of Æsop, perpetuated for no other reason than that he was the most famous of ancient fabulists; or, as some writers have alleged, the very inventor of this mode of instruction. His life is totally unconnected with any public events of importance; his family were utterly obscure; no kingdoms were conquered by him, or settled in legislation; on the contrary, human nature appears in complete degradation in his person and circumstances: is condition a slave, and deformed, it is said, in person, even to the excitement of disgust in those who beheld him, he yet sustains a high rank amongst the sages of ancient times, and certainly more for his method of teaching than for any thing extraordinary which he communicates. Indeed, what were his particular sentiments as a philosopher, can now be very faintly traced; his fables, in which all his precepts appear to have been covered, are considerably mutilated; and the majority of those which bear his name, are the fabrication of a later period. In those which can with any degree of certainty be traced to Æsop as their author, his exact meaning is not always obvious; and the occasion of their composition, which must have given a much greater propriety to their application, is, for the most part, unknown. The celebrity of Æsop is, perhaps, still more remarkable, as it appears to have been originally unconnected with any recommendation from the form of his compositions, or the mode of publishing them: they were not adorned by the graces of poetry, nor do they appear to have been delivered with eloquence. Their novelty, their liveliness, and their strict analogy to real life, appear to have been their only attraction; features of the genuine fable which, under

every form of its development, are a tribute to the imperishable charms of truth.

Several countries dispute the honour of giving birth to Æsop; he is sometimes called a Thracian, and by other writers a Samian; but the more commonly received opinion is, that he was born in the town of Ammonia, in the Greater Phrygia. Perhaps those indications of the uncertainty, serve only to prove the meanness, of his origin: if the names of his parents we hear nothing. His person, as we have already noticed, was deformed in the highest degree; an immense protuberance of the back threw his head forward, and appears from early life to have utterly stopped his growth: his complexion is said to have been swarthy; and hence some writers have supposed the name of Æsop to be a corruption of Æthiop. In addition to these disadvantages, he had so serious an imperfection in his speech, that for a considerable period of his life he was unable to articulate any sounds distinctly. Cæsararius, a learned German critic, to whose researches we shall be much indebted in this paper, mentions a tradition, to which, however, he refuses credit, that Æsop had the good fortune in his youth to relieve certain travelling priests of his country who were exhausted with hunger and had lost their way; when, in requital of his kind offices, by virtue of their prayers to the gods, they first brought him to the use of his tongue. This is all we hear of his early life. And we next meet with him at the period of his being offered as a slave to his third master, Xanthus (or, as Herodotus calls him, Jadmon), of the island of Samos. He was carried by a factor to Ephesus, together with some other slaves, for the chance of sale, or on business for his master. As our future sage was feeble in his body, his companions allowed him his choice as to which of their different packages he would undertake to carry, and he, to their astonishment, selected the largest and

Æsop.

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—
B. C.
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Uncertainty
of his
country.

Person and
complexion.

Slave of
Xanthus.

Biography.

A. M.
3444.
Æ. C.
560.

hewiest, containing the provisions of the party; an instance of what they deemed his folly, which excited no little merriment. In the morning Æsop bore their ridicule and his own burden with patience. At noon, however, the basket of provender was considerably lightened, by the hearty meal which the slaves then made, and Æsop was, of course, considerably relieved from the weight of his charge. In a few hours more, another meal completely consumed the food, and left the provident weakling entirely at his ease for the remainder of the journey. Upon his arrival at Ephesus with his slaves, the merchant soon disposed of them all by private bargain, excepting three, stated to have been a musician, an orator, and one poor neglected fabulist, of no apparent accomplishments, and of no profession. These he took to the open market, as the only place in which he was likely to dispose of them; the two former accounted with the implements of their profession, and the latter making little better appearance than that of a deformed idiot; when Xanthus, a Samian philosopher, entering the area, was attracted by the appearance of Æsop's companions, and inquired of the merchant his price for them. Objecting to this as exorbitant, the philosopher was on the point of quitting the market, when some of the pupils, by whom he was attended, pointed out Æsop to his notice. At their solicitation, and jocularly, more than with any serious intention, he put the accustomed question to the despised captive, of "What he could do?" "Nothing at all," replied Æsop; "for I have just overheard my companions answer your question, by affirming that they could do every thing; therefore there is nothing left for me to do." Xanthus, delighted with this answer, now entered into conversation with this unattractive wit, and became fully sensible of his superior powers. In answer to a question respecting the deformity of his person, Æsop boldly remarked, "that a philosopher like Xanthus should appreciate a man according to the vigour of his mind, and not to the appearance of his body;" an observation upon which that philosopher immediately neded. The factor being asked the price of his deformed slave, declared, that could he obtain from the purchaser a proper sum for the other two, he would cheerfully part with Æsop for nothing. This offer was accepted; Xanthus at once paid the price to which he had first objected for the musician and the orator, and returned home with all three of the slaves. Æsop here found his master in more hopeless bondage than himself, to a wife of a most furious and jealous temper. On his first appearance amongst the domestics, as her husband's slave, she asked, in scorn, of Xanthus, "whether it were a beast or a man that he had now brought home?" when Æsop, unable to repress a similar disposition, is said to have exclaimed, "From the mercies of fire, water, and a wicked woman, great gods deliver us!" This of course evoked the vehement temper of his mistress, and Æsop, with difficulty, brought himself through this awkward reception, by pretending that he only recited some lines of the poet Euripides, and observing, how practicable it was for her whom he addressed to make herself "as glorious in the rank of good women." This story, however, cannot be correct in its entire details, for the murder of Æsop, in Delphos, occurred at least eighty years before the Greek tragedian was born. It is stated,

however, that the aptness of Æsop's reply on this occasion conciliated the frown of the incensed lady.

Æsop had not been long in the service of the Samian philosopher, when the latter took his newly-acquired slave to a gardener for the purpose of purchasing some herbs; the agriculturalist, observing Xanthus in the habit of a philosopher, inquired the reason why those plants which grew of themselves, and without any artificial aid, should come up so fast and thrive so well, whilst others, though never so carefully cultivated, could scarcely be preserved from perishing. "Now," continued the gardener, "you who are a philosopher, pray disclose to me the meaning of this." Xanthus was, however, utterly at a loss for a satisfactory answer, and was obliged to content himself with saying, "That so Providence had ordered it to be." Here Æsop interferred; and, after a sarcasm upon the imperfection of the school of philosophy in which Xanthus was bred, requested to be permitted to give the solution. "For what," said the slave, "signifies a general answer to a general question, but an acknowledgment of complete ignorance on the subject proposed?" To this Xanthus readily consented, observing to the gardener, that it was beneath the dignity of a philosopher to answer minutely such a trivial question. "The earth, then," said Æsop, "may be considered as in the nature of a real mother to that which she brings forth out of her own bowels; but she is only a step-dame in the production of those plants that are cultivated and assisted, nay, sometimes even forced under her care, by means of the sheer industry of another. It is natural for her to withdraw her nourishment from the one, and to lavish her powers upon the other kind of plants." This solution of the gardener's question is said to have so delighted him, that he not only refused to take money for the herbs that had been bought, but welcomed Æsop to the produce of his garden in future.

Æsop had to bear with all the oppressions of slavery; and many anecdotes, of dubious authority, are told of this part of his life. He is said to have interpreted his obscure inscription, which had utterly foiled his master; and, emboldened by his success, to have demanded of him what reward he would offer, if he were to point out to him a considerable hidden treasure? "One half of it, and your liberty," said Xanthus. Possessed of the property, however, the faithless Samian conveniently forgot the conditions upon which he acquired it, and returned to the defenceless Æsop menaces and blows; though he is said to have been fearful lest he should betray the matter to King Dionysius, who was entitled to the advantage of the discovery. On another occasion, the wife of Xanthus having eloped from her husband, notwithstanding the acerbity of her disposition, he was desirous of recalling her, and Æsop undertook the task of fulfilling his wishes. He prepared a plentiful feast, and gave it publicly abroad, that his master's first wife having separated from him, this entertainment was prepared for a second marriage. The effect was as he had imagined, the lady immediately ordered her chariot to be prepared, and returned to the house of her husband. At another time Xanthus, in a moment of inebriety, had made a considerable wager that "he would drink the sea dry," and, on becoming sober, applied to Æsop to extricate him from the difficulty into which he had involved himself. "Sir,"

Æsop.
A. M.
3444.
Æ. C.
560.

Anecdotes.

On his first appearance amongst the domestics, as her husband's slave, she asked, in scorn, of Xanthus, "whether it were a beast or a man that he had now brought home?" when Æsop, unable to repress a similar disposition, is said to have exclaimed, "From the mercies of fire, water, and a wicked woman, great gods deliver us!" This of course evoked the vehement temper of his mistress, and Æsop, with difficulty, brought himself through this awkward reception, by pretending that he only recited some lines of the poet Euripides, and observing, how practicable it was for her whom he addressed to make herself "as glorious in the rank of good women." This story, however, cannot be correct in its entire details, for the murder of Æsop, in Delphos, occurred at least eighty years before the Greek tragedian was born. It is stated,

Æsop's Biography. said the slave, "be careful of Bacchus, it is the humour of this god first to make men cheerful, then to make them drunk, and lastly to make them mad." He exhorted him, however, to take courage, and pursue his advice. Xanthus, accordingly, appeared next day on the sea shore, attended by the man with whom he had made the ridiculous agreement; "And now," said he, "am I ready to drink the sea dry, but it is you who must first stop all the rivers which run into it."

Æsop's Lib-
eration.

A circumstance, however, at last occurred, which not only liberated *Æsop* from his undeserved degradation, but so attracted the attention of the Samians as to elevate him highly in the public esteem. He appears, in this instance, to have been a little more wary in his communications for the benefit of others, and determined to assert that station in society for which his acute and comprehensive mind so admirably qualified him. In common with all the surrounding states in this semi-barbarous age, these people were strongly addicted to the practice of augury. On a day of peculiar solemnity amongst them, an eagle had snatched away a ring upon which the arms of the town was engraven, and, after having carried it to a considerable distance, dropped it at last into the bosom of a slave. To explain this mysterious omen the philosophers of Samos were consulted, and, amongst others, Xanthus, the master of *Æsop*, who immediately applied to him for assistance. When all the sages of the island had been completely perplexed, Xanthus arose, at the instigation of *Æsop*, in an assembly of his countrymen, confessing his ignorance, and recommending them to his long-trying slave, as a man peculiarly gifted by the gods with wisdom, for a solution of the augury. *Æsop* was accordingly summoned to the assembly, but declined to enter upon the subject. He alleged the unworthiness of his condition, and the serious effects of his master's permanent displeasure against him, should the interpretation of the augury interfere with any of his designs. This objection was of course overruled, by his immediate manumission through the interference of the assembly, on which he is reported to have addressed them as follows: "The eagle," said *Æsop*, "is a royal bird, and signifies a great king; the dropping of your signet into the bosom of a slave, or one who has no power over himself, denotes the loss of your liberties: if you are not particularly vigilant in the conducting your affairs, this omen will but too shortly be realized." The event was answerable to *Æsop's* solution of the augury: for shortly after, Cræsus, king of Lydia, commissioned ambassadors to demand a tribute, as a token of submission to him, from the Samians; and the successful interpreter of the oracle was called to the debate, which such a demand naturally produced. "The path of liberty," observed the now honoured sage, "is narrow and rugged at the entrance; but the further you advance on it the plainer and the smoother it shall be found." This noble sentiment decided the Samians: a defiance was pronounced against the Lydian monarch, and his embassy dismissed with contempt. When Cræsus learnt these circumstances, and that one man, recently a slave, had, by a few words only, induced the boldness of this measure, he sent to the Samians, offering them peace and independence, on condition of their delivering up *Æsop*, the instigator to the threatened war. To this the sage himself offered his instant acquiescence,

And ho-
mours.

but first admonished the Samians on the improvidence of purchasing peace by sending away those counsellors in whom consisted their chief defence; and on this, it is said, he first introduced the well-known fable of the Wolves and the Sheep who gave up their only defenders, the Dogs. This apology, so well applied, determined the people again to resist the demands of Cræsus; a tribute of regard for *Æsop* which emboldened him to a patriotic step for the future stability of their state, which is not exceeded in personal courage or address in all history. He suddenly departed from Samos, and presented himself at the Lydian camp. "I come not here, great king," said he to Cræsus, "in the condition of a man abandoned or given up by his country, but of my own will appear before you, with this only request, that you will vouchsafe me the honour of your royal ear before you condemn me." He then addressed the monarch in the elegant fable of the Captive Grasshopper, who begged for life upon this simple plea: "that all her business was her song, and that her death could bring no possible advantage to her possessor." The generous monarch felt the force of the appeal, and not only pardoned the petitioner, but desired him to ask any further favour within his wishes. *Æsop* was not forgetful of those who had been his deliverers from slavery, and might almost be called his countrymen; he implored the king's goodwill toward the Samians, and obtained them a grant of permanent peace and favour under the royal signet. *Æsop* hastened to Samos with the welcome news, and a statue was decreed to his honour in return for his important services. He then returned to the court of Lydia, and entered upon a still more extensive career of fame; he became a public counsellor of the state, and the distinguished and permanent favourite of Cræsus; under whose patronage, and for whose instruction and amusement, he composed many of those apologies that have been handed down, under his name, from age to age, and through the languages of all civilized countries, to the present day.

Æsop now, easy in his circumstances, thirsted for new opportunities of observation, and obtained leave to travel. His ultimate and principal object was to visit the famous city of Babylon, then in its meridian splendour, and to the king of which he had procured a recommendation from Cræsus, who was in alliance with him. In the way to Babylon, *Æsop* traversed the rising states of Greece, and called forth the admiration of several of the cities where he abode. At the villa of Periander, near Corinth, he met the Seven Sages, whose fame was at that time at its zenith, and contended with them on the question of the best form of government, *Æsop* alone preferring a monarchy to that of any other. With Solon he appears to have been previously acquainted, upon the visit of that legislator to the court of Cræsus, when he is said to have advised him (on his being neglected at court) "to make his visits to kings as pleasant, or as seldom as possible," to which the more rigid Grecian philosopher replied, "or, rather as seldom, or as profitable as possible." When he visited Athens, then under the dominion of Pisistratus, he admonished the discontented citizens that they should rather bear the slight evils of which they complained, than seek an unknown and perhaps an intolerable change; and on this occasion was it that he related the famous tale of the *Frog*

Æsop's
A. M.
3434.
—
A. C.
570.

Success at
the Lydian
camp.

In favour
with Cræ-
sus.

His travels.

Biography.

A. M.
3434.B. C.
570.Suffered at
Babylon.

wasting a King, and who, discontented with their harmless log-sovereign, were punished by Jupiter for their oscillatory disposition by the tyranny of the direful stork.

Æsop at last reached the dominions of Labynetus, king of Babylon, where his talent at solving enigmas and auguries produced him ample rewards and reputation. Secure of a comfortable subsistence, he next sought for an equivalent to the natural affections of life, by the substitution of an artificial connection, not uncommon in those days. He adopted as his son and heir a promising youth of the name of Ennus, who appears, however, to have treated him with peculiar ingratitude. Ennus forged his adopted father's name and seal to a paper containing the plan of a plot against the king of Babylon, who, giving way instantly to his rage, and not imagining the falsehood of the accuser, immediately ordered the execution of Æsop. From death, however, the sage was rescued by some noble friends, who yet were obliged to conceal him from the public vengeance by a close confinement. Labynetus soon had reason to repent his rashness in depriving himself of so useful a counsellor, without having given him the chance of acquittal by a hearing: for Amasis, king of Egypt, having sent to Babylon requesting to be supplied with an architect "who could build a tower which should hang in the air, and with a philosopher who could resolve all difficult questions" (this kind of practice forming at that time one of the principal amusements of a court), Labynetus was immediately reminded of the qualifications of Æsop, whom he esteemed capable of performing all the wishes of his Egyptian ally. On expressing sorrow for his unknown fate, the friends of the sage produced him to the joyful and repentant monarch in the rags and squalid appearance of a prison, and Æsop quickly cleared himself from all suspicion of guilt. Labynetus, in just revenge, would now have sacrificed his treacherous accuser, but Æsop procured his pardon, and even again restored him to his own wonted favour. Æsop then departed for Egypt with the ambassadors of Amasis; but although he seems ready to have undertaken the obscure offices required, in which way he performed them we are not told; he appears to have soon returned to Babylon, where he was much occupied in the education of Ennus. Amongst his precepts we find the following fragments of no common mind: "Worship God, my son!" said he, "with care, with reverence, and with a sincerity of heart, void of all hypocrisy or ostentation; for know that he is omnipotent as he is true. Have a care even of your most private actions and thoughts; for God always sees you, and against you your conscience is always ready to bear witness. Prudence, as well as nature dictates, that while you do all the good in your power to all persons whatever, you should pay the same honour to your parents which you expect your children should pay to you; and prefer your relations before strangers in the exercise of your good offices. Nevertheless, where you cannot be beneficial be not ruinous to any one. Words signify actions and thoughts; there must be no impurity in either. Be careful of children or impotent affections; but follow the dictates of your reason, and you are safe. Be still assiduous to learn, as long as any thing is left unknown to you; and value wisdom before money. The human mind requires cultivation as do

the plants of the field; the improvement of our reason assimilates us to angels; the neglect of it changes us into beasts. Wisdom and virtue are the only permanent and inviolable good; but the study of these, without the practice, is nothing. Think not, however, that asperity of aspect necessarily designates wisdom; for wisdom makes us serious, but not severe. It is one degree of virtue not to be vicious. Keep thy faith with all men; and avoid a lie to man, for that is an offence to God. Measure your words; for great talkers have no respect for either honesty or truth. Frequent the society of good men, for the sake of their manners, as well as their virtues. Be careful of the worldly maxim that there is sometimes good in evil; for profitable knavery and starving honesty is a mistake; virtue and justice are ever eventually productive of good and profit. Admit not that restless passion, curiosity for the affairs of others, but attend to your own business. Speak ill of no one; and no more indulge in the hearing of calumnies than be the instrument of reporting them; for those who love the one, commonly practise the other. Intend honestly, and leave the event to God. Despair not in adversity, and exult not in prosperity, for every thing is changeable. There are three things of which you will never repent—being early and industrious at your business; learning good things; and obliging good men. Remember that is done best which is done in season; watch therefore for opportunities of doing good. Love and honour kings, princes, and magistrates; for they who punish the guilty and protect the innocent form the hand which holds society together." Such are the lessons of morality and wisdom which are attributed to Æsop in his adopted character as a parent; but the object of his anxious cares appears to have ill requited them: his life was a scene of rebellion and debauchery, although he is said to have been at last a penitent, and to have died in all the bitterness of remorse for his ingratitude to Æsop.

In well-earned prosperity, a favourite with the monarch, and loved and respected by his private connections, Æsop now appears to have passed many years at Babylon; and when he at last obtained a forced permission to revisit Greece, it was only on the express condition of an early return to that city. As he again passed through the various cities of the peninsula, he resumed his former habit of delivering his sentiments by way of fable, until he is said to have been barbarously assassinated by the inhabitants of Delphi.

The object of the Phrygian sage in visiting this city in his last journey is related differently by different historians. Some have stated, that, satisfied with his travels, he arrived at length at the court of his first patron and protector, Cræsus, intending to make Lydia his future home; and that when resettled there, and under the accustomed favour of the king, he was deputed by him to consult the oracle at Delphi on some important occasion, a circumstance according with the well-known fact of the unusual partiality and liberality of Cræsus to this famous oracle. Others report, that his own curiosity and thirst for general knowledge led our fabulist thither, and a desire to consult the oracle on some personal affairs. But, whatever were his objects, his disappointment at the barbarous manners of the people, and at the

Æsop.

A. M.
3434.B. C.
570.

His precepts.

Last journey to Greece.

Biography.

A. M.
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B. C.
570.

oracle itself; his consequent sarcasms, and his death, are uniformly related. On his arrival at Delphi, then a place held sacred throughout Greece, he found the inhabitants, whom he had expected to see deserving of the reputation they had acquired for pride, wisdom, and learning, deeply immersed in pride, avarice, and barbarism. Unfortunately for himself, he did not conceal his sentiments concerning them, but allowed his contempt and aversion to become publicly apparent, although clothed in his usual allegory. "I find," said he, "the curiosity that brought me hither to be exactly similar to the expectation of those who, whilst standing on the shore, see something at a distance which the wind and the waves are floating towards them; they imagine it to be of considerable bulk or value; but upon its approaching nearer, they discover it at last to be nothing more than a heap of floating sticks, weeds, and rubbish." This censure, it should seem, was levelled not at the lower class of the Delphian people only, but likewise at the magistracy, and perhaps at the juggles of the famous oracle itself; the cheats and extortions attendant upon which, cannot be supposed altogether to have escaped the penetrating intellect of *Æsop*.

Jealous of their reputation, and well knowing the credit with which the fabulist was received by princes and states of the first importance, and those by whom the Delphian oracle was, until then, highly revered, the magistracy of the city, and perhaps the priests of the temple, resolved to silence the censures of *Æsop*, by depriving him of life. It was necessary, however, that he should appear to the public eye to deserve the ignominious death they meant to inflict on him, and the philosophic traveller had already quitted Delphi to depart, when he was seized only a few miles from the town, on a charge of sacrilege. *Æsop* at first ridiculed the accusation, but the conspirators had laid their plot too sure. They had secreted amongst his baggage, for no benevolent design, a golden cup which belonged to the temple, and there, on inspection, it was found. This apparent proof of *Æsop*'s guilt was not exhibited to the people in vain; they were much enraged; and the court at which he was afterwards regularly tried, condemned him to be thrown headlong from a rock. *Æsop*, to whom kings, states, and cities of the greatest celebrity had listened with admiration, could now with considerable difficulty obtain a hearing for the few words in which he endeavoured to expose the artifice under which his character was for the first time impeached. But in vain: he was hurried to execution. On the road, however, he is said to have succeeded in diverting their attention for awhile from its immediate object; and, evading those who held him, to have escaped to a neighbouring altar. From hence, however, he was dragged, with the remark, that those who robbed their sanctuaries were not entitled to protection from them;

when he made another and final attempt to move their compassion or awaken their justice, in the fable of the Eagle, the Hare, and the Beetle; and to prove to them that injustice always meets with its due punishment, though practised by the strong upon the weakest of creatures. "Not are you," continued the unhappy sage, "to flatter yourselves that the propitiators of the holy altars, and the oppressors of the guiltless, can ever ultimately avoid the vengeance of the gods." All this served but the more to enrage his already exasperated judges, and the furious and unthinking multitude. They dragged him forward to the fatal spot, and the last words he uttered were characteristic of his history. He likened his miserable lot to that of an old man who had fallen into a pit, together with some asses; both he and the beasts having been beaten out of their road by the violence of a tempest, the animals, when they found themselves precipitated into this cavern, and confined to its narrow boundaries, began to kick the aged traveller, and gave him his death wounds. "Unhappy wretch that I am," exclaimed *Æsop*, in the person of this old man, "since die I must, it is doubly hard to die my means of, and surrounded by, these asses, the most senseless of beasts! to suffer death unjustly were enough calamitous, but for it to be inflicted by the hands of a barbarous and ignorant people, alike devoid of humanity, honour, hospitality, or justice;—ye gods, permit not my innocent death to pass unavenged!" In the midst of this hurraage, the impatient multitude precipitated him from the rock, and he fell lifeless at his death, its base. Thus perished, as he had lived, the sage and celebrated *Æsop*, mixing wisdom with wit, entertainment with instruction.

The veneration with which the character of *Æsop* has been generally regarded by the historians of his time, cannot perhaps, be more strongly exemplified than in their ascribing a dreadful plague, with which the Delphians were shortly afterwards visited, to the outrage thus committed on the hospitality peculiarly due to great men, and their impiety to the Gods. This the Pythoness herself declared to be but justice upon them for their crime, and directed a public atonement to be made for it. Accordingly we find that this clamorous and capricious people, soon after his death, erected a pyramid to the memory of *Æsop*. It was also a tradition of the best times of Greece, that the conspirators by whose wicked contrivance he fell, so severely suffered the stings of conscience, that they slew themselves in remorse;—a circumstance which is reported to have given pleasure to the more civilized nations of the Greeks around. Socrates is said to have amused and consoled himself, in several of the serious hours he spent in prison, shortly before he suffered, by rendering several of the compositions of *Æsop* into familiar verse.

Æsop.

A. M.
3434.
B. C.
570.

BIOGRAPHY.

JEREMIAH.

FROM A. M. 3362, B. C. 642, TO A. M. 3418, B. C. 586.

Biography.

THE life and character of the Jewish Prophet Daniel were so evidently associated with the changes of the Assyrian Empire, that we slightly anticipated the regular order of events in placing our record of them in this Work immediately after the Life of Nebuchadnezzar. We now return to the contemplation of one of the last among the series of Prophetic lights that adorned the darkest Ages of the Jewish Commonwealth, in the character and predictions of JEREMIAH, who was also the earliest Prophet of the Babylonian captivity itself, and connected with the several stages of its completion.

It was the fate of this Prophet, like that which the Poets have assigned to Cassandra, always to speak the truth, and over to be believed; and, in the clearest exhibitions of impending judgment, to find that, according to the ancient adage, "whom God will destroy, he first deprives of understanding." One could be ready to conclude, that the Poets of antiquity had copied the character of their celebrated Prophets from that of this illustrious man, so entirely do they agree in temper and in circumstances. In both we find an inflexible integrity, never yielding to threatenings and penalties: in both a high spirit of patriotism, pouring out its illimitable griefs—

Cry, Trojans, cry! lend me ten thousand eyes,
And I will fill them with prophetic tears!

In both a participation of the sufferings which they foresaw, but could not ward off; and a large personal share in the miseries of a captivity, ever before their own eyes, but never to be impressed upon others. In whatever sense the Ancients might have used their adage, it is employed here only to illustrate the position, that the obstinate unbelief of the Jews, relative to their approaching destruction, undoubtedly accelerated its accomplishment, and rendered its consequences loathable. A melancholy illustration of this position will appear as we detail the leading features of the life of this Prophet; which will also furnish some additional circumstances accompanying the fall of the Empire of Judah.

Jeremiah was the son of Hilkiah, one of the Priests of Anathoth, in Benjamin. He affirms himself to have been set apart from his birth to his difficult and glorious office, and his pretensions are well supported by the fact that he began to prophesy in the thirteenth year of the reign of Josiah, when he could have been

only about fourteen years old. Terrified at so awful and hazardous a commission, at an age so immature, in times so dangerous, he would have excused himself from his arduous task; but his appointment was ratified by osw charges, and, sustained by correspondent promises, he entered upon his office, which he exercised until the destruction of Jerusalem by the Chaldeans, through a period of more than forty years. It is generally thought that he died in Egypt, about two years after the captivity. Of his private history little can be ascertained as apart from the public affairs of his Country; and that which is blended with them presents us only a series of privations and persecutions.

The privations of the Prophets extended over all their circumstances, and reached to the most endearing relations of human life. They were obliged to conform in their diet and manner of living to such severities as might best prefigure the horrors of famine, the strictness of a siege, and the miseries of war—of all of which they were appointed as tokens—and they were often required to sacrifice to their Prophetic duties and station their domestic and social ties and comforts. Thus Jeremiah not only shared the horrors of war and captivity with his People, but yielded many indulgencies yet within his power, as a type of impending judgment, and was even forbidden to marry. We have already seen, in the account of Hosea, that Prophet's choice directed by the circumstances to be symbolized rather than by his inclinations; when that which was allowed by his Country was strictly enjoined upon him—a temporary marriage with a woman of loose character. And we shall hereafter see Ezekiel suffering the severest domestic loss—a wife of his choice, "the delight of his eyes, taken away at a stroke"—as a sign of the sudden disruption of all social ties, about to be produced by the calamities hanging over the Jewish nation. These, and similar circumstances, rendered the Prophetic office not an enviable distinction; and fully account for the reluctance with which it was generally undertaken, of which Jeremiah is an example. A post of so much difficulty and danger, and the distinctions of which, purely of a spiritual kind, were hidden in the midst of so much peril, could have no fascinations for an ambitious spirit, and would effectually repress every attempt at deception, since no impostor could be willing to hazard so much for an uncertain renown. Some men can

Jeremiah.

From
A. M.
3362,
—
B. C.
642.
to
A. M.
3418.
—
B. C.
586.

Early election and ministry.
B. C.
628.
Private history.
Privations.

Jeremiah compared with Cassandra.

His birth.
A. C.
642.

Biography.

From
A. M.
3362.

B. C.
642.
to

A. M.
3418.

—
B. C.
586.

Persecutions.

better encounter perils than endure privations—they will have danger, but cannot practise self-denial. The Prophets were injured to both; they were prepared for persecution by habitual poverty, restraint, and resignation; they had been taught, by repeated and painful trials, to submit their will wholly to the will of God, to relinquish, without murmuring, their dearest interests, and to sacrifice private feeling to the public welfare. These privations were followed by persecutions as bitter as they were unmerited. Jeremiah was premolesed as to the character of his glorious but painful career, and encouraged to meet its severest afflictions. He who called him to the field girded him for the fight, but did not conceal from him the sharpness of the conflict. "Behold, I have made thee, this day, a fenced city, and an iron pillar, and a brazen wall against the whole land"—and they shall fight against thee, but they shall not prevail against thee; for I am with thee, saith the Lord, to deliver thee." After such a premonition, we are prepared for a life of suffering and sorrow on the part of the individual to whom it is addressed; we expect to find great mental qualities and distinguished virtues developing themselves in situations of unequalled peril, and finally triumphing over calamity and calamity. Such conclusions are fully justified in the chequered life of this eminent servant of God.

Predictions.

The Prophecies of Jeremiah turn upon two points—the rise of Judah, and its captivity by Nebuchadnezzar. These are the great incidents, presented in a variety of forms and an amazing amplitude of detail; the other subjects of his predictions are incidental and collateral. They were conveyed partly by preaching, and partly in writing; before the captivity, he himself delivered them, from his own lips, at different times, before all ranks in various places—after that event, they were propagated by writing exclusively.

Vision of the almond-tree.

His commission opened with a vision of "a rod of an almond-tree"—the rod, a symbol of punishment—the tree of which it was made, a signal of its near approach; the almond-tree, being the most forward of all trees, is called, in Hebrew, the *hasty tree*, and became a proper and impressive sign of impending and swift destruction.* This was instantly followed by the vision of "a seething-pot," with its aspect "toward the north;" the boiling vessel prefiguring the internal commotions which should arise in the State, or the circumstances under which the Jewish nation should be melted and consumed; and the direction of the face of the pot towards the north, distinctively pointing out from what quarter the affliction should come. Thence he proceeded, as he was inspired by Prophetic impulses, to reprove the inhabitants of his Country for their idolatry; and to show them that they not only had broken the tie of gratitude arising out of their peculiar relation to the Deity, but that they had committed an outrage unknown to the heathen world, by an act of religious infidelity never practised among the nations towards their idols. "For, pass over the isles of Chittim, and see; and send unto Kedar, and consider diligently, and see if there be such a thing; hath a nation changed their gods, which yet are no gods? but my People have changed their glory for that which doth not profit! Be astonished, O ye heavens, at this, and be horribly afraid, be ye very desolate, saith the Lord!" This short, but

Of the seething-pot.

Reproves idolatry.

glowing passage, will serve to show the mingled ardour and tenderness, fidelity and compassion, which characterize the predictions of this writer. Among other things, he threatens them that they should be ashamed of Egypt, in which they had hitherto placed so much confidence, as they had before been disappointed in Assyria. The power of Chaldean was collecting itself gradually to overwhelm that once proud and flourishing Empire with a blow from which it has never since recovered. He describes the idolatry of Israel, under the strong image of whoredom; and warns Judah, that as she had partaken of the crime, she must share the punishment; yet the penalty is pronounced with reluctance and infinite pity, and is qualified by many unexpected mitigations. The Father of the families of the whole Earth, when He rises to punish His guilty children, never forgets His paternal character; and teaches His Prophets to make paternal promises with threatenings, mercy with judgment, and lamentations with accusations. This is a spirit pervading Scripture Prophecy, but never more conspicuous than in the predictions of Jeremiah.

While the Prophet was pleading with his apostate and profligate Country, foretelling its dangers, urging it to repentance, and blending all the affections of a patriot with the fidelity of a Prophet, that ungrateful Country was plotting his destruction; his very relatives were engaged in the conspiracy; and, in his native place, the town of Anathoth, one of the possessions of the Priesthood, they threatened to make him the victim of the universal resentment. He was unaware of this perfidious purpose, until it was divinely revealed to him; and his enemies were, at the same time, threatened, that in consequence, they themselves should be utterly destroyed when the day of visitation should come.

These predictions having been delivered in words only, were followed by fresh symbols. The Prophet was commanded to gird his loins with a linen girdle; then to direct himself of it, and to hide it "in a hole of the rock" by the river Euphrates, where, when the tide flowed, it would be wet, and when it ebbed, would be left dry, and by this alternation would more speedily decay. After many days, he was commanded to take it out of the place in which it was concealed, and display it before the People. He found it utterly spoiled. The girdle, being an ornamental part of oriental dress, was chosen as the symbol of the glory of the Jews, and its decay became, therefore, the image of the destruction of their prosperity. "Thus saith the Lord: after this manner will I mar the pride of Judah, and the great pride of Jerusalem." Further, by the figure of bottles filled with wine, either chosen as a proverbial expression of plenty, or as a reproof for their debauchery, he was commanded to forewarn the excess of their approaching misery.

These indications of divine displeasure were followed by a grievous famine, described with fearful accuracy, yet in language truly poetical. "Judah mourneth, and the gates thereof languish; they are black unto the ground; and the cry of Jerusalem is gone up. And their Nobles have rent their little ones to the waters; they came to the pits, and found no water; they returned with the vessels empty: they were ashamed and confounded, and covered their heads. Because the ground is chapt, for there was no rain in the earth, the ploughmen were sated; they covered their heads. Yea, the hind also calved in the field, and forsook it,

Jeremiah.

From
A. M.
3362.

B. C.
642.
to

A. M.
3418.

—
B. C.
586.

a. c.
610.

Threatened
by his relatives.

Symbol of
the linen
girdle.

Followed by
a famine.

* See ALMOND-TREE, Miscellaneous Division.

Biography,

From

A. M.

3362.

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B. C.

642.

to

A. M.

3418.

—

B. C.

586.

Command-

ed not to

marry.

because there was no grass. And the wild asses did stand in the high places, they snuffed up the wind like dragons; their eyes did fail, because there was no grass." About this time also, Jeremiah received the command that he should not marry, which seems, in this instance, to have been to him a merciful prohibition, while it was a signal to his Countrymen that this terrible death under which they languished was but the beginning of sorrows. "Thou shalt not take thee a wife, neither shalt thou have sons and daughters in this place. For thus saith the Lord concerning the sons, and concerning the daughters, that are born in this place, and concerning their mothers that have them, and concerning their fathers that begot them in this land; they shall die of grievous deaths; they shall not be lamented, neither shall they be buried; but they shall be as dung upon the face of the earth; and they shall be consumed by the sword, and by famine; and their carcases shall be meat for the fowls of heaven, and for the beasts of the earth." The repetitions in the opening of this prediction, which sound so unnecessary to an English ear, are consistent with the genius of Hebrew Poetry, which should be judged by its own character, and not condemned because of the apparent languor of reiteration in a mere prose translation. The painful circumstances which demanded this relinquishment of conjugal charity are further enforced by a strict injunction that no one should bemoan or lament the dead—a prohibition the more striking because of the loud and public mournings which characterized oriental nations, and the Jews among others; but the reason was as affecting as it was apparent, the impending calamities of the Jews would be so multiplied as to leave no time, nor opportunity, nor inclination, for such external tokens of sorrow—even when their greatest men felt—so common would affliction become, and so nearly would it touch every individual. "Both the great and the small shall die in this land; they shall not be buried, neither shall men lament for them." On the same principle, all festivity and hilarity are forbidden to the Prophet. Those who rejoiced were instruments of their danger; but he, the messenger of evil tidings, before whom futurity was unveiled in all its appalling features, could have but little inclination to join in assemblies of mirth; indeed they were absolutely proscribed, so far as related to himself. The reason for this privation is also given: "For thus saith the Lord of hosts, the God of Israel: Behold, I will cause in cease out of this place in your eyes, and in your days, the voice of mirth, and the voice of gladness, the voice of the bridegroom, and the voice of the bride."

Shallum, or

Jehoshaz,

These predictions and others, contained in the first seventeen chapters of this Prophet, were delivered in the reign of Josiah, King of Judah; those which immediately follow, it has been thought, were given in the reign of his successor, Shallum, as he is called by Jeremiah and in the Chronicles, but the name by which he is better known is Jehoshaz. Josiah having died in battle against the King of Egypt, Archbishop Usher thinks he was chosen by the people in haste, lest Pharaoh-necho should surprise them before they had made their election; but that they first changed his name, considering that of Shallum unfortunate, the only King of Israel of that name having been slain in the first month of his reign. Jehoshaz reigned, however, no

more than three months, when he was deposed by the Egyptian conqueror. In this short period, some important predictions were communicated by the Prophet. They also opened with a type. He was commanded to go down to the potter's house, and watch the process of his work. As the Prophet looked on, one of the clay vessels became broken before he had completed it, and he re-moulded it. Jeremiah was instructed to employ this image in explaining to the House of Israel the absolute sovereignty of God over them; at whose entire and exclusive disposal they were as clay in the hands of the potter; and further, that the breaking of the vessel, and the formation of another of the same clay, was a signal of the rejection of the Jews, because of their iniquities, and the substitution of another People for them. To render the figure the more impressive, and to give it due publicity, he was commanded to take an earthen vessel, and having assembled the Priests, Elders, and People, in the valley of Hinnon, to declare the impending destruction of the nation, and to dash the vessel in pieces, as a sign thereof, before their faces. Having discharged this commission, he returned to the Temple, to confirm yet more publicly what he had just predicted. It appears that a new plot had been formed against his life; and this renewed testimony against the vices of his Countrymen, together with the unwelcome repetition of their danger, added fiercer fury to their displeasure, and furnished occasion to Pashur, the Governor of the Temple, to gratify his malice, by striking the Prophet and confining him in the stocks. In an evil hour he obeyed the impulse of his passions! When he came the next day to release the persecuted Seer, he received the fearful tidings that he should witness the death of all his dearest friends by the sword; that he himself should go into captivity with all his family, never more to return; that he should die in Babylon, and be buried there—in token of which he was named, by Jeremiah, *Magor-misbad—a terror round about*; "For thus saith the Lord, Behold, I will make thee a terror to thyself and to all thy friends."

Pharaoh-necho, now returning from his successful expedition against Carchemish, imposed a tribute upon the Jews, and deposed Jehoshaz, placing upon the throne Eliakim, his brother, whose name he changed to Jehoiakim; and taking with him the dispossessed monarch into Egypt. Early in the reign of the new Sovereign, Jeremiah took occasion to exhort his Countrymen and their Nobles to repentance, and to remind them of the alternative. These admonitions had no influence over the youthful monarch or his degenerate Court. The Prophet then proceeded to declare, that the lot of the dethroned Prince, his brother, was more to be lamented than that of his ancestors, who had been carried to the grave, or even of his father, who died almost in battle; for that his captivity should end only with his life, and that he should see his native land no more. Jehoshaz accordingly died in Egypt. Jehoiakim himself was threatened for his oppression, luxury, and unbelief, with an unattended death; and the sentence was extended beyond him to his successor, Jehoiachin, called by the Prophet also Jeconiah, or Coniah, (a word of the same signification, and Hebrew names were all significant), whose captivity by the Chaldeans was foretold. It was also further declared, that no Prince of his family should inherit the throne; a series of solemn and severe predictions which is closed

Jeremiah:

From

A. M.

3362.

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B. C.

642.

to

A. M.

3418.

—

B. C.

586.

Type—broken re-

solved.

Pashur's

violence,

Pharaoh-

necho and

Jehoiakim.

Biography. by the impassioned appeal—"O Earth, Earth, Earth, hear the word of the Lord!"

From
A. M.
3362.
—
B. C.
642,
to
A. M.
3418.
—
B. C.
586,
B. C.
508.

Danger of
Jeremiah.

It was about this time that the occurrence took place to which allusion has been made in the Historical Chapter including the captivity of Judah, in speaking of the character of Micah. Jeremiah, declaring these unwelcome truths publicly in the Temple, was seized, and by the Priests and time-serving Prophets sentenced to die. Happily their power did not reach so far as to an execution of their decision, otherwise the Prophet had undoubtedly perished at this time. But it was necessary to consult the Princes of the Empire; when after patiently and impartially listening to the accusation, and in the various circumstances upon which it was founded, agreed with the People that the sentence was unjust and unmerited, and revoked it accordingly. This righteous decision was further ennobled by some of the Elders, who explained to the assembly that Micah had prophesied distinctly to the same purport. The indignation of Jehoiakim was, however, roused; and as it was not prudent, in his situation, and in defiance of such a just and public determination, to wreak it upon Jeremiah, he selected another victim, and persecuted Urijah, the son of Shemaiah, of Kirjath-Jearim, whose predictions accorded with those of Jeremiah, and who fled into Egypt upon the first intimation of his danger. Thither the implacable malice and the political influence of the Jewish monarch resented him; and lest these should fail, by a ruffian stratagem, not unknown to modern times, he sent a chosen band to surprise the Seer in his retreat, and to bring him by force from his foreign asylum into the Royal presence, where he was basely slain. In the midst of tumults and factions, and at the moment when this outrage upon justice and honour was committed, Jeremiah found a friend in Ahikam, the son of Shaphan, whose powerful influence protected him alike from popular and princely fury.

Predictions
respecting
Nebuchadnezzar.

Before the fourth year of the reign of Jehoiakim, the Prophet had foretold the subjugation of other nations besides Judah to the power of the Chaldeans, and the astonishing victories of Nebuchadnezzar. These predictions are contained in that portion of the Book bearing his name, which comprises the 46th chapter up to the 49th, both inclusive, and is directed against the Egyptians (a plain proof that they were not subdued before Nebuchadnezzar came to the throne of Babylon, as we have intimated in his Life), also against the Philistines, Tyrians, Phœnicians, Edomites, Ammonites, Moabites; against Damascus, Kedar, Hæz, and other States and cities. The auxiliaries of this devoted Empire are described by their characteristic warlike qualities, while their defeat is distinctly foretold; and the pride of Egypt itself is represented under the fine image of the overflow of its own Nile.—"Who is this that cometh up as a flood, whose waters are moved as the rivers? Egypt riseth up like a flood, and her waters are moved like the rivers; and he saith, I will go up, and will cover the Earth; I will destroy the city, and the inhabitants thereof. Come up, ye horses; and rage, ye chariots; and let the mighty men come forth; the Ethiopians and the Libyans, that handle the shield; and the Lydians, that handle and bend the bow. For this is the day of the Lord God of hosts, a day of vengeance, that He may avenge Him of His

adversaries; and the sword shall devour, and it shall be satiate and made drunk with their blood; for the Lord of hosts hath a sacrifice in the north country" (plainly the Chaldeans were to be conquerors of this people, and the instruments of divine indignation), "by the river Euphrates."

It was in the fourth year of Jehoiakim that the event so long threatened, so clearly predicted, and so pathetically described, commenced, and Nebuchadnezzar besieged and plundered Jerusalem, taking away with him Daniel and his companions, but generously giving liberty to the monarch whom he had in his power; the reign of Jehoiakim was extended three years further; but nothing could open the eyes or soften the heart of this infatuated Prince. The forbearance exercised towards him produced no reformation in his conduct; and the important predictions and admonitions by the mouth of Jeremiah, with which this short interval was crowded, served but to exasperate him whom they might have saved. To render permanent the Prophecies that had been delivered from the thirteenth year of his reign of Josiah, up to this period, the fourth of Jehoiakim, Jeremiah was instructed to commit them to writing; but not merely to answer the end of perpetuity, important as it was; the intention was, also, that they should be before the eyes of the Sovereign and his People constantly; and the only reason assigned is an benevolent and so characteristic of all that is revealed of Deity in the Scriptures, that we cannot withhold it. "It may be that the House of Judah will hear all the evil which I purpose to do unto them; that they may return every man from his evil way; that I may forgive their iniquity and their sin." The predictions were accordingly dictated by Jeremiah to Baruch. It seems that the Prophet was at this time in prison; yet, anxious that the benefit should not be withheld from the People, he commissioned Baruch to take the earliest and fittest opportunity of giving them publicity, by reading them in his Countrymen at their first solemn convocation. On the Day of Expiation, in the fifth year of Jehoiakim, the Roll of this injunction was carried into effect—the Roll was publicly read; tidings of this circumstance were carried instantly to Court, and Baruch was summoned before the assembled Princes to read the Book a second time. His illustrious audience appears to have been much struck and affected by those awful admonitions; and they thought it behoved them to lay the whole before the King. At the same time, aware of the cruel disposition of Jehoiakim, and rightly judging that he would be deeply incensed, they took the precaution of commanding the Prophet and his amanuensis to conceal themselves, and then presented themselves with the important writing before the monarch, who was sitting in the winter-palace, with a fire burning before him. He commanded Jehudi to read the writing; but had scarcely patience to listen to three or four columns of it, when he cut it with a penknife, and notwithstanding the entreaties of Elnathan, Delaiah, and Gemariah, burned by consumed it in the fire. It is mentioned, as an instance of the general insensibility of those who surrounded the rash Prince, that they appeared to be totally unaffected by this bold and atrocious act. At the same time, orders were issued for the apprehension of Jeremiah and Baruch; but they were already concealed, and so effectually, that they escaped the present danger. After this occurrence, the Prophet was enjoined to take

From
A. M.
3362.
—
B. C.
642,
to
A. M.
3418.
—
B. C.
586,
B. C.
506,
Jerusalem
plundered.

The Roll
was publicly
read.

Against
several na-
tions.

Biography. another Roll yet larger, and to dictate to Baruch the whole of the former writing, together with many additional predictions, closing with a severe sentence against Jehoiakim, threatening him that he himself should be cut off, and deprived of burial: and that his posterity should be disinherited of the throne of David.

At the close of these three years, Jehoiakim rebelled against his formidable conqueror, who, when he spared him, had rendered him tributary; and the enraged King of Babylon returned with irresistible force against Jerusalem. The Rechabites, who had been bound by their father Josiah, the son of Rechab, to some singular abstinence—among which were these, that they should neither drink wine, nor dwell in houses, but in tents, to signify that they were but strangers in the land—were compelled, by the extremity of the circumstances consequent upon this invasion, so far to relinquish this latter stipulation, as to retreat into the city, and dwell within the walls of Jerusalem, to escape the fury of the Chaldeans, who overspread the Country. Jeremiah availed himself of this occurrence, which, from its singularity, could not but be generally known, once more to admonish the King and the people by the example of these Rechabites. In order to do this the more effectually, he collected all the House of Rechab, and, in presence of many witnesses, in the house of the Lord, set before them wine, inviting them to drink; but they resolutely refused, assigning their father's injunction as a reason, and not deeming their constrained shodiment of one part of their vow a reason for the voluntary neglect of that which was within their power. The Prophet took this occasion to reprove the Israelites for their breach of God's commandments, to whom they owed such infinite obligations, while these Rechabites held so sacred the precept of their father. To mark this admonition yet more strongly, while a wicked King was threatened with the extermination of his family, and a rebellious nation were about to be carried into captivity, the obedience of the Rechabites was rewarded with this promise—"Josiah, the son of Rechab, shall not want a man to stand before me for ever." Immediately afterwards occurred the death of Jehoiakim, who was slain by the Chaldeans, and his body cast into a common sewer. Jehoiachin, who is also called Jeconiah and Coniah, succeeded the throne, but kept his seat only three months, at the close of which period he was taken away captive by the Chaldeans; and with him the Princes, Nobles, officers, and principal population of Jerusalem, besides its treasures—no mean spoil, frequently before as it had been plundered. The King of Babylon did not, however, utterly destroy the place, but thought proper to place Mattaniah, the uncle of the last monarch and brother of the preceding, by the more commonly-known name of Zedekiah, upon the throne, who was suffered to reign eleven years.

Death of
Jehoiakim.

Jerusalem
again plu-
dered.

B. C.
509.
Zedekiah.

Zedekiah, unmoved by the mingled judgment and severity of the measures which resulted in this event, which plundered, without wholly impoverishing him, and, while it retrenched his resources, spared him his life and his royalty; unawed by all the predictions of impending indignation which he had heard, and by the calamities, which he had partially shared; continued the ruinous career of evil which had distinguished and successively destroyed his predecessors. In the beginning of his reign, Jeremiah was shown two baskets

of figs; the one ripe and good, the other utterly worthless. By the first were intended those of the captivity, whose heart should be softened by affliction, and in whom the promise of restoration to their Country was given. By the latter the inhabitants of Jerusalem who remained; the King, the Princes, and the general population, who were unchanged and unaffected by the judgments which they had witnessed, and were threatened that by sword, and pestilence, and famine, they should be driven out, and "consumed from off the land." Soon afterwards he was instructed to make yokes and bonds, and, after putting them upon his own person, to send them to the respective Sovereigns of Edom, Moab, Ammon, Tyre, and Zidon, by the hand of their ambassadors then at Jeru-salem; and to tell them that, unless they submitted to the King of Babylon, they should be subdued by force. The same unwelcome message he himself carried to his own Sovereign, assuring him that no way remained to save himself and his People but by submission. To enforce this injunction the more strongly, and to keep it in constant remembrance, the Prophet continued to wear upon his own person these badges of slavery, until Hananiah, a false Prophet, taking the yoke from his neck, broke it in the Temple, in the presence of the Priests, and of all the People, affirming, that within the period of two full years, the prisoners who had been carried into Babylon should be restored, together with their captive Prince Jeconiah, and all the spoil. Jeremiah was, in consequence, commanded to say to Hananiah, that in place of the yoke of wood which he had broken, Nebuchadnezzar should impose upon the nations a yoke of iron; and that as a punishment for having deceived the people and by a lying Prophecy, he should die that very year, which happened accordingly, in the seventh month.

In the fourth year of Zedekiah, Seraiah having been sent to Babylon on the part of that Prince, or having accompanied him, to negotiate some political measure with Nebuchadnezzar, Jeremiah wrote his Prophecies against Babylon, which form a considerable part of this Book bearing his name, and which testified that the cup of blood which that Empire had put into the hands of all other nations, she should herself drink in turn, even to its dregs. These he now gave to Seraiah, charging him first to read them to the captive Jews, to animate them with the prospect, although distant, of their restoration to their Country, and then to bind them to a stone, and sink them in the river Euphrates; at the same time apprising them, that by this act was typified the fall of Babylon, never to rise again. It is possible that besides the sanguine temperament of Man, which induces him, unless hope be wholly extinguished, to anticipate the termination of his calamities, that these predictions operated powerfully upon the minds of those Israelites to induce them to expect a speedier deliverance than was intended; especially as these anticipations were encouraged and strengthened by the false Prophets, who, like Hananiah, flattered their wiles, and who had been carried away with them into captivity. However this might be, Jeremiah found it necessary to write to them a letter by the hands of Elishah and Gemariah, sent by the King of Judah on some mission to Nebuchadnezzar, to show them that they must not cherish the hope of a speedy deliverance, and that all the viols of wrath were not yet emptied upon his devoted Country. He advised them to marry and

Jeremiah.
From
A. N.
3362.
B. C.
612.
A. N.
3118.
B. C.
586.

Hananiah a
contradiction.

And sent
to him.

B. C.
586.
Jeremiah
sends his
Prophecies
to Babylon.

His letter to
the captives.

Biography. settle in the land of their captivity, that "they might be increased, and not diminished," in the interval that must elapse before their restoration. He had before declared that their state of subjection should last during the reign of "Nebuchadnezzar, of his son, and of his son's son," and he now precisely fixes the term "seventy years." Of the two false Prophets, "Ahab, the son of Koldiah, and Zedekiah, the son of Maaseiah," he predicted that they should be the victims of their own deception, and that it would become a proverbial form of malediction, "The Lord make thee like Zedekiah, and like Ahab, whom the King of Babylon trusted in the fire." In answer to this letter, Semeiah, who was at Babylon, wrote to Zephaniah, who was the Chief Priest remaining at Jerusalem, reproving him for suffering Jeremiah to proceed without punishment, and this letter the Priest read to the Prophet. In consequence, he was ordered again to send to them of the captivity, and to pronounce sentence against Semeiah, that neither he, nor any of his family, should be restored to their native Country.

Thus Jeremiah continued to prophesy, with inflexible fidelity, in defiance of dangers and privations, sometimes announcing the approaching completion of the woes of his Country, and at others its eventual deliverance, until the ninth year of Zedekiah, in the tenth month of which Nebuchadnezzar came up against Jerusalem to besiege it. Struck by a momentary remorse, the King of Judah sent to entreat the Prophet to pray for them. This emotion did not long continue; and Zedekiah having found means to prevail upon the King of Egypt to make a diversion in his favour, the Chaldeans drew off from the siege of Jerusalem to attack the Egyptians. The Prophet was enjoined to represent to Zedekiah and his Countrymen, that this stroke of policy would prove no more than a temporary expedient, and the message was delivered in the characteristic language of Prophecy. "Deceive not yourselves, saying the Chaldeans shall surely depart from us, for they shall not depart: for though ye had smitten the whole army of the Chaldeans that fight against you, and there remained but wounded men among them, yet should they rise up every man in his tent, and burn this city with fire." Yet wearied of always prophesying without "his report being believed," and feeling his own exposure to the calamities which hung over his devoted Country, he availed himself of the temporary absence of the Chaldeans, when they marched against the King of Egypt, and attempted to withdraw from the city, and to retire to Anathoth, the place of his nativity. He was arrested, however, by Irijah, a captain of the guard, at the gate of Benjamin, as a deserter to the Chaldeans, and brought as such before the Princes, who struck him, and, after treating him with great indignity, imprisoned him "in the house of Jonathan the Scribe." After a considerable time, the King sent for him privately, to inquire if there were any Prophecy touching him; when Jeremiah, answering in the affirmative, assured him that he should be certainly "delivered into the hands of the King of Babylon." He availed himself of this opportunity to point out to Zedekiah the futility of those Prophecies who had prophesied that the Chaldeans should not come against the city, implying, from this failure of their predictions, the truth of his own, which had always pointed to this event; he complained of the

injustice and cruelty of the treatment which he had received; he pleaded his perfect innocence of any crime against the monarch or the State, and entreated that he might not be remanded to his former prison, stating that it would be at the peril of his life to continue there. The King was so far either touched with remorse for the oppression which he had permitted, or melted by the affecting representation of the Prophet, that, although he did not think proper to give him his liberty, he softened the rigour of his confinement, and commanded "that they should commit him into the court of the prison," and afford him a daily allowance of food until the bread in the city failed.

While he was thus incarcerated, a legal occurrence demanded his attention, and his conduct in it marked the implicit confidence which he himself placed in the revelations made to him respecting the restoration of the Jews to their own land. His cousin Hananiah visited him, apprizing him that he wished to sell his field, and that, according to the provision of the Mosaic law in similar cases, the right of redemption and of inheritance was with the Prophet; who did not scruple, notwithstanding the unpromising aspect of public affairs, and his own predictions of the entire subjugation of the Country to the Chaldeans, to purchase this land, fully assured that the inheritance should return to himself or his family, in the restoration of his People to their rights after the Babylonian captivity; but he took the precaution to have witnesses of the whole transaction, and to deliver the writings, properly signed and sealed, to Baruch, charging him to envelop them in an earthen vessel, which might preserve them from injury, and to keep them carefully, until the time of restitution should arrive, when they would be evidence of the right of his family to the possession.

A transaction had also occurred during the siege, Sabbathal which strongly marks the character of the People with whom he had to do, evincing their total dereliction of principle, and which called forth the severest censures of the faithful and unimpaired Prophet. The sabbatical year having arrived, at the instance of Jeremiah, who urged upon them the command of God in the Law, the King, Princes, Nobles, and People, liberated their slaves; but in this interval, while the Chaldeans were withdrawn, and pursuing the Egyptians, they recalled their emancipated brethren, and reduced them to their former state of servitude.

Nebuchadnezzar, having shut up the Egyptians within their own boundaries, and rendered them tributary, returned to the investment of Jerusalem; and Jeremiah, continuing his Prophecies against his Countrymen, was demanded of the King by the Princes, as a seditious man, and a traitor to the State, who discouraged the people by his predictions, and merited death. Zedekiah gave him over to their power, to dispose of him as they thought proper; and, in virtue of this authority, they cast him into a dungeon, or well, without Jeremiah water, but the bottom of which was mire, in which he was must have been suffocated but for the good offices of Ebed-melech, one of the King's attendants, who, having apprized him of the perilous situation of the Prophet, was authorized by the monarch to draw him out of this pit, and remanded him to the court of the prison-house. After this deliverance, Zedekiah sent again for him to a private audience; when Jeremiah urged the necessity of his opposing the wrath of Nebuchadnezzar by an

Jeremiah.
From
A. M.
3362.
—
e. c.
642.
to
A. M.
3418.
—
e. c.
586.

Placed his
innocence.
Is confined
in the court
of the prison,
Purchase
the field of
Hananiah.

Jeremiah
attempts to
fly;
Is arrested
and con-
fined.

Sent for by
the King.

Released,
and brought
to the King.

Biography. unqualified submission, in order to the preservation of himself and his Country from the destruction which awaited both, in terms so solemn and so convincing, that the King confessed himself almost persuaded to do as he recommended, but expressed his apprehensions both of his Nobles and of the People, and strictly enjoined Jeremiah, in the event of their interrogating him, not to reveal the subject of this interview.

The time now came when repentance on the part of the nation and of the monarch was as unavailing as the remonstrances of the Prophet had hitherto been. Jerusalem was taken on the 9th day of the fourth month of the eleventh year of the reign of Zedekiah; and with it that miserable monarch, who was first permitted to witness the slaughter of his children, and then deprived of sight, bound in fetters, and carried into Babylon.

Amidst the dreadful slaughter that ensued, Nebuchadnezzar gave particular charge that no injury should be inflicted upon Jeremiah; and the day of the slavery of his Country was that of his personal deliverance.

He was carried, with other captives, to Ramoth; but when he arrived at that place, he had his choice given him, whether he would go into Babylon, or return to his native land, or prefer any other place, since he was at liberty to go wherever he pleased. He preferred

staying at Judah, and went to Mizpeh, to Gedaliah, a Jewish Prince, whom Nebuchadnezzar had constituted Governor of the cities of Judah, and from whom, in former instances, the Prophet had received protection. Here he resided in peace, with the remnant of the Jews, for some time. But a conspiracy was forming against Gedaliah, which disturbed this tranquillity, and terminated the life of the Governor. One of the unworthy Princes of Judah, Ishmael by name, had escaped the general destruction by flying to the King of Ammon; and after the settlement of the Jewish remnant under the just administration of Gedaliah, either moved by

envy of his station, or instigated by the monarch with whom he had found protection, he resolved to compass the death of this good Governor. Gedaliah had received notice of this conspiracy from Johanan, and others of the dispersed captains, who came in to him after the establishment of his government, and repeatedly urged that they might prevent the meditated evil by cutting off the traitor. The Governor was too just to allow this measure; and, as the event proved, too secure to take the proper precautions against his insidious adversary. Unwilling to think ill of a man upon whom he had conferred distinguished kindness, he suffered Ishmael to have constant access to him; availing himself of which, he found occasion to assassinate Gedaliah, and the friends who surrounded him.

This cruel piece of treachery and rebellion was followed by another. Two days after this nefarious transaction, fourscore men approaching this desolated sanctuary, in habiliments of mourning, with incense and offerings, to lament the ruin of their Country, the City, and the Temple, were intercepted by the hypocritical murderer, who, mingling his tears with theirs, offered to conduct them to Gedaliah; and, after leading them into the midst of the city, brought them to a pit, or subterraneous excavation, which had been made by Asa, King of Judah, as a hiding-place, when he was threatened by Baasha, King of Israel, and killed them there, filling up the cavern with the carcasses

of those who had fallen by his treachery. He then compelled the remnant of the People, among whom were some Princesses who had escaped the captivity, to follow him, and was returning to Basin, the King of the Ammonites, with whom this infamous plot seems to have originated, when Johanan, and other officers, who had in vain attempted to awaken the suspicions of the too-confiding Gedaliah, having received information of these acts of violence on the part of Ishmael, pursued, and overtook him in Gibben, rescued his prisoners, and compelled him to flee for his life, with only eight men who escaped with him.

Notwithstanding this atrocious murder of Gedaliah was an act of treason unsanctioned by the remnant of the Jews, and so promptly revenged by Johanan, that Chief, his companions in arms, and the People, did not judge it prudent to return to the heart of their Country, until they could ascertain what representations on the subject might be made to Nebuchadnezzar, and how that monarch might be disposed to receive them.

They turned, therefore, aside to the borders of Egypt, and dwelt on the confines of Judah, near Bethelium. They had greater cause for apprehension, because not only the deputy appointed by the King of Babylon had fallen, but the Chaldeans also, who remained with him had been put to the sword; and their fears so far prevailed, that they began to think of seeking shelter in Egypt. This step, however, they would not take without consulting Jeremiah, and, through him seeking counsel at the hand of God; at the same time promising that they would abide by whatever decision he should make by inspiration. The Prophet accordingly received, ten days afterwards, an answer to their solemn appeal to him; and assured them, in the name of Jehovah, that if they continued in their Country, he would give them favour in the sight of Nebuchadnezzar, and deliver them from their fears of the Chaldeans; but that if they persisted in going down into Egypt, they should there perish by the sword, by famine, and by pestilence. At the same time, he added, that they had dissembled before him, in sending to inquire after his will, for that they had already made up their minds, and would disobey his injunctions. So it proved; for Jeremiah had no sooner delivered his message, than they accused him of conspiring with Baruch to betray them into the hands of the Chaldeans, and of thinking so to intimidate them by this prediction, which they pronounced false, as to bend them to his purpose. They, therefore, gathered the People, and took them into Egypt, compelling Jeremiah and Baruch to accompany them. They had no sooner come to Tahapanes, or, as some write it, Taphnes, than the Prophet was commanded to "take great stones, and hide them in the clay in the brick-kilo, which is at the entry of Pharaoh's house in Tahapanes, in the sight of the men of Judah; and say unto them, thus saith the Lord of hosts, the God of Israel; behold, I will send and take Nebuchadnezzar, the King of Babylon, my servant, and will set his throne upon these stones that I have hid; and he shall spread his royal pavilion over them." He then proceeded to state his entire conquest of Egypt, and the destruction of those Jews who had fled thither, contrary to his express command, for protection. In this constrained sojournment in Egypt, Jeremiah wrote several distinguished Prophecies, principally against the Jews and the Egyptians; and if, as is the

Jeremiah.

From

A. M.

3368.

—

B. C.

642.

—

to

A. M.

3418.

—

B. C.

586.

—

His defeat

and flight.

The Jews

fear the

Chaldeans.

—

Meditate a

return to

Egypt.

Consult

Jeremiah.

—

Are forbid-

den to go.

—

Disobey

—

Fates Jer-

emiah and

Baruch to

accompany

them.

—

Type at

Tahapanes.

—

Biography. best-founded opinion, his Book of Lamentations were composed on occasion of the ruin of his Country by the Chaldeans, that Work also was probably written here. Some have conjectured that they were framed on occasion of the death of Josiah: it is certain that he wrote some elegiac piece or pieces then; but the character of this Book seems best to suit the melancholy extinction of the national glory and even existence. They are the longest specimens remaining of that kind of Hebrew Poetry, and are pre-eminent for beauty and pathos. They justify the judgment of those who have pronounced the characteristic style of Jeremiah to have been tenderness. No man could so have written, who did not deeply feel; and no man could so have felt, who was not involved in the calamities which he describes. Of his style Bishop Lowth says, "Jeremiah, though deficient neither in elegance nor sublimity, must give place in both to Isaiah. Jerome seems to object against him a sort of rustiness of language, no vestige of which, I must however confess, I have been able to discover. His sentiments, it is true, are not always the most elevated, nor are his periods always neat and compact; but these are faults common to those writers, whose principal aim is to excite the gentler affections, and to call forth the tear of sympathy or sorrow. This observation is very strongly exemplified in the Lamentations, where these are the prevailing passions; it is, however, frequently instanced in the Prophecies of this author, and most of all in the beginning of the Book, which is chiefly poetical. The middle of it is almost entirely historical. The latter part, again, consisting of the last six chapters, is altogether poetical; it contains several different predictions, which are distinctly marked, and in these the Prophet approaches very near the sublimity of Isaiah. On the whole, however, I can scarcely pronounce above half the Book of Jeremiah to be poetical." He conjectures that the 53rd chapter belongs properly to the Lamentations, to which it serves as an exordium

Jeremiah has been said to be the author of the 137th Psalm; and to him, with Ezekiel, has been also ascribed Psalm 65th. Some have supposed that the Prophet terminated his days in this involuntary exile, and that he was put to death by the Jews, irritated by the threatenings and reproaches at Tahpanes. They have even conjectured that he was stoned, and supposed that he was one of those to whom the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews alludes (chap. xi. 37). Others affirm that he died in Babylon. Some Rabbins assert that he returned to Judea: but the time, manner, and place of his death, are altogether uncertain. Other circumstances have been added, as little to be depended upon. The apocryphal writer (2 Macc. xv. 13.) affirms, that he appeared in company with Onias, after his death, to Judas Maccabæus, gave him a sword, and encouraged him to fight for his Country. The Alexandrian Chronicle speaks of predictions which he delivered to the Egyptian Priests, foretelling the overthrow of their idols by an earthquake at the birth of our Saviour; and that Alexander, visiting his tomb, and learning the Prophecies which he had delivered concerning his person and conquests, caused his body to be removed to Alexandria, and a magnificent mausoleum to be erected over him. The apocryphal writer before alluded to (2 Macc. ii. 4, 5, 6.) states, that he took the holy fire and concealed it in a cistern; that the Jews, upon their return, found in this receptacle only muddy water, which became, however, inflamed when poured upon the altar. He also tells us, that Jeremiah removed the Tabernacle and the Ark to mount Nabo, and concealed them in a cavern, where they remain to this day. Some of these things are palpably fables, and all of them uncertain. The only authentic account of this illustrious Prophet is that which we have given, collected principally from his own writings, and from other parts of the Sacred Scriptures.

Jeremiah.
From
A. M.
3362.
—
B. C.
642.
to
A. M.
3418,
—
B. C.
556.
His other
works and
death.

E Z E K I E L.

FLOURISHED ABOUT A. M. 3109. B. C. 595.

Biography

A. M.
3109,
—
B. C.
595.

THIS Prophet Ezekiel, the third of those who have acquired the greatest distinction amongst the Jews, was a descendant of Aaron, of the Tribe of Levi, consequently of the Sacerdotal Order. His father's name was Buzi; and he is said to have been a native of Sarera. With regard to other particulars generally deemed interesting in the early history of distinguished men, Scripture has left no record, because they are of minor consideration compared with his great character as a Prophet, and because they have no immediate connection with his predictions.

The time of his appearance and the drift of his writings evince a marked and most merciful interference of Providence on behalf of the Jewish nation. They were now in a state of depression and captivity; and the Prophet, who was destined to console them amidst their sorrows, was himself a participator of them, being carried away captive to Babylon with Jeconiah, or Jehoiachin, King of Judah, about A. M. 3103, B. C. 599. In this condition, he dwelt with his Countrymen on the banks of the river Chebar, in Mesopotamia, which flows into the Eastern side of the Euphrates, at Ctesiphon, the modern Carhemish, two hundred miles, or thereabouts, to the North of Babylon. It is called by Piny (lib. i. c. 26.) Cobaris; by Ptolemy and Strabo, Chaboras, or Aboras. There is no account of Ezekiel's having prophesied at any earlier period of his life; but upon his going into Mesopotamia, he was favoured with the spirit of inspiration, and became the appointed minister of consolation to his afflicted compatriots. They had entertained the idea, so natural to those in a state of bondage, that those who remained in Judea were much more happily circumstanced than themselves, in which supposition they were confirmed by the studied misrepresentations of false Prophets. They were, however, now undeceived, by being informed of the calamities which were about to overprend their Country, and the ultimate destruction which awaited Jerusalem itself with its celebrated and beloved Temple, in consequence of the universal apostasy that would occur.

The commencement of his Prophetic office is to be dated in the fifth year of the Captivity, about eight or ten years after Daniel, and in the thirtieth year of his age; so, at least, it has been usually calculated; but Usher, Prideaux, Calmet, and several other chronologists, consider the thirty years mentioned in the beginning of the first chapter of his writings ("Now it came to pass in the thirtieth year, in the fourth month," &c.) as rather to be referred to the covenant made with God in the reign of Josiah; others again maintain it to signify the thirtieth year of his age, or of Nebuchadnezzar's reign; and others the thirtieth year from the Jubilee. We follow the more received opinion, by assigning his assumption of the Prophetic character and office to B. C. 595. This was about four and thirty

years subsequently to the epoch at which Jeremiah was first favoured with the revelations of the divine will; consequently, the last eight years of Jeremiah correspond with the first eight years of Ezekiel.

The name given to our Prophet was indicative of his future character, as a person eminent for his fortitude and trust in God. These noble qualities were displayed in the temper which he evinced during seasons of adversity, and in the unhesitating firmness and resolution with which he reproved the idolatries of Israel. It is derived from the Hebrew word *ḥazak* "fortitudo Dei."

The Book which contains the Prophecies of Ezekiel, State of his and to which his name is universally attached, seems to Works.

be unquestionably of his production; such is his own statement at the very commencement of it, and no other person has advanced, or been supported by any plausible pretence, in a claim upon its composition. It has been frivolously maintained, that as the connective particle is used at the beginning of the Book, it constitutes only a fragment of some other and, perhaps, larger Work; but this is a very common style with the Historical writers of Scripture, and the form of expression does not, in fact, require a translation that should imply a reference to any previous publication. "Now" is, therefore, the word properly used in this and other parts of Scripture in our English translation. Josephus, indeed, affirms (*Antiq. lib. x. c. 6.*) that Ezekiel left two Books on the subject of the Captivity of Babylon; and the opinion seems to have been entertained by others; but as no intimation of this kind occurs in any part of the inspired volume, and as, moreover, the prevalent notion appears to have rested upon the sole authority of Josephus, who has given no evidence of its truth, and left no trace of whence he derived the information, it may fairly be rejected as groundless. The Talmudists assert that some of the Rabbis were desirous of rejecting the writings of Ezekiel from the Sacred Canon, as containing certain passages heterodox and contradictory to the Law of Moses; particularly the statement in the eighteenth chapter, that the son should not bear the iniquity of his father, whereas the Jewish legislator himself declares, in the thirty-fourth chapter of Exodus, the sins of the fathers are visited on the children to the third and fourth generation. This, together with some objections arising out of the extreme obscurity of many parts of his Prophecies, induced the Sanhedrim to deliberate long and gravely upon their total suppression; but Ananias succeeded in removing the difficulty, and in convincing them of their mistakes. It may be proper to say, in passing, that the passages in question are, in fact, by no means contradictory, except in the view of those who are unwilling to take the trouble of investigating the drift of the Prophet, and of admitting into the account the intention of the legislator. The letter intimates a general fact in the history of the divine government, under the

Ezekiel.

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—
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Scene of his Prophecies

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595.

Mosaic economy, the former speaks of a principle of that government in estimating personal character. It was the evident and frequent fact, that the children bore the iniquity of their fathers; in certain cases, this consequence still obtains from the natural result of Sin and the peculiar constitution of Man: and it cannot be otherwise, where privations and sorrows follow from imprudence and folly through a long and mournful succession. But, in reality, the people referred to by Ezekiel suffered for their personal transgressions: the captivity they endured was unquestionably deserved by their persistence in wickedness, and because their own character had become so notorious, that "the son could not be said to bear the iniquity of the father;" their peculiar sufferings were not, nor could they be made appear to be hereditary and entailed, for they had enough of responsibility on their individual accounts, and enough of misery entailed for their own delinquency. The Prophet himself distinctly specifies and obviates the alleged difficulty, declaring that, according to the general practice of the divine government, though it were true that the son bore the iniquity of the father, it was nevertheless equally true that repentance would frequently avert the threatened calamity, and that "while the son hath done that which is lawful and right, and hath kept all God's statutes, and hath done them, he shall surely live."

Contents of the Book of Ezekiel.

The first three chapters of the Book of Ezekiel contain God's appearance to the Prophet, and instructions for his conduct in the discharge of his Prophetic office. The wickedness and future punishment of the Jews are then described in parables and visions, as far as the twenty-fifth chapter. Thence, to the thirty-second, the Prophet treats of those nations who had insulted the Jews in their captivity. He predicts, in particular, the destruction of the Ammonites, Moabites, and Philistines, which was effected by Nebuchadnezzar, and describes the ruin of Tyre and Sidon, the fall of Egypt, and the degeneracy of its people. Between the thirty-second and the fortieth chapters he censures the discontented disposition and hypocrisy of the Jews, and adduces various considerations calculated to incite them to patience and resignation. In the thirty-ninth and fortieth chapters he foretells the final return of the Jews from their dispersion, under the type of the victories to be obtained over Gog and Magog. The last nine chapters contain a vision, representing a new Temple and city; a new Religion and government, typical of a Universal Church, which is commonly believed to be the description of a Temple of corresponding construction with the celebrated Temple of Solomon; but it is most obvious that the Prophet has also some further reference, and really delineates a spiritual edifice, which shall be filled, as he expresses it, with "the glory of the Lord."

The circumstances recorded in the fourth chapter of the Prophecy have furnished occasion to infidelity to proclaim a premature triumph. The Prophet, having been commanded to shut himself up in his house, was to take a tile and delineate upon it the city of Jerusalem as in a state of siege, with all the appropriate engines of attack—to set up an iron pan to represent a wall between him and the city, and to continue for the space of three hundred and ninety days to lie upon his left side, signifying the iniquity of Israel; and forty days on his right side, signifying the iniquity of Judah.

The accomplishment of this sign is to be looked for in the siege of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar, and the period of the Captivity of the Ten Tribes. After this, Ezekiel was commanded to take wheat, barley, bean, lentils, millet, and fitches, and to make as many loaves with them as should correspond to the number of days in which he was lying on his right side, and to bake them with human excrements. Having expressed some reluctance to the latter part of the requisition, he was allowed to substitute cow-dung. This act was, like the preceding, emblematical, and designed to prefigure the melancholy and reduced condition of the Israelites during the siege of their Capital. It has furnished, as

we before intimated, an occasion of objection to the enemies of Revelation, which is thus briefly stated and refuted by the judicious Harmer: "M. Voltaire seems to be extremely scandalized at this circumstance, for he has repeated the objection over and over again in his writings. He supposes somewhere, that denying the providence of God is extreme impiety; yet, in other places, he supposes the Prophetic intimation to Ezekiel—that he should prepare his bread with human dung, as expressive of the hardships Israel were about to undergo, could not come from God, being incompatible with his majesty. God, then, it naturally follows, never did reduce by his providence any poor mortals into such a state as to be obliged to use human dung in preparing their bread; never could do it; but those that are acquainted with the calamities of human life will not be so positive upon this point as this lively Frenchman. To make the objection as strong as possible, by raising the disgust of the elegant part of the world to the greatest height, he, with his usual ingenueness, supposes the dung was to be eaten with the bread prepared after this manner, which would form an admirable confession. Comme il n'est point d'usage de manger des telles confitures sur son pain, la plupart des hommes trouvent ces commandemens indignes de la Majesté Divine. (La Raison par Alphabet. Art. Ezekiel.) The eating bread baked by being covered up under such embers, would most certainly be great misery, though the ashes were swept and blown off with care; but they could hardly be said to eat a composition of bread and human excrements. With the same kind of liberty he tells us, that cow-dung is sometimes eaten through all Deserts Arabia (*Lettre du Traducteur du Cantique des Cantiques*), which is only true as explained to mean nothing more than that their bread is not unfrequently baked under the embers of cow-dung; but is eating bread so baked eating cow-dung?"

The testimony of enlightened travellers is very important and illustrative upon this subject. They assure us that the dung of asses and camels is very commonly used for fuel in Eastern Countries, and that, being collected and mixed with cut straw, it is formed into cakes, which are suspended in some sunny situation to dry. Tournefort particularly says, respecting Georgia in the Persian dominions, that all that fine Country yields not one single tree, and they are forced to burn cow-dung. "Oxen are very common here, and they breed them as well for their dung as for their flesh; they will yoke fourteen or fifteen pair to one plough, to turn up the ground; each pair has its man to drive it, mounted like a postilion; all these postillions, who yawl and roar like sailors in a storm, make together a most intolerable canker; we had been accustomed to

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Objection by Infidels.

Answered.

Biography. this noise ever since we left Erzeron." Of the latter place he states, that, "besides the sharpness of the winters, that makes Erzeron very unpleasant, in the scarcity and dearth of wood, nothing but pine-wood is known there; and that, too, they fetch two or three days' journey from the town; all the rest of the country is quite naked—you see neither tree nor bush, and their common fuel is cow's dung, which they make into turf. But they are not comparable to those our tanners use at Paris, much less to those prepared in Provence of the husks of the olive. I do not doubt better fuel might be found, for the Country is not wanting in minerals; but the people are used to their cow-dung, and will not give themselves the trouble to dig for it. It is almost inconceivable what a horrid perfume this dung makes in the houses, which can be compared to nothing but fox-holes, especially the country-houses; every thing they eat has a stench of this vapour; their cream would be admirable but for this putridity, and one might eat very well among them, if they had wood for the dressing their butcher's meat, which is very good." Tournefort, vol. iii. p. 95 and 137.

Daily observation in our own Country corresponds with the above statement of the celebrated traveller. It is by no means uncommon to see the peasantry of Britain collecting the same materials for their winter fuel, and exposing them to dry and harden in the air and sun in a similar manner. Another traveller is still more express upon the point: "Wood is very dear in this Country (Persia), and sold by weight; they give you but twelve pounds of it for fourpence or fivepence, and the same it is with regard to coals. Whence it is they are obliged to make use of turf made of camel's dung, cow-dung, sheep's dung, horse-dung, and ass-dung. The chief Armenians of Julia do so as well as the rest, or else the fire would cost more than the victuals, whereas they give but thirty pence for two hundred and twenty or two hundred and thirty pounds weight of this turf. They use it more particularly for heating of ovens, in which they bake most of their meats in this Country, without trouble and at a small expense. *They even apply human dung this way.*" (Le Bruyn.) According to the preceding statements, the command issued to the Prophet to prepare food in the manner specified would not be likely to excite the surprise which is apt to be felt upon reading the account of the requisition, in Countries generally unaccustomed to such practices. However unintelligible elsewhere, in the times and places referred to it would be perfectly natural and consonant to common use. The Prophet, indeed, expresses some dislike of the preparation with human excrements, as he probably had not been accustomed to it, and as it certainly betokened the extremity of wretchedness and misery; but his request, and the permission to make the exchange recorded, perhaps were intended to represent the feelings of the Jewish nation whom he typified, and the alleviation which would be granted of their severest calamities.

Next to the allusions to the particular affairs of the Jews, the predictions which relate to the fall and desolation of Tyre and Sidon, and the war conducted by Nebuchadnezzar against Egypt, are the most remarkable. These subjects are exhibited in the clearest and most forcible manner, with great strength of colouring, much minute delineation, and with an accuracy which

the subsequent pages of History enables us fully to appreciate. Isaiah, upwards of one hundred and twenty years previously to the threatened destruction, had intimated, in general terms, that the city was to be captured and overthrown by the Chaldeans; but Ezekiel enters into greater particularity, and affirms distinctly that Nebuchadnezzar, King of Babylon, was to be the very person employed by Providence to execute this vengeance, that he should slay the people, and level the fortifications to the dust. Even the hardships to be endured in consequence of the protracted period of the siege are noticed in the expression, "every head was made bald, and every shoulder was peeled." Both the Prophets alluded to also predicted the flight of the inhabitants across the Mediterranean into the adjoining Islands and Countries, where they were still unable to obtain a secure and peaceful retreat. As the Phœnicians were the best navigators of antiquity, and had spread themselves in different directions by planting various colonies, they would naturally repair to their friends in the season of danger; and accordingly Jerome testifies, on the authority of the Assyrian Histories, that when the Tyrians were besieged, after they saw no hope of escaping, they went on board their ships and fled to Carthage, or to some Islands of the Ionian and Ægean sea, carrying with them all the precious things in gold, silver, clothes, and articles of furniture which they could collect, so that the conqueror found little else than bare walls to repay his toils. In consequence of this disappointment, Ezekiel was directed to promise him the conquest of Egypt for a reward, where he was to obtain the spoil and the prey as the wages of his army. (Ezek. xiv. 18, 19.) It is further predicted of Tyre, that the city should be restored after seventy years, and return to her again and merchandise—should be again taken and again destroyed—the people, forsaking their idolatry, should embrace the true Religion—and at length the city should be finally destroyed, and its subversion so complete, that its ancient site should be occupied only by the tents of fishermen. These particulars were literally fulfilled in the subversion of the Babylonian Empire, by Cyrus, at the end of seventy years, when the conquered nations were restored to their liberties, or, according to Newton, the seventy years in question may be computed thus: Tyre was taken by Nebuchadnezzar, in the thirty-second year of his reign, and in the year before Christ 573. Seventy years from that period will bring us to the year 503 before Christ, and the nineteenth year of Darius Hystaspes. At that time the Ionians had rebelled against Darius, and the Phœnicians assisted him with their fleet; it is, therefore, reasonable to infer they were now restored to their privileges. In the succeeding reign, they, in conjunction with the Sidonians, furnished Xerxes with several ships for his expedition into Greece; and by the time of Alexander, the Tyrians were advanced to such a pitch of greatness, that they stopped his progress longer than any other part of the Persian Empire. This relates to Insular Tyre, which flourished long after the old city, and subsequently to the time of Nebuchadnezzar; but was destroyed by Alexander after a siege of seven months. It recovered, however, from this disaster in a few years, and afterwards withstood a siege of fifteen months, before the

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Prophecies relating to Tyre and Sidon.

Biography. fleets and armies of Antigonus could subdue it. The conversion of the city from idolatrous worship to that of the true God was effected by the residence of some Jews and proselytes among them. This happy change is recorded in the Old Testament, and the Tyrians afterwards furnished some illustrious martyrs to Christianity. This celebrated town received a severe blow from the conquest of Alexander, who not only demolished its edifices, but transferred a considerable portion of its trade to his new city of Alexandria, in Egypt. More recently, it changed its masters several times, sometimes being in the hands of the Ptolemies, and sometimes of the Seleucids, Kings of Syria, till at last it fell under the all-subduing Romans. It was taken by the Saracens, A. C. 639; retaken by the Christians in the time of the Holy War, A. M. 1124; taken again by the Mameluks of Egypt, in 1249; and again retaken by the Turkish Emperor Selim, in 1516, under which dominion it continues, such as it is, a heap of ruins and a picture of desolation! Nothing can be finer or more affecting than the description contained in the twenty-seventh chapter of Ezekiel's Prophecy of the original glory and subsequent downfall of this noted city; and modern travellers have illustrated the Prophetic statements by the recital of melancholy facts.

We quote the language of Maundrell: "This city, standing in the sea, upon a peninsula, promises, at a distance, something very magnificent. But when you come to it, you find no similitude of that glory for which it was so renowned in ancient times, and which the Prophet Ezekiel describes, ch. xvi. xlvii. xlviii. On the north side it has an old Turkish ungarrisoned castle; besides which, you see nothing here but a mere Babel of broken walls, pillars, vaults, &c., there being not so much as one entire house left; its present inhabitants are only a few poor wretches harbouring themselves in the vaults, and subsisting chiefly upon fishing, who seem to be preserved in this place by Divine Providence, as a visible argument how God has fulfilled His word concerning Tyre, namely, that it should be 'as the top of a rock, a place for fishers to dry their nets on.'"

To Egypt.

The predictions of Ezekiel, and of the two other principal Prophets, who uttered their inspirations on the subject of the Kingdom of Egypt, are distinctly verified by the profane Historians. Nebuchadnezzar is expressly named as the agent of this mighty overthrow, who was "to make the multitude of Egypt to cease," and with his people were "to draw their swords against Egypt, and fill the land with their slain." Two Heathen Historians, Megasthenes and Berossus, testify to the fact; the former by saying, in direct terms, that Nebuchadnezzar conquered the greatest part of Africa; and the other by alluding to the captives whom he had taken, and the effluvia which he arranged after the decease of his father. Josephus also corroborates this statement. The representations of both Jeremiah and Ezekiel, with regard to Pharaoh-hophni, the King of Egypt, are fully illustrated by the History of Herodotus, who has given him the name of Apries; and, in his *Euterpe*, has recited a number of particulars respecting his misfortunes. The character of this Prince, as pre-eminently for arrogance, is alluded to in remarkably striking terms by our Prophet: "Thus saith the Lord God, Behold I am against thee, Pharaoh, King of Egypt,

the great dragon that lieth in the midst of his rivers, which hath said, My river is mine own, and I have made it for myself;" (Ezek. xxix. 3.) upon which the Historian furnishes a striking comment by representing Apries as most presumptuously boasting, that he was so firmly established, it was not in the power of any god to dispossess him of his Kingdom. The words are, *Ἀπρίου ἐπὶ δέγωντος αὐτοῦ ὅτι ἡ δαυατα αὐτοῦ ἐστὶν ὅρα μὴ μείζων ἐδουλοῖται πρὸς τὴν βασιλείαν αὐτοῦ ἀποβλέπων δαυτῶν ἱερθεῖν ἰδέσθαι.* (ch. 169.) Herodotus goes on to say, that, notwithstanding this boast, he was conquered (by Amasis, one of his officers who rebelled against him, and ultimately succeeded to the sovereignty) and taken prisoner; after his captivity he was conducted to Sam, to what was formerly his own, but then the palace of Amasis, where he was confined for some time, and treated with much kindness and attention. But the Egyptians soon began to reproach Amasis for preserving a person who was their common enemy, which induced him to deliver up Apries to their power. They strangled, and afterwards buried him in the tomb of his ancestors, which stands in the Temple of Minerva.

The Prophecies concerning Gog and Magog, in the Gog and thirty-eighth and thirty-ninth chapters, have excited considerable attention, and have not a little perplexed learned commentators and theologians. Calmet remarks, that Gog is the name applied to the King of the Country which is denominated Magog. Pliny informs us that Scythopolis and Hieropolis were always called by the name of Magog, after their capture by the Scythians; and the Ancients have commonly represented Magog as the father of the Scythians, or Tartars, which has furnished occasion for numerous writers to trace these names in the Provinces and Cities of Great Tartary. Some imagine that the Persians descended from Magog, and affirm that this is the name under which they continue to pass to their own Country; while others represent the Goths as the descendants of Gog and Magog; believing that the war which the Prophet Ezekiel describes as undertaken by the former against the Saints, were those carried on by the Goths, in the Vth Century, against the Roman Empire. Similar descriptions are to be found in the other Prophets, and in the twentieth chapter of the Book of the Revelations distinct mention is made of Gog and Magog. Some interpreters, among whom is Mede, consider these two inspired writers as having different allusions, while they employ the same descriptive terms; and that the Prophecies of John in particular, have a distant reference to some of the unconquered Heathens, who, it is supposed, will manifest a vehement opposition to the true Church, at the closing part of that illustrious period which is designated the Millennium. Calmet, however, in a Dissertation prefixed to the Prophecies of Ezekiel, advocates the opinion that Gog is Cambyzes, the monarch of Persia. The safest, and perhaps the truest method of interpretation, is to conceive that Gog and Magog, both in the Prophecy of Ezekiel and in the Revelations of John, are allegorical personages, designed to indicate generally those potentates who should hereafter prove the most formidable opponents both of the Jewish and the Christian Church. The predicted victories over these foes point to the future restoration and return of the Jews from that dispersion which is in its character so unique, in

Ezekiel.

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Coincidence of
Jeremiah
with Eze-
kiel.

its duration so protracted, and in its consequences so disastrous. Both Jews and Gentiles are looking forward with eager anticipation to this movement of Providence; the former regarding it as the most splendid era of its existence as a nation, the latter as the completion of the triumph of Christianity, and the consummation of human felicity.

Josephus relates that Zedekiah, King of Judah, thought the Prophecy of Ezekiel at variance with the prediction of Jeremiah, importing that "Zedekiah should behold the King of Babylon, and go to Babylon." Ezekiel declared that "Zedekiah should not see Babylon, though he should die there." Each of these Prophecies was, however, accomplished; for Zedekiah saw the Babylonish monarch at Riblah, where his eyes were put out, and whence he was conveyed to Babylon, the place of his death. Jeremiah's Prophecies were sent to his Countrymen who resided in Babylon, as appears from his own writings (chap. xlii. 1): it is probable, also, that Ezekiel's Prophetic denunciations were transmitted to Jerusalem. The Talmudists suppose, from this intercourse and communication between Babylon and Judea, that the Prophecies of Ezekiel were arranged in their present form, and placed by the Elders of the great Synagogue in the Canon of Scripture.

Style of
Ezekiel.

With regard to the style of Ezekiel, Bishop Lowth, in his Lectures on the Sacred Poetry of the Hebrews, thus observes: (*Est atrox, vehemens, tragicus; totus in sensibus, in sensibus elatus, feruens, acerbus, indignandus; in imaginibus secundis, truculentus, et nonnunquam parè deformis, in dictione grandiloquus, gravis, austerus, horridus, et interdum incultus; frequens in repetitionibus, non decoris aut gratia causâ, sed ex indignatione et violentiâ. Quicquid suaverit tractandum id rudè persequitur; in eo unum heret defixus, a proposito raro deflectens, ut terram aridem et juncturam rix unquam requirit. In cæteris, a plerisque vultibus fortasse superatus; sed in eo genere, ad quod videtur a naturâ unum comparatus, nimirum, vi, pondere, impetu, granditate nemo unquam eum superavit*): i. e.

"His is deep, vehement, tragic; the only sensation he affects to excite is the terrible: his sentiments are elevated, fervid, full of fire, indignant; his imagery is crowded, magnificent, terrific, sometimes almost disgusting; his language is pompous, solemn, austere, rough, and at times unpolished: he employs frequent repetitions, not for the sake of grace or elegance, but from the vehemence of passion and indignation. Whatever subject he treats of, that he sedulously pursues, from that he rarely departs, but, elevates, as it were, to it; whence the connection is, in general, evident and well preserved. In many respects he is, perhaps, excelled by the other Prophets; but in that species of enposition to which he seems by nature adapted, the forcible, the impetuous, the great and solemn, not one of the sacred writers is superior to him." "His diction is sufficiently perspicuous," Dr. Lowth continues; "all his obscurity consists in the nature of the subject. Visions (as for instance, among others, those of Hosea, Amos, and Jeremiah) are necessarily dark and confused. The greater part of Ezekiel, towards the middle of the Book especially, is poetical, whether we regard the matter or the diction. His periods, however, are frequently so rude and incompetent, that I am often at a loss how to

pronounce concerning his performance in this respect. Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Ezekiel, as far as relates to style, may be said to hold the same rank among the Hebrews, as Homer, Simonides, and Æschylus among the Greeks. There are some Elegies in Ezekiel, which are actually distinguished by the title of Lamentations, and which may, with the utmost propriety, be referred to the class of Elegies. Among these, are the two Lamentations concerning Tyre, and the King of Tyre." Dr. Blair, in his Lectures, observes of Ezekiel, "in poetical grace and elegance, he is much inferior to them both (Isaiah and Jeremiah); but he is distinguished by a character of uncommon force and ardour." Another writer remarks that Ezekiel "may be compared to the Grecian Æschylus: he displays a rough but majestic dignity; an unpolished though noble simplicity; inferior, perhaps, in originality and elegance to others of the Prophets, but unequalled in that force and grandeur for which he is particularly celebrated. He sometimes emphatically and indigently repeats his sentiments; fully dilates his pictures; and describes the adulterous manners of his Countrymen under the strongest and most exaggerated representations that the licence of the Eastern style would admit." It has been said, also, "that his style is generally very bold and majestic. It is a peculiar species of the sublime, to which some have given the name of the terrible. From the nature of his visions, however, more than from his language, he is often obscure, especially towards the beginning and end of his Book." On this subject the celebrated German, Michaelis, is entitled to be heard, though it may be premised that, however great as a general critic, he has few pretensions to that peculiar talent which, in judging of the merits of Poetry, consists in the possession of an inspiration somewhat analogous to the spirit that dictated the original composition itself. In a sentence preceding the paragraph from Lowth already cited, the Bishop has said that Ezekiel is much inferior to Jeremiah in elegance; in sublimity he is not even excelled by Isaiah; but his sublimity is of a different kind, upon which Michaelis remarks: "I must confess that I feel not perfectly satisfied with myself, when, in a matter entirely dependent upon taste, I can by no means bring myself to agree with our author. So far from esteeming Ezekiel equal to Isaiah in sublimity, I am inclined rather to think that he displays more art and luxuriance in amplifying and decorating his subject than is consistent with the poetical fervour, or indeed with true sublimity. He is, in general, an imitator, and yet he has the art of giving an air of novelty and ingenuity, but not of grandeur and sublimity, to all his compositions. The imagery which is familiar to the Hebrew Poetry he constantly makes use of, and those figures which were invented by others, but were only glanced at, or partially displayed by those who first used them, he dwells upon and depletes with so much accuracy and copiousness, that he leaves nothing to be added to them, nothing to be supplied by the reader's imagination. On this score his ingenuity is to be commended, and he is therefore of use to his readers, because he enables them better to understand the ancient Poets; but he certainly does not strike with admiration or display any trait of sublimity. Of this I will propose only one example; many of the same kind may be found in looking over the writings of this Prophet. In describing

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Blair.

Analysis of
Michaelis.

Biography.—a great slaughter, it is very common in the best Poets to introduce a slight allusion to birds of prey. Thus, in the *Iliad*,

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—*ἄνθρωποι τῶνδε οὐρανὸν αἰετὸς*

ὧν τὸν λῆμα, νηδύοντο, ἐν τῇ γαστρὶ;

Devouring dogs and hungry vultures torn. Pors.

Thus it is the language of boasting in the Historical part of Scripture: 'I will give thy flesh unto the fowls of the air, and unto the beasts of the field.' 1 Sam. xvii. 44. Aaph also, in Ps. lxxviii. 48: 'He gave their cattle to the hail, and their flocks to the birds.' Moses is still more sublime, Deut. xxxii. 23, 24:

I will spend mine arrows upon them;

They shall be eaten up with hunger, a prey unto birds,

And to bitter destruction;

I will also send the teeth of beasts upon them,

With the poison of the reptiles of the earth.

But Habakkuk is more excellent than either of the former (chap. iii. 5), speaking of the victory of Jehovah over his enemies:

Before him went the pestilence,

And his footsteps were traced by the birds.

Doubtless the *birds of prey*. Isaiah is somewhat more copious, chap. xxxiv. 6, 7:

For Jehovah will send a sacrifice in Bozrah,

And a great slaughter in the land of Edom;

And the wild goats shall fall down with them;

And the bullocks together with the bulls;

And their own land shall be drunken with their blood,

And their dust shall be enriched with fat.

These and other images Ezekiel has adopted, and has studiously amplified with singular ingenuity; and by exhausting all this imagery applicable to the subject, has in a manner made them his own. In the first prediction of the slaughter of Magog, the whole chapter consists of a most magnificent amplification of all the circumstances and apparatus of war, so that scarcely any part of the subject is left untouched: he adds afterwards, in a bold and unusual style: 'Thus saith the Lord, Jehovah, speak unto every feathered fowl, and to every beast of the field: Assemble yourselves and come, gather yourselves on every side to the banquet which I prepare for you, a great banquet on the mountains of Israel. Ye shall eat flesh, and ye shall drink blood; ye shall eat the flesh of the mighty, and drink the blood of the Princes of the Earth, of rams, of lambs, and of goats, of bullocks, all of them fallings of Bashan. Ye shall eat fat till ye be satiated, and drink blood till ye be drunken, in the banquet which I have prepared for you. Ye shall be filled at my table with horses and chariots, with mighty men, and with Men of valour, such the Lord Jehovah.' (Ezek. xxxix. 17—20.) In this I seem to read a Poet who is unwilling to omit any thing of the figurative kind which presents itself to his mind, and would think his Poem deficient if he did not adorn it with every probable fiction which could be added; and for this very reason I cannot help placing him rather in the middle than superior class. Observe how the author of the Apocalypse, who is in general an imitator, but endowed with

a sublime genius, and in whose Poem all the splendour of Poetry may be discerned, has conducted these sentiments of Ezekiel: 'I saw an angel standing in the sun; and he cried with a loud voice unto the fowls that fly in the midst of heaven, Come and gather yourselves together unto the supper of the great God; that ye may eat of the flesh of Kings and of Captains, and the flesh of mighty men, and the flesh of horses and of them that sit upon them, and the flesh of all men, both free and bond, both small and great.' Rev. xix. 17, 18.

"But Ezekiel goes yet further, so delighted is he with this image, so intent is he upon the by-paths of the Muses, that he gives even the trees, taking them for Empires, to the birds, and their shades, or ghosts, be consigned to the infernal regions. Thus, chap. xxxi. 13—15: 'Upon his trunk shall all the fowls of heaven remain, and all the beasts of the field shall be upon his branches. To the end that none of all the trees by the water shall exalt themselves for their height, nor shoot up their top among the thick boughs; neither their trees stand up in their height, all that drink water: for they are all delivered unto death to the nether parts of the earth in the midst of the children of men, with them that go down to the pit,' &c. In this we find novelty and variety, great fertility of genius, but no sublimity.

"I had almost forgotten to mention that Ezekiel lived at a period when the Hebrew language was visibly on the decline. And when we compare him with the Latin Poets who succeeded the Augustan Age, we may find some resemblance in the style, something that indicates the old age of Poetry."

Pythagoras is supposed to have acquired his knowledge concerning the Mosaic Law from Ezekiel; and some have even believed him to have been the same person with Nazarius, under whom the Grecian Philosopher is reported to have studied. If, as is commonly said, Pythagoras were born nine years after the Babylonish Captivity, he might have visited Babylon when very young, and have become acquainted with the Prophet in the decline of life: certain it is, that he did travel to Babylon, and, according to some calculations, was contemporary with the Prophet.

Some writers represented Ezekiel as the President of the Tribes of God and Dan, in Assyria, and as having introduced serpents among them for their idolatry. Hieronymus reports that he was put to death by his Countrymen for his invectives against their vices, which a just estimate of the temper of mankind will render by no means improbable. Epiphanius mentions a popular belief in his day, that Ezekiel's remains were deposited in the same tomb with those of Shem and Arphaxad, in the land of Maur. His sepulchre was revered by the Jews, Medes, and Persians. Tudela says, that a roof was built to it by Jewish and thirty thousand Jews, containing the statues of Jeremiah and Ezekiel. A Synagogue and Library were also formed, in which were preserved the Manuscript of Ezekiel's Prophecies. A tomb is still shown as the tomb of this Prophet, about fifteen leagues from Bagdad.

Ezekiel.

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Supposed
intercourse
between
Pythagoras
and Eze-
kiel.

EZRA AND NEHEMIAH.

FLOWISHED FROM A. M. 3547. B. C. 457. TO A. M. 3570. B. C. 434.

Biography.

From
A. M.
3547.
—
B. C.
457.
to
A. M.
3570.
—
B. C.
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THE first of the eminent persons whose names we have placed at the head of this section was a Jewish Priest, and, according to his own testimony, in the seventh chapter of his writings, the son of Seriah, a High-priest who was slain by Nebuchadnezzar, at the reduction of Jerusalem, B. C. 587. The term *son* may, however, be taken, in the large sense of the Hebrew language, to signify descendant, for, in all probability, he was his grandson or great-grandson. This is shown by Prideaux, in a chronological argument, to which considerable attention, to say the least, is due. If he were not born in Assyria during the Captivity, which, however, is likely, he must have been one of the Babylonish captives. Ezra represents himself as a ready Scribe; and as he diligently devoted himself to the study of the laws and judgments of heaven, he obtained a very distinguished respect among the Jews for his learning, pious zeal, and knowledge of the Scriptures.

In the seventh year of the reign of Artaxerxes Longimanus, according to the ordinary computation, about B. C. 457, Ezra was permitted to return with the Jews to Jerusalem, for the purpose of restoring the State and reforming the Church. It is scarcely to be questioned that this act of Royal favour ought to be attributed to the influence of Esther, the Queen, who had been an orphan Jewess under the guardianship of Mordecai, a captive Jew, and who has been justly characterised as "one of the very few that resist the allurements of splendour; that cherish kindness for their poorer relatives; and remember with gratitude the guardians of their youth."

It was on the first day of the first month, called Nisan, or about the middle of March, that Ezra, together with his Countrymen, left Babylon for Jerusalem, and, halting at the Abana, a river of Assyria, he instituted a solemn fast. On the twelfth day, they went forward towards Jerusalem, which they reached on the first day of the fifth month, called Ab, or about the middle of July, having devoted four months to the journey. No sooner were they arrived than the Scribe delivered into the Temple the presents of the Persian King and his Nobles, and those of the people of Israel left behind, amounting to 100 talents of gold, 20 basins of gold, worth 1,000 drachms, and two of copper; and 650 talents of silver, with silver vessels of 100 talents weight. He lost no time in stating the nature of his commission to the King's Lieutenants and Governors of Syria and Palestine, which intimated that he was empowered to settle the Church and State of the Jews according to the Law of Moses; to appoint Magistrates and Judges, with full powers of imprisonment and confiscation of goods, and even with those of banishment and death.

Ezra soon found abundant occasion for the exercise both of his talents and his virtues, which were of no ordinary description. Almost every class of the people had apostatized into idolatrous connections, having

taken wives of other nations in direct violation of the law of God. Upon the discovery of this sad defection, he rent his clothes—that is, his inner and outer garments, and pulled off the hair of his head and beard, as the deepest token of mourning; and, after convening the people by public proclamation, he endeavoured to impress them with a just sense of their impiety, and engaged them by oath to repudiate their wives and dismiss their children; thus retracing their false and illegitimate steps. Commissioners were appointed fully to investigate the affair, which was by this means effectually settled.

Ezra succeeded Zerubbabel in the government of Judea, and in the administration both of Civil and Ecclesiastical affairs, and executed this commission during thirteen years, when, in the twentieth year of Artaxerxes, he was superseded by Nehemiah, who was appointed for the same purpose by the Persian Court. We shall have immediate occasion to notice this eminent individual. Ezra was encouraged to proceed with the reformation of the Church and State by the protection and patronage of Esther; and, in the second year of Nehemiah's government, he was employed from morning to evening, during the Feast of Tabernacles, to read the Book of the Law, of which he is generally reputed to have been the compiler and corrector; but more of this subject presently. The next day he expounded this sacred volume, and continued the practice of reading it in the Temple eighty days, which at length was succeeded by a solemn renewal of the covenant. Whether he retired into a private station in his own Country or returned to Babylon is not certain. According to Josephus, he died and was buried at Jerusalem, in the hundred and twentieth year of his age. Other traditions report, and it is the received opinion among the Jews, that he died in Persia, and was buried on the banks of the river Samarra; where Benjamin Tudela states that his tomb is shown in the city of Zamusa.

The Book which passes under the name of Ezra was The Book doubtless his own composition. In the last four chapters of Ezra, he speaks in the first person: "And hath extended mercy unto me before the King and his counsellors, and before all the King's mighty Princes. And I was strengthened, as the hand of the Lord my God was upon me; and I gathered out of Israel chief men to go up with me." (ch. vii. 28.) Some have pretended that the first six chapters were given, not by Ezra, but by some preceding writer; but their reasons are sufficiently futile, while the authenticity of the whole may be considered as fully established from the most ancient testimonies.

This valuable Book is a continuation of the Jewish History, from the period at which the Chronicles come to a close, and the connection of the two Histories is obvious by the commencing verses of the Book of Ezra,

Ezra.
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Civil Governor
thirteen
years.

Ezra proceeds to Jerusalem.

Biography. which contain a repetition of the concluding part of the Chronicles. Passing over the sad season of the Captivity, the Book begins with declaring that God had already begun his design of ennobling the city and Temple of Jerusalem to be rebuilt, by disposing Cyrus to promote that great event. It relates the fulfilment of several Prophecies, in the release which Cyrus granted in the first year of his dominion in Babylon, and in the return of the people, now first called Jews, after a captivity of seventy years. A list is then furnished of the leaders of numbers of the captives who returned under Zerubbabel. Ezra says, that the whole number amounted to 42,360, but the separate numbers which he mentions are only 29,518 persons; a discrepancy which, perhaps, may be sufficiently accounted for by supposing that he omits some individuals who are viewed collectively, as those of the Ten Tribes, or those who had lost their register. It is not unlikely, moreover, that the text has, in some instances, been corrupted. This list in question evinces the great diminution which the Jewish nation had suffered by war and captivity; so that the Jewish writers persist in affirming, that it was only the dregs of the people that returned. The narration proceeds to notice the erection of a temporary altar and service, and the laying of the foundation of their holy Temple; and the lamentations of those who recollected the magnificence of Solomon's Temple are forcibly depicted; also the opposition of the Samaritans and others, whose proffered services were refused, the final completion and dedication of the Temple, A. M. 3489, and the celebration of the Passover.

A passage found in Justin Martyr.

Justin Martyr, in his Dialogue with Trypho, distinctly asserts that the ancient Hebrew copies contained the following passage, which the Jews expunged: "Ezra said to the people, this Passover is our Saviour and our refuge; and if you will be persuaded of it, and let it into your hearts, that we are to humble Him in a sign, and afterwards shall believe in Him, this place shall not be destroyed for ever, with the God of hosts; but if you will not believe in him, neither hearken to His preaching, ye shall be a laughing-stock to the Gentiles."

Ezra proceeds, in his seventh chapter, to relate his own return with the Jews to Jerusalem; describes the impiety of the people; his earnest supplications; their repentance, and separation from their Assyrian wives and offspring; enumerating the names of the transgressors, and even the Priests and rulers who had broken the law respecting marriage, with an impartiality which alike evinces the faithful Historian and the determined reformer.

The Book of Ezra, from the eighth verse of the fourth chapter, to the twenty-seventh verse of the seventh chapter, is written chiefly in the Chaldee dialect, which was at that period the prevalent language throughout Assyria, Babylonia, and Persia. As this part of the History contains Letters and Decrees originally produced in that language, there was an evident propriety in retaining it, because the Jews, having recently returned from captivity, were probably as much, or even more familiar with the Chaldee than with the Hebrew. Nehemiah has been supposed to intimate, by certain expressions in his eighth chapter (ch. viii. v. 2, 8), that the Law was not universally understood; the meaning of which might be, that some of them had forgotten the Hebrew language during the Captivity.

Ezra has always been held in the highest estimation by his own Countrymen, both as a Priest and as a Prophet; and many have been of opinion, that he is the same person as the Prophet Malachi of the Canon, the common appellation by which he is distinguished being his proper name, and the latter, which signifies an angel, or messenger, being assigned him, with reference to his peculiar office as the restorer of the Jewish Religion to its primitive purity. To him, both Jews and Christians, by a uniform and united tradition, have attributed the honour of collecting, arranging, and publishing the Sacred Code, which has been called the Canon of Scripture, comprising such writings as we are bound to receive as authentic and inspired. He himself is believed to have composed in addition, the greatest part, if not the whole, of the Book which passes under his name, the two Books of Chronicles, and the Book of Esther. These, together with those of Nehemiah and Malachi, were elapsed with the other Sacred writings only fifty years afterwards, when, subsequently to the suspension of the Prophetic spirit, the Books of Scripture were finally closed by Simon the Just and the great Synagogue.

This subject has often been discussed, and the importance of it being abundantly obvious, the present section appears the proper place to enter a little further into the consideration of it. We may therefore state that some of the Christian Fathers have strenuously maintained that the Scriptures were entirely lost during the Babylonish Captivity, and that Ezra consequently re-wrote them by an express revelation. Such were the sentiments of Irenaeus, Tertullian, Clemens Alexandrianus, and Basil. But this is grossly fabulous, and was clearly derived from the fourteenth chapter of the second apocryphal Book of Esdras, a composition which has been falsely imputed to Ezra. It is moreover dangerous, since he who is thus affirmed to have restored them, might be much sooner suspected of forgery than a host of independent writers. It is certain that King Josiah and Hilkiah caused copies to be taken of the Law, which they found in the Temple, in the Schools of the Prophets, or in other places. Hence, though copies of the Law had become excessively scarce, the people of God were then favoured with the opportunity of obtaining them for their use. Although the original of the Law was burned at the destruction of the Temple, within a few years, there must have been many copies still remaining in private hands, from the preceding circulation of them. We are certain that Daniel possessed a copy in Babylon, because he has given a quotation from the Law, and refers to the Prophecies of Jeremiah, which, had he never seen them, must of course have been impossible. "In the first year of his reign, I Daniel understood by Books the number of the years whereof the word of the Lord came to Jeremiah the Prophet, that he would accomplish seventy years in the desolations of Jerusalem. Yes, all Israel have transgressed thy law, even by departing, that they might not obey thy voice; therefore the curse is poured upon us, and the oath that is written in the Law of Moses, the servant of God, because we have sinned against him. As it is written in the Law of Moses, all this evil is come upon us: yet made we not our prayer before the Lord our God, that we might turn from our iniquities, and understand thy truth." Daniel ix. 2, 11, 13.

Ezra.
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Ezra's labours on the Canon.

Opinions of the Fathers respecting it.

Biography. The existence of the Sacred Code is further obvious, from the expression in the eighteenth verse of the sixth chapter of *Ezra*, where it is stated, that the Priests and Levites were settled in their office, according as it is written in the *Book of Moses*; and in the eighth chapter of *Nehemiah*, at the first verse, the people called upon *Ezra to bring the Book of the laws of Moses, which the Lord had commanded to Israel*; expressions which sufficiently indicate their being extant at the time. In addition to these citations, let it be recollected, that the Jews have always been notorious for their extreme jealousy upon the subject of their inspired writings; never admitting as sacred, till after the most scrupulous and rigid examination, a book, a sentence, or a line: to imagine, therefore, that any Priest, as *Ezra*, could, by his single authority and influence, palm upon the nation as divine, or as the ancient and long-written Law, what was simply his own invention, or, to say the best, his own recollection, or even the fruit of his direct inspiration, without our hearing more of such an important claim; or to say that such a person, so naturally qualified to write in the various modes of History, Poetry, and Prophecy, and occupying so important a station in the Jewish Church, yet could at the same moment be so morally disqualified as actually to impose fabrications as facts, attaching other and ancient names to his own,—that is, that he could produce the compositions of a great and good, and even inspired man, through a bad one,—each, or any of these, were too manifestly absurd to be a tenable position.

Actual task of Ezra.

The question, therefore, is, what did *Ezra* actually accomplish? and the reply is, as we have before intimated, he collected, arranged, and published the Books which constituted the Sacred Code. By comparing together the different copies which he would be able to obtain from both private and public repositories, upon his return from Jerusalem, he would detect the discrepancies which had arisen from the ignorance or carelessness of transcribers, and, disposing the several Books in their proper order, he would issue a correct edition up to the Age to which he lived. It would naturally become a part of the labour which, under the influence of a divine inspiration, he accomplished, to exchange certain obsolete phrases for such as were in current use; and, in a few necessary cases, to furnish some additions to the original text, either to elucidate or complete the History, and finally to substitute the Chaldee letters for the Hebrew.

That *Ezra* was the principal agent in thus settling the Scripture Canon (for *Nehemiah* and *Malachi*, if the latter were another person, may be supposed to have rendered him considerable assistance), we have not only the concurrent testimony of the ancient Jews and the earliest Christians, but the corroborating consideration that had he not been able to obtain copies, he could not have executed the commission of the Persian King, as recorded in the *Book of Ezra*, ch. vii. 25, 26,—“And thou, *Ezra*, after the wisdom of thy God that is in thine hand, set Magistrates and Judges, which may judge all the people that are beyond the river, all such as know the laws of thy God; and teach ye them that know them not. And whosoever will not do the Law of thy God, and the Law of the King, let judgment be executed speedily upon him, whether it be unto death, or unto banishment, or to confiscation of goods, or to imprisonment.”

With regard to the vowel-points now found in our VOL. IX.

Hebrew Bibles (and this question is one of considerable interest in Hebrew literature), whether they were the invention of *Ezra* or of some more recent Jew, has been very much debated among learned men.

The following are some of the principal arguments adopted by those learned persons who maintain that the Hebrew vowel-points are of equal authority with the sacred text; *Ezra*, as they believe, having introduced them with a view of determining the genuine sense. With whatever facility the Hebrew language might have been understood previously to the Babylonish Captivity, when it became, in a manner, a dead language, after that period, no precision could attend the reading of it without the vowel-points, but these insertions at once render the word definite, and the sense unambiguous. Hence it is, at least, highly probable, if not certain, that they existed in *Ezra's* time, and were constantly used afterwards. The Masorites of Tiberias were not likely to be the inventors of Hebrew punctuation as some have alleged, because at that period (five hundred years after Christ) all the Jewish Schools were suppressed in Judea, and there was not a sufficient remnant among them of literary capacity to accomplish such an undertaking. There are, moreover, two Works, called *Bahir* and *Zohar*, written, the one just previously to the time of Christ, and the other a short time afterwards, in which several references are made to the vowel-points. And the supposition that they are not of equal authority with the sacred text, is calculated directly to diminish its authority, since every one will be left at liberty to bend the language of Scripture to his own purpose or prepossessions. The advocates of the opposite opinion—or, that the points are of later origin than the time of *Ezra*—say, that the Jews never have made use of copies of the Scripture in their Synagogues which were written with the points, assigning this reason, that when the public reading of the Scriptures was introduced at the constituting of the Canon by *Ezra*, there were no vowel-points in existence. By a comparison of the present pointed Hebrew Bibles with the Septuagint, the Chaldee paraphrases, or the Latin version of *Jerome*, it will be seen that the latter have a different reading of the text from what the Hebrew punctuation requires; proving that the points were not attached to the text in their time, or were little, if at all, regarded. Not a syllable occurs in the writings of the most ancient Jewish authors, or in those of the ancient Christians, for a long period after the commencement of the Christian era, respecting the points in question; although there are various places where the subject might naturally have been expected to be introduced. Hence they affirm, the books of *Bahir* and *Zohar*, before alluded to, are by no means so ancient as many have contended; especially since no mention is made of them for more than a thousand years after they are said to have been written, a circumstance which is, at least, calculated to excite the suspicion of a fictitious date having been imputed to them, to subvert some fraudulent design. The Masorites of Tiberias were men of learning, and long known in Judea; for *Jerome* states, that he made use of them, and whatever difficulty may occur in reading without points, it is to be considered that the Samaritans read the Hebrew text to this day in the Samaritan character without points; and they cannot be supposed to understand Hebrew better than the Jews. With regard to the difficulty of obtaining a consistent, or genuine sense to the words, without a guidance of a fixed

Ezra and Nehemiah.
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A. M.
3547.
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B. C.
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The question of the Hebrew vowel-points.

Biography.

From
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punctuation, no language whatever is devoid of ambiguities, and the general drift of the discourse will, if not in all cases unequivocally, yet in the far greater proportion, determine the meaning; and after all, the strictest punctuation cannot preclude the errors arising from careless transcription, and other inevitable sources of mistake.

It may still be said of this controversy, *sub judice lit est*—although, perhaps, the predominant opinion of the learned is hostile to the divine authority of the vowel-points. Into whichever scale we throw our individual opinion, this is, at least may be, and probably will be, admitted on all hands, that the vowel-points must have been in use at, or immediately subsequent to, the Age of Ezra; and that consequently, from their antiquity, and from their indication of at least the sense in which the ancient Jews understood the oracles of inspiration, they have a considerable claim upon our notice. As a human invention, they may be deemed ingenious and useful, however they may appear to be discarded as authoritative by the omission of their use in the Synagogue worship. It has been justly said, "When every child learned the Hebrew Tongue from his cradle, it was no hard matter for those, who thus understood it by rote, to learn to read it by the letters only, without the vowels; but when it became a dead language, the case was altered (Prideaux's *Connection*, anno 446); for then, instead of understanding it first in order to read it, they were first to read it in order to understand it; and therefore, having not the previous knowledge of the language to direct them herein, they must necessarily have had some other helps, in order to know with what vowel each syllable was to be pronounced; and to give them this help, the vowel-points seem certainly to have been invented; not therefore the time when this invention cannot be placed later than the time when it became necessary, i.e. when the Hebrew became a dead language, and so was acquirable no other way than by study and instruction.

"From this necessity of instruction, and probably not long after Ezra's edition of the Holy Scripture, there sprung up a set of men among the Jews, whose profession it was to write out copies of the Hebrew text, and to preserve and teach the true reading of it. What they did of this kind is called by the Jews the *masorah*, i.e. the *tradition*; because they pretend to have the true reading (as the Talmudists pretend to have the true interpretation) of the Scriptures handed down to them from generation to generation. However, as their whole business was to study the true reading of the Hebrew text, to preserve it from being corrupted, and to teach it to others, it is highly probable that they were the first inventors of vowel-points, because the whole use of these points was to be subservient to this purpose.

"But though these points might be invented by the Hebrew Grammarians, whom we call Masorites, much earlier than some will allow, yet, from their late appearance in the world, it seems very probable, that as at first they might invent them only for their private use, so for some time they might reserve them to themselves, and teach them only to their scholars. For the Jews, we must know, had anciently two sorts of Schools, those of the Masorites and those of the Rabbins. The former taught only the Hebrew language, and to read the Scriptures in it; but the others taught their pupils to understand the word of God, and all the interpretations of it. These were the great Doctors of Divinity among them,

to whom the Masorites were as much inferior as the Teachers of Grammar-schools among us are to the Professors of Divinity in our Universities.

"As long, therefore, as these vowel-points went no higher than the Schools of the Masorites, they were not much regarded among their learned men; and this is the reason why we find no mention made of them either in the Talmud or in the writings of some ancient Fathers, from whom it might have been expected. But after the publication of the Talmud, the Jewish Doctors thought it advisable, in order to preserve the right reading of the text (as the Mishna and Gemara were supposed to preserve the right interpretation), to take this punctuation of the Masorites into their Divinity Schools; and having reviewed and corrected it with great care, they added it to the text, and so gave it all the venerable aspect that it now bears.

"But though these vowel-points were added to the text by such persons as understood the language perfectly, and having since undergone the review and correction of many Ages, may be justly accounted a work as complete in its kind as can be done by human art; yet, since it was only done by human art, it is no authentic part of the Scriptures: and therefore, these points are not so unalterably fixed to the text, but that a change may be made in them, when the nature of the context, the analogy of Grammar, or the style of the language, shall give a sufficient reason for it, especially considering, that notwithstanding their exact fixation at first, they are still liable to the mistakes of transcribers and printers, and, by reason of their number, the smallness of their figures, and their position under the letters, are more liable to suffer by them than any other sort of writing whatever.

"So that, upon the whole, it appears, that though these vowel-points were not affixed to the Hebrew text by Ezra himself, yet were they of early date after his edition of the Holy Scriptures: that though they did not immediately appear to the world, nor are taken notice of by any writer of repute for many Ages after; yet this was occasioned by their being confined to the School of the Masorites, who, to all probability, were the first inventors of them: and though, being of human invention only, they cannot be supposed of equal authority with the text itself; yet are they of excellent use for the preservation of its right reading, and for the prevention of innumerable perplexities and ambiguities that would otherwise be incident to it."

The Canonical Scriptures were anciently divided into three parts, comprising the *Law*, the *Prophets*, and the *Hagiographa*. The last division comprehends the Psalms, the Proverbs, the Book of Ecclesiastes, and the Song of Solomon.

According to this arrangement, the Old Testament consisted of twenty-two Books, corresponding to the letters of the alphabet, to which were added Ezra and Nehemiah.

The five Books of the Law are divided by the Jews into fifty-four sections; and they believe that this division was conformable to the divine intimation to Moses upon Mount Sinai. It is, however, with more probability, attributed to Ezra, who is also supposed to have subdivided the sections into verses called *pesukim*. The most received opinion is, that this invention was intended for the convenience of the Chaldean interpreters.

* Stockhouse's History of the Bible, by Bishop Helyar, vol. ii.

Ezra and
Nehemiah.
From
A. M.
3547.
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A. C.
457.
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A. M.
3570.
—
A. C.
434.

Final state
of the He-
brew Ca-
non.

Biography. To this period many have assigned the origin of the Jewish Synagogues. Ezra, after issuing an edition of the Law and the Prophets, which he had with so much pains rendered correct, appointed the Levites and other Scribes most distinguished for their acquaintance with these invaluable records, to read and expound them to the people, who were at first collected together, as at the time when Ezra read the Law, in some capacious street or opening of the city. The inconvenience of such an attendance at all seasons of the year, naturally suggested the propriety of erecting temporary sheds or tabernacles, and, at length, more substantial edifices for public service. In the midst of them was placed a desk or pulpit, for the purpose of reading and expounding, in imitation of that which Ezra is stated to have used; and, at the upper end, or opposite the door, was a chest containing the Book of the Law, wrapped in an embroidered cloth. Probable, however, in this statement may be considered, some have thought it not unlikely that the Jewish Synagogues existed previously to the Captivity, while others, particularly Basnage (ib. v. ch. 4), have referred them to the more recent date of the Asmonæan dominion.

Nehemiah. NEHEMIAH, who succeeded Ezra in the administration, in the twentieth year of the reign of Artaxerxes, was the son of Hachabiah, and a person of great excellence and exalted piety. Babylon is represented as the place of his birth, and tradition assigns his descent to the Tribe of Judah. It is believed, and apparently with good reason, that he was not the same person who is mentioned by Ezra as having returned with Zerubbabel from the Babylonish Captivity; since no less than ninety-two years intervened between the first year of Cyrus and the twelfth of Artaxerxes Longimanus, and consequently, if they were the same persons, Nehemiah must have been, at least, one hundred years old, a supposition wholly incompatible with his long journey from Shushan to Jerusalem, and with his great exertions and activity during a government of twelve years. His admirable qualities and distinguished family recommended him to the office of Cup-bearer to the King, which was not only a situation of great honour, but of extraordinary emolument; for it appears that Nehemiah acquired so much wealth as to be enabled to live in his government in expensive splendour by means of his own private purse. The *tirshatha* (Ezra ii. 63. and Neh. vii. 65.) was the general term, in the Persian and Chaldean languages, appropriated to the Royal Deputies and Governors.

The office of Cup-bearer gave Nehemiah an intimate and daily access to the King, which afforded the opportunity of conciliating his favour, and of course of obtaining any purpose which he might have at heart. That he would not improperly, or for any unjustifiable ends, avail himself of this privilege, is plainly deducible from his character; and on the other hand it cannot be questioned that there is a legitimate use of station and of influence which does not derogate from the dignity of real worth, and which, in certain cases, may essentially conduce to the welfare of individuals or the happiness of mankind. Such was precisely the fact in the present instance. When it became his turn to wait, in the regular discharge of his office, the King noticed a very considerable alteration in his general appearance; he remarked that his countenance seemed to be remarkably beclouded, as if with anxious care, and that all his habitual cheerfulness had suddenly forsaken him. This led to those inquiries

through which the King learned the deplorable condition of Nehemiah's native Country, and especially of its metropolis, which affected him with the deepest grief. He took occasion, therefore, to request the Royal permission to revisit the land of his ancestors, and to undertake the rebuilding of the city. This request, seconded by the intercession of the Queen, was favourably accepted, and he received a commission, as Governor of the Province of Judea, to repair the walls of the place, and restore it to the same condition in which it was previously to the Babylonish incursion. Royal Letters were, at the same time, despatched to the Governors beyond the Euphrates to afford every requisite assistance. Asaph, the keeper of the forests, was to furnish whatever timber might be found necessary to accomplish the work, and a guard of horse was appointed to accompany him on his journey.

Having reached the place of his destination, Nehemiah continued three days among the people without communicating to them any information with regard to the design of his visit: and it was not until the fourth day, after going privately round the walls in the preceding night, that he summoned the principal people together, produced his commission, and solicited their concurrence in the laborious undertaking. To this proposal they instantly gave a unanimous and most joyful assent. The plan adopted for the execution of the project was to divide the people into companies, assigning to each his proper district and portion of labour, while Nehemiah himself superintended the whole.

Great and good works are seldom suffered to advance far without opposition. A misunderstanding of their design, or an envy of the parties engaged in them, often sets a thousand engines in motion to obstruct or counteract the proceedings. Such is human nature, and such will ever be the sad development of its deformity. Sanballat, a Monbith officer, and Tobiah, an Ammonite, both equally inimical to the prosperity of the Jews, soon began to use the frequent and ready-made weapons of hostility, scoffing and ridicule. As the persons who had undertaken the business, however, were not acting without being duly authorized, and were out to be easily shaken in their purpose or counteracted in their plan, these wretched confederates sent to some of the neighbouring nations to induce them to unite in attempting the demolition of the works and the destruction of the people engaged in their execution. But the Governor, having discovered the plot, took care to watch their motions, and to form a proper guard to defend the workmen, ordering each one for himself to provide arms in case of attack. He moreover poured out earnest supplications to Heaven, the necessity for which he did not suppose was superseded even by the best preparations for defence, and urged the people to proceed by every encouraging address and argument.

These measures completely overawed their enemies, who now tried other expedients, and pretending to adjust their differences amicably, several times invited Nehemiah to a conference in one of the villages in the plain of Ono, in the Tribe of Benjamin; but he, aware, no doubt, of their treacherous intentions, absolutely declined the interview. Sanballat next resorted to the stratagem of sending a Letter with the following statement: "It is reported among the Heathen, and Gashmu saith it, that thou and the Jews think to rebel: for which cause thou buldest the wall, that thou mayest be their King, according to these words. And thou hast also appointed

Ezra and
Nehemiah.
A. M.
3559.
—
B. C.
445.

His commission
to Jerusalem.

Plan for
rebuilding
the city.

San-
Opposition.

Stratagems
of the Jews'
enemies.

Cup-bearer
at Shushan.

Biography.

Prophets to preach of thee at Jerusalem, saying, There is a King in Judah: and now shall it be reported to the King, according to these words. Come now therefore, and let us take counsel together." (Nehem. vi. 6, 7) To these allegations a reply was sent, consisting of a manly and positive denial, and charging Sanballat as their contriver. He had now only one last resource, the bribing to his interest Shemshai, the son of Delaiah the Priest, a friend of his enemy. Nehemiah, going one day to the house of Shemshai, he pretended to prophecy that his enemies would that night make an attempt upon his life, and advised him to seek security by accompanying him into the inner part of the Temple, or Sanctuary, which was, indeed, a place of great safety, being guarded by the Levites; and, on account of its holiness, could not be hostilely entertained. The design of this was twofold—to dishearten the people, by convincing them of their Governor's apprehensions; and to facilitate the capture and destruction of the place, by depriving them of their general. It also had a tendency to give countenance to the report of his departure from his allegiance to the King, since he would thus have fled when the report was put in circulation; and, besides, he might, by this means, have been secured by some priestly confederates, till the season of action was passed. The contrivance, however, did not avail, since Nehemiah refused the advice that was given him, on the ground of its being inconsistent with Honour and Religion. He, moreover, soon perceived the true origin of this insidious suggestion.

The wall's
finished.

In the space of fifty-two days the whole work was completed, such was the extraordinary zeal of the Governor, and such the indefatigable industry of the people. A dedication of the walls and gates of Jerusalem was then solemnly observed, to appropriate the whole to the service of God, and to perpetuate the remembrance of the divine goodness, as well as to serve the purpose of a public celebration. Sacrifices and offerings were presented in the Temple, and the great Feast of Tabernacles was religiously observed. Nehemiah's conclusion and testimony at this happy termination of his labours are interesting. "And it came to pass," says he, "that when all our enemies heard thereof, and all the Heathen, that were about us saw these things, they were much cast down in their own eyes: for they perceived that this work was wrought of our God."

Nehemiah
returns to
Persia.

With the view, probably, of returning to Shushan, to inform the King of the present aspect of his affairs in Judæa, and perhaps to counteract the reports which his inveterate enemies might have put in circulation to a wide extent, Nehemiah appointed his brother Hanani (who had proved his zeal by going from Jerusalem to Shushan, first to communicate information of the state of his Country) to the charge of the gates; and Hananiah, another person of unquestionable principle, to the direction of his house or palace; and to both in conjunction, the general superintendence of the affairs of the city. He afterwards arranged for the chief men of the State to fix their abodes at Jerusalem, on account of the present diminished condition of the population, which required to be recruited, while the remainder were to eat lots, by which a tenth part of all the people of Judah and Benjamin were obliged to reside in the city. These were the two Tribes that anciently possessed Jerusalem, which was situated partly in one Tribe, and partly in the other; but the precise divisions have never been accurately ascertained.

Immediately before Nehemiah's return to Shushan, Ezra produced the Sacred Code, which he had been zealously engaged in completing, and, assisted by thirteen other Priests, publicly read and expounded it to the assembled multitude from a raised platform or pulpit, which was erected for the purpose of rendering him the more conspicuous and the more easily heard.* To this circumstance we have already adverted in our preceding account of this celebrated Scribe.

Notwithstanding the precautions taken by Nehemiah, especially in the appointment of the solemn reading of the Law, and the public renewal of their attachment to it, he had not left the Capital long before the people became exceedingly corrupt, which may be chiefly attributed to Eliashib, the High-priest, who was allied by marriage to Tobiah, one of the great enemies of the Jews, but who had, in consequence of this connection, obtained apartments in the Temple. Upon his return, therefore, Nehemiah resolved to correct this shameful abuse; but so much had Tobiah insinuated himself into the affections of the people, that he was compelled to proceed most cautiously. He accordingly caused the Book of the Law to be read, and when a passage in Deuteronomy was recited, which states that an Ammonite or Moabite should not come into the congregation of the Lord, even to the tenth generation for ever (Deut. xiii. 8.), they were instantly convinced of their error, and, under the Governor's directions, who availed himself of the favourable moment, Tobiah's furniture was cast out of the sacred chambers, and they were again purified and restored to their legitimate use. Nehemiah zealously proceeded with the work of reformation, restoring to its holy design the Sabbath, which had been profaned by secular employments, dissolving irregular associations in marriage which had been unlawfully formed with strangers, and re-organizing other parts of the State which had fallen into decay and corruption. This last act of salutary government took place about the fifteenth year of the reign of Darius.

It is not known how many years Nehemiah lived after his return from Persia; it seems probable that he attained a great age, and was the last Governor of the Province, delegated by the Persian Kings, who, it is thought, afterwards left its general superintendence to the Jewish High-priest, till Alexander the Great subjugated the Empire. Nehemiah is believed to have continued in his government till his death, notwithstanding all the revolutions in the Persian Court, which were by no means few or trifling; for Xerxes his son succeeded Artaxerxes, or the Artaxerxes of Profane History, and was followed by Sogdianus, who slew him, after he had reigned only forty-five days. Sogdianus was, in his turn, put to a violent death, after six months and fifteen days, by his successor Ochus; who seized him by a stratagem, and cast him headlong into ashes. Ochus assumed the name of Darius, and after murdering his brother Arsites, and suppressing several insurrections, ruled over Persia nineteen years, during which period Nehemiah was living, and whether he or his Prince paid the debt of nature first is uncertain. (Vide Prideaux's Connection, en. 425.) It will be useful to

* "We are not to think," says Patrick, in his Commentary on the Book of Nehemiah, "that this pulpit was made in the fashion of ours, which will hold no more than ten persons, for (as we may observe by the very next words) it was made large and long enough to contain fourteen people at once."

Ezra and
Nehemiah

A. M.
3550.
—
B. C.
445.

Corruptions
in his ab-
sence.

Zeal on his
return.

Death.

Biography. subjoin, at this period of the Sacred History, and before we enter upon the list of the Prophetic lights that was now about to shine, a Table of the order and time of the

appearance of the Jewish Prophets, according to Archbishop Newcome, who follows, as we have done, the chronology of Blair's Tables, with some slight variations.

*Ezra and
Nehemiah*

A. M.
3559.
—
B. C.
445.

The Prophets, in their supposed Order of Time.

	Before Christ.	Kings of Judah.	Kings of Israel.
Jonah ..	{ Between 856 and 784. }		{ Jehu and Jehonah, according to Lloyd; but Josiah and Jeroboam the Second, according to Blair. }
Amos ..	{ Between 810 and 785. }	Uzziah, ch. i. 1.	Jeroboam the Second, ch. i. 1.
Hosea ..	{ Between 810 and 725. }	Uzziah, Jotham, Ahaz, the third year of Hezekiah. }	Jeroboam the Second, ch. i. 1.
Isaiah ..	{ Between 810 and 698. }	{ Uzziah, Jotham, Ahaz, and Hezekiah, chap. i. 1. and perhaps Manasseh. }	Overthrown.
Joel ...	{ Between 610 and 660, or later. }	Uzziah, or possibly Manasseh.	Overthrown.
Micah ..	{ Between 758 and 698. }	Jotham, Ahaz, and Hezekiah, chap. i. 1. }	Pekah and Hoshea.
Nahum ..	{ Between 720 and 698. }	Probably towards the close of Hezekiah's reign. }	Overthrown.
Zephaniah	{ Between 640 and 609. }	In the reign of Josiah, ch. i. 1.	Overthrown.
Jeremiah.	{ Between 628 and 566. }	In the thirteenth year of Josiah.	Overthrown.
Habakkuk	{ Between 612 and 598. }	Probably in the reign of Jehoiakim. }	Overthrown.
Daniel ..	{ Between 606 and 534. }	During all the Captivity.	Overthrown.
Obadiah.	{ Between 589 and 583. }	{ Between the taking of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar and the destruction of the Edomites by him. }	Overthrown.
Ezekiel..	{ Between 595 and 536. }	During part of the Captivity.	Overthrown.
Haggai..	{ Between 520 and 518. }	After the return from Babylon.	Overthrown.
Zechariah	{ From 520 to 518, or longer. }		Overthrown.
Malachi .	{ Between 436 and 397. }		Overthrown.

MALACHI, AND THE LATTER MINOR PROPHETS.

FLOURISHED FROM ABOUT A. M. 3416. B. C. 568. TO A. M. 3607, B. C. 597.

Biography.

To this latter period of History belongs the Prophet MALACHI, who maintains the singular and interesting position of the last individual of the Jewish Church to whom the Prophetic inspiration was communicated. Justin Martyr, indeed, has maintained that this inspiration did not cease till the Christian era, but this idea is wholly unsupported by evidence. We have before alluded to the notion that the name assigned to this Prophet was merely a term descriptive of the character of Ezra, as the messenger of the Lord, commissioned to execute an important business on behalf of his nation, and that, consequently, these supposed different persons ought to be regarded as one and the same individual. The contrary, however, is by far more probable; for, in addition to the general consideration that the names of the Prophets were frequently given to designate their office, his Writings have always held a distinct situation in the Hebrew Canon, and there is no sufficient reason for displacing them.

Previously, however, to the mention of further particulars of Malachi, we must not wholly omit three others, who have been classified under the general appellation of *Minor Prophets*, and who stand in immediate connection. We have already spoken, in the proper place, of JOSHUA, AMOS, HOSEA, MICAH, NAHUM, JOEL, ZEPHANIAH, and HABAKKUK. (Vid. HISTORY, ch. iv.) It now remains to furnish a brief notice of those who succeed in chronological order; premising, what should not be forgotten with regard to the common, and perhaps improper epithet applied to these illustrious men, that they are not called *Minor Prophets* with reference to any inferiority in their Writings, either in respect of the composition, the diction, or the subjects of their Prophecies, but solely on account of their small extent in point of quantity. In the Hebrew Canon their Writings are comprised in a single volume, and were, probably, collected into that form by EZRA, or some other member of the Great Synagogue.

ORADIAH is to be placed next in chronological order to HABAKKUK. His name signifies "servant of the Lord;" but he himself has furnished us with no account of his origin, nor of the period when he was honoured with revelations from heaven, nor, indeed, with a single particular of his own life. Certain traditionary accounts represent him as a native of Bethsamar, and of the Tribe of Ephraim. It is also said that he died in Samaria; but neither the mode of his life nor death are, in fact, ascertained with the least degree of certainty. The most probable opinions with regard to the time of his Prophecies, refer them to a little after the destruction of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar. He represents the cruel character of the Edomites, and declares that, whatever might be their fancied security, they should certainly be "cut off;" but he assures the Jews of their future restoration, and of the establishment of the spiritual Kingdom of God. Short as the book is, there

is, nevertheless, great beauty in the composition, and great importance in the events to which it refers.

The next in succession is HAGGAI, said to have been of sacerdotal extraction, and the first of the three Prophets who flourished after the Jews returned from their Captivity. He was raised up for the evident purpose of stimulating Zerubbabel, and Josiah the High-priest, to resume the building of the Temple, after the interruption of fourteen years, occasioned chiefly by the intrigues of the Samaritans. His Work commences with a remonstrance with the people for being so solicitous about the completion and adornment of their own houses, and neglectful of the house of God, declaring that the scarcity they experienced was to be attributed to this cause. The glory of the latter Temple, he affirms, should very much surpass that of the former—not, indeed, in external splendour, but in spiritual and inward magnificence; for, in the latter, the incarnate Messiah was to supply the place of the symbolical and prefigurative Shekinah. The people are then appealed to avert upon the subject of their offences and transgressions, and consoled by the promise of future blessings; after which the Prophet proceeds to represent the commotions and revolutions that should precede the great advent of the Messiah typified by Zerubbabel, and which seem to have received their accomplishment in the state of the Babylonian affairs under Darius, the Macedonian wars, those between the successors of Alexander, or those which followed the death of Caesar in the Roman Empire. Bishop Lowth characterises Haggai as "the most obscure of the Prophetic writers." He has some fine poetical passages, though, in general, his Work may be considered as a prose composition. He is said, by Epiphanius, to have been buried among the Priests at Jerusalem.

ZECHARIAH was the son of Berechiah, but no certain information can be obtained of the precise period or place of his birth. It is probable that he was of the sacerdotal race, and consecrated to the priestly office. He was evidently contemporary with Haggai, and was, like him, sent to urge the Jews to proceed with the building of the Temple; and to which admonitions and appeals they paid attention. He continued to prophesy more than two years, and probably lived to witness the completion, in about six years, of the undertaking. Our Saviour describes the Jews as being guilty of the sin of Zechariah, the son of Berechiah, whom they slew between the Temple and the altar; but, as it is believed that the Prophet died in peace, it is supposed that Zechariah, the son of Jehoids, is intended, who was slain in the court of the Lord's house, at the command of Joash. (2 Chron. xxiv. 21.) If this be the case, the copyists might have inserted Berechiah from a mistaken supposition of the reference being to the Prophet; and it is observable that in the parallel passage of Luke, Berechiah is not mentioned. (Mat. xxiii. 35. Luke xi. 5.)

Malachi.

A. M.
3454.
—
B. C.
520.

A. M.
3416.
—
B. C.
568.

A. M.
3456.
—
B. C.
519.

Biography. Jerome, moreover, states, that in a manuscript copy of the Gospel of Matthew, used by the Nazarenes, which he had permission to copy, it was written the son of Jehoida. The Prophecies of Zechariah contain several splendid passages; and he was so remarkable for several excellences, as to have obtained the characteristic epitaph of the Sun among the lesser Prophets. His Poetry is chiefly to be found towards the latter part of his volume, the rest being in Prose. The whole is constructed in the most beautiful manner, and bears a striking resemblance to the style of Jeremiah; so much so, indeed, that the Jews were accustomed to say that the spirit of Jeremiah had passed into him. He foretold the siege of Babylon by Darius the son of Hystaspes; and the Jews are believed to have taken warning by his premonitions, to withdraw into a place of security. The coming of Christ, also, is represented by him in very express terms, and the lowliness of His condition particularly specified.—“Rejoice greatly, O daughter of Zion; shout, O daughter of Jerusalem: behold thy King cometh unto thee; He is just and having salvation; lowly and riding upon an ass, and upon a colt the foal of an ass.” Nor must we here omit to notice, that as the 13th verse of the eleventh chapter of this Prophet, relating to some of the circumstances of our Saviour’s crucifixion, is quoted by St. Matthew as spoken by Jeremiah, many learned men have assigned this and the two preceding chapters to the latter Prophet, and suppose them to have been accidentally inserted amongst those of Zechariah. Others have also regarded the twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth chapters of Zechariah as belonging to some earlier Prophet. For the latter conjecture there appears to be no foundation, and the inspiration of these portions of the Canon is placed beyond a question, by the distinct quotations of them in the New Testament. The former incongruity has been thought to be removed by supposing the Evangelist to allude to some traditional Prophecy of Jeremiah, and more probably by the supposed mistake of some copyist of the Gospel, who transcribed the name of Jeremiah for that of Zechariah.*

MALACHI is represented by the author of the *Lives of the Prophets*, under the name of Epiphanius Dorotheus, and by the *Chronicon Alexandrinum* to have been of the Tribe of Zebulun, and a native of Sephas, where it is reported he was buried, having died at an early age; but not before he had rendered some effective assistance to the Great Synagogue, who were engaged in restoring order and prosperity to their Country. As the light of Prophecy terminated with his ministry, it may be considered as coinciding with the accomplishment of the first seven weeks of the Prophecy of Daniel, according to Pridenax, (A. M. 3395,) but, as others suppose, a few years later. That he prophesied after Haggai and Zechariah is certain, for the worship of the Temple, now restored, was regularly conducted, and his ministry probably succeeded that of Nehemiah. His style is described by Lowth as of the middle kind, seeming to indicate that the Hebrew Poetry, from the time of the Babylonian Captivity, was in a declining state, and being

poor its prime and vigour, fast verging towards the debility of age.

After beginning his Prophetic testimony with a representation of the extraordinary affection of God for the people whom he had chosen, in preference to all other nations, and to whom he had communicated the blessings of his peculiar covenant, Malachi charges them, in the name of heaven, with base ingratitude, flagrant disobedience, and impious profanation. Both Priests and people are described as infected with a similar spirit of transgression, and are threatened with the most exemplary punishment. It is obvious that the Prophet refers to offences of a similar kind with those which had excited the indignation of Nehemiah, which corroborates the supposition of the coincidence or near succession of his ministry to the period of that illustrious Governor. He represents the Priests as mercenary and profane, and the people as multiplying divorces and intermarriages with idolaters; and, after denouncing the wrath of God, and declaring His weariness at their iniquities, and animating His intention to bestow His mercies upon the Heathen, where His name should be highly revered and celebrated, he passes on to announce the sudden manifestation of the Lord in His Temple, after preparing His way by “the Messenger of the Covenant.” Alluding to the operations of a refiner’s fire and of fuller’s soap, he states that, at His appearance, he would purify the sons of Levi, that the offerings they were accustomed to present should no longer be corrupt, but acceptable, as done “in righteousness,” and should thus partake of the spiritual character of those of their distinguished ancestors in “the days of old,” and be equally “pleasant unto the Lord.” In the same spirit, and with similar methods, he declares his resolution to testify against all their transgressions, and utterly to exterminate them; appealing, as a proof of the impossibility of allowing these bad practices to proceed to any greater extent without a proper chastisement, to the unchangeableness of his nature, as the God of Holiness. This is followed by an exhortation to repentance, accompanied with a remonstrance with them for those strange and rebellious sentiments they had cherished, and even unblushingly expressed, and promises of abundant pardon and blessing.

The conclusion of this volume of Prophecy points to the advent of the great Messiah, under the magnificent image of the “Sun of Righteousness, arising with healing in his wings,” till which period they were directed to keep the Law of Moses with its corresponding ceremonies and services, which would still be adapted to the obscure period of the prefigurative dispensation up to the era of the breaking of the evangelical morning upon the long-beighted world. Elijah is also named as the precursor of the new economy, whose office it would be to reform the principles and enlighten the minds of the people, and thus to avert the impending and merited judgments of the Almighty. Under the name of the ancient and self-mortifying prophet was couched a prediction of John the Baptist, our Saviour’s illustrious precursor, of whom it is expressly recorded, “This (John) is Elias, which was for to come.” (Mat. xi. 14.)

Having thus reached a remarkable period when the

Malachi.

A. M.
3363.
—
B. C.
436.

A. M.
3568.
—
B. C.
436.

A. M.
3607.
—
B. C.
397.

* On MS. the Syriac and Persian versions, and God. Ver. et Veron. in Bianchini Kvang. quod. read *hā vā vā vā vā vā*, (in Matt. xvi. 9,) without any name,” observes Dr. Gray, in his valuable Key to the Old Testament.

Biography.

A. M.

3607.

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B. C.

397.

General re-
fections on
the Prophe-
tic testi-
mony.

stream of inspired communications suddenly ceased to flow, and a season of four hundred years, unbrightened by Prophecy illumination, followed, it may not be improper, before dismissing the subject, to offer a few cursory observations on that singular order of men whose biography has so long engaged our attention.

Calculating from Moses to Malachi, the Prophets occupied a period of more than a thousand years, continually directing the Jewish nation to the covenant of God and the grand development of its blessings in the future but hastening era of our Saviour's manifestation. It was their invariable reference to this great circumstance of human History that diffused a splendour over those of their minor predictions which contained an allusion to it, and impressed an importance and a glory upon each Prophetic scroll as it opened in succession before the eyes of Israel. Their appointment to the office they assumed was evinced in the miraculous attestations which they were enabled to give to their testimony, of which several instances are recorded in the Sacred History, and in the instant completion of many predictions which are also the subjects of History. We have still further evidence in the daily fulfilment of their Prophecies in the latter times, and, in addition to these considerations, their high claims to notice were sustained by an unimpeachable integrity, as well as by the very nature and tendency of their communications. The Jews held this as an axiom, that the spirit of Prophecy never rested upon any but a wise and holy man, one whose passions were allayed; and it must be seen, that, during the long and glorious succession to which we have alluded, the name of no Prophet occurs who is not entitled to the highest respect and reverence on account of his personal excellences. The zeal which they displayed was of no ordinary kind, both as it regards its intensity and its purity. It does not appear to be blended with the unhallowed fire of human passions, however fiercely it rages against the impieties of mankind, but equally delights in expressing its condescending benevolence and inviting forbearance of the Most High, as in representing His displeasure. Their mode of life was generally retired and austere when not immediately occupied in the duties of their office; these required their frequent attendance at Courts and camps, and in the public assemblies of the people. In their common deportment they resembled the Great Teacher whom they were inspired to predict, and of whom they have been considered as, in some degree, the living prototypes.

"In general," to quote some recent remarks on this subject, "the Prophets chose to live in the plainest manner; they built their houses with their own hands, and wore a coarseness of a dark brown colour. Instead of availing themselves of the opportunities with which they were often presented, of acquiring riches, or of frequenting the luxurious tables of the great, they sometimes refused the most valuable presents. Of this we have a remarkable specimen, when Elisha declined the gifts of Naaman, and inflicted a dreadful punishment upon Gehazi for his contrivance to secure

them. If the mean attire and mode of living, which distinguished the ancient Prophets, cannot be viewed in the light of an authoritative example to future Ages, and if something may be reasonably conceded to the practices of different nations, this may be received as an axiom, that those whom Providence has appointed to the sacred office ought to avoid all unnecessary show in their appearance, and all ambitious aspiring after the vain splendours of life; for 'the fashion of this world passeth away.' On the other hand, it is the duty (the allusion is to the story of the Shunammite) and should be considered as the principle of pious individuals, to whom Providence has dispensed riches or competence, to minister to the necessities of the poor servants of God; who, while devoting their lives to promote their spiritual comfort and that of their families, have neither time nor means to rescue themselves from a state of dependence and poverty."^a

The Prophets were accustomed to deliver their predictions aloud in some place of public resort, or otherwise affixed them in the gates of the Temple. Sometimes they assumed a clothing of sackcloth, particularly to denote their humiliation and sorrow for the disobedience of the people, or on account of any judgments they were taught to anticipate; and in other cases they employed various external signs of distress or degradation—as when Isaiah walked naked, or but partially clothed, and barefoot. Many writers, however, maintain that these things merely passed in vision to the Prophets, and were not real transactions; and to this opinion some considerable probability at least may be attached.

With regard to the peculiar nature of Prophetic inspiration, it would be unsuitable here to enter upon those controversies which have arisen from this subject. The Prophet's understanding seems in general to have been influenced, rather than his fancy or passions, though, in some instances, doubtless, all were engaged. That he himself was sensible of a divine control is obvious, and fully capable of appreciating its reality, by the distinctness and grandeur of the impressions; but what might have been the peculiar mode of its communication cannot always be ascertained: probably sometimes by one method, sometimes by another—in dreams, and visions, and voices, and angelic messengers, and secret, but infallible impulses. By these means they were enabled to record accurately what they had seen, what was past, or what was yet to come. Generally, it is probable, the sense, or matter, rather than the precise words was conveyed, a supposition which is justified by noticing that our Saviour wholly quotes the Prophecies in this manner, and not with verbal accuracy; but, in many cases of express supernatural communication, the very words themselves were doubtless inscribed upon the Prophet's memory, and conveyed by his pen to his page. While in no case were they permitted to err, this statement of the nature of the inspiration admits of that diversity of style which is observable in their Writings, as comporting entirely with the uniformity of Truth.

Malachi.

A. M.

3607.

—

B. C.

397.

^a Cox's *Female Scrip. Biog.* vol. ii. p. 406.

Biography.

From
A. M.
3554.
— B. C.
450.
to
A. M.
3569.
— B. C.
435.

Tragedy was continually multiplying: the great virtues and great vices that exerted themselves were first portrayed and then stimulated by the true Poet, and formed the most prominent features in the moral landscape; while the lighter shades of human character, the peculiar levities, the characteristic traits of frivolity, upon which the whole structure of Comedy is so dependent, were not observed, because they had not yet been elicited by circumstances, and exist but in a more artificial state of Society. Neither Comedy nor Satire could have found originals to copy nor feelings to work upon in the early Ages of the world: the whole inhabitants of a district were divided mainly into two classes—those of the artisan and the soldier; and the simplicity and necessities of the one, and the bullying insolence of the other, were almost the only topics upon which the old Comedy could descant. There was little subdivision of labour, and no subdivisions of character; the grave professions, which have always furnished in their unworthy members the most ample scope for Satire, were unknown at this period. Cervantes might have looked in vain for the archetype of the Knight of La Mancha, or Le Sage for the original of his Sangrado; character was generic, not specific, and what might be predicated of the genus might be justly applied to the species. It is only in the higher state of polish which Society was for Ages reaching after, that we can find the diversified personages, the Proteus characters of modern Comedy; and it would be as absurd to look for the "Dramatis Personæ" of Molière and Sheridan in the Comic writings of Greece or of Rome, as to expect to find the portrait-painting of Shakspeare in the rude outline of Æschylus. Hence, and with great justice, the rude or perfect state in which the Art of Comic writing exists, has been considered by various writers as the great criterion by which the civilization or barbarism of a people may be appreciated. It was only in the elegant Court of Augustus that the kindred Art of Satire, which had been first rudely essayed by Lucilius, received its last polish from the hands of Horace; and the coarse jests and coarser language of Plautus were finally discarded for the more elegant and harmonious strains of Terence.

*At nostri pravi Plautinus et noster et
Lucilius solus, noster patrister strampus,
Ne dessem stultis, miris; in modo ego et vos
Sonus carbo nem lepide argueris dictis,
Legitimusque sonus, digna collatus, et aure.*

Hon. *Ans. Port.*

Our ancestors praised both the wit and numbers of Plautus, and admired him, I will not say foolishly, but certainly in too reasonable a manner; that is, if you and I knew the difference between rustic and elegant diction, and are skilled to discern harmony and melody of verse both by our ears and fingers.

Amongst the Athenians, too, it is evident that the improvement of Comedy kept pace with the refinement of the national manners and the delicacy of the national taste. The Old Comedy of Greece permitted the illustrious Statesmen, Generals, and public characters of the Commonwealth to be brought forward on the stage by name, and held up to ridicule, even personally, before an applauding audience; until it was deservedly superseded by what is termed the Middle Comedy, which abolished the Chorus, and compelled the Poet to substitute for any real personages or characters, in whom he attempted to satirize the vices and follies of the times, disguised or fictitious names. This

improvement paved the way, and, in fact, may be considered as the stepping-stone to the introduction of the New Comedy, under the auspices of Menander and Philemon; a form of the Attic Drama which finally introduced the Comedy of the Moderns. As it remains, indeed, in the Works of Terence, the *domidatus Menander* of Rome, it may be considered as affording the entire foundation of this branch of the Dramatic Art, with the exception of the passion of love, and so have had the same general cast of character which pervades these productions to the present day. The increasing civilization, and the consequent delicacy of manners, has happily been correcting the worst features of Comedy to a very recent period in this Country; and the obscenity of such early dramatists as Æschylus and Ælin would not be tolerated by the audiences who are capable of appreciating the chaste beauties of Cumberland and the sparkling elegance of Sheridan. In the satirical Writings of this Country, too, we may observe a similar improvement in the national feeling, corroborative of our preceding remarks. The coarse Satires of Donne and the gross ribaldry of Swift slumber on the shelves, to which they are still admitted, with the compositions of Rabelais; there to shield from dust the chaster efforts of the modern Muse; to be admired and quoted, but rarely read. The Spiritual Comedies, which were so much admired by the Italians in the infancy of their Dramatic literature, shared a similar fate at its maturity, and were universally scouted as the production of a semi-barbarous Age. On a comparison, then, between the progress and perfection of the ancient Tragedy and Comedy, respectively, it appears that the former, almost with its first efforts, reached the summit of a still unrivalled perfection, and sprang, like Pallas, from the brain of Jove, mature in infancy; while the Comic Muse languished from her birth in obscurity and deformity, and required the fostering hand of care, and of nature as well as artificial support, to attain any thing like a stately excellence.

We have already observed that Aristotle, in his Poetics, ascribes the first written Comedy to EPICARMUS. Both the Stagiste and Horace call him a Sicilian, but the exact place of his birth is disputed; some writers contend that he was a Syracusan, some that he was a native of Crastum, others of Megara, in Sicily; Diomedes the Grammarian states that he was born in the island of Cos, and, in fact, derives the word Comedy from the name of that island, a circumstance which in no way strengthens his authority. The father of Epicarmus, according to Stobæus, was named Chimaros, or, according to others, Tityrus; his mother's name was Sicida. Cleero, in his Tusculan Disputations, calls Epicarmus *oculus nec insitum hominem*, "an acute and clever man;" and Demetrius Phalereus commends him for the elegant and apposite choice of his epithets, on account of which the Greeks gave the name of "Epicarmion" to his style, making it proverbial for its beauty and purity.

Among the Epigrams of Theocritus, published by Henry Stephens in 1579, there are some verses that appear to have been inscribed to Epicarmus upon the pedestal of a brazen statue, which the Syracusans had erected to his honour. As far as this testimony goes it would settle the point of his birth, by expressly stating that he was a native of Syracuse, while it

*Epichar
mos.*
From
A. M.
3554.
— B. C.
450.
to
A. M.
3569.
— B. C.
435.

Biography. ascribes to him, in common with all antiquity, the invention of written Comedy: it is a fragment of ten lines in the Doric dialect to

From

A. M.

3554.

B. C.

450.

to

A. M.

3569.

—

B. C.

493.

ἄν τις τὴν ἀντιφρόν
ἔργῳ ἐκείνῳ.

The man who invented Comedy, Epicharmus.

Again:

Τὴν ἀντιφρόνῃς ἡλικίαν
τοῦ ἀντιφρόνῃς.

Which status they have erected at Syracuse in honour of their fellow-citizens.

It celebrates him, in conclusion, for the many useful maxims which he gave for the instruction of youth. Of the life of this early Comic Poet little is known, and of his Writings still less. Diogenes Laertius, in his Lives of the ancient Greek philosophers, represents him to have been a Pythagorean in his Philosophical tenets; and states that he first introduced Comedy at Syracuse during the reign of Hiero; of whom Plutarch says, that he severely fined the Poet, and doomed him to heavy manual labour, for certain obscene jests which he introduced in the hearing of his Queen. Some writers assert, that Epicharmus was a schoolmaster, and that he instructed pupils about four years before the Persian invasion, a circumstance that has been thought to be corroborated by the concluding part of the Epigram of Theocritus, to which we have before alluded. Diogenes Laertius further states, that he composed several Treatises upon Medicine and Philosophy; but of these scientific Works, as well as of his Comic productions, nothing has come down entire to modern times. According to the testimony of Horace, however, we may catch the likeness of the Sicilian Poet from the imitative sketches of Plautus.

Plautus ad exemplum Siculi praeceptorum Epicharmi.

Plautus took the Sicilian Grammarian for his model.

Hon. 2. Ep. l. 1. &

He is said, by Aristotle and Pliny, to have added two letters to the Greek alphabet, (χ and θ); and, according to Diogenes Laertius and Stobaeus, he attained to the advanced age of ninety years. Epicharmus appears to have been a liberal contributor to that branch of literature in which he led the way. Porphyry says, that Apollodorus the Grammarian made a collection of his Works in ten volumes; Suidas reckons fifty-two Plays; Lycon only thirty-five; but Hertelius and other critics have given the names of forty, with the authorities by which they are ascertained. It were useless to load our pages with these titles of tales no more; the most accurate list of them will be found in Stobaeus. We shall conclude our account of this Poet by presenting the English reader with the translation of a fragment of one of his Comedies, preserved by Stobaeus, and in the more modern collection of Hertelius. It is a retort upon the pride of ancestry from a person of obscure birth, to one who was boasting of her high descent.

Good gossip, if you love me, praise no more:
What are your pedigrees to me?
Away to those who have more need of them!
Let the degenerate wretches, if they can,
Dig up dead honour from their fathers' tombs,
And boast it for their own—Vain, empty boast!
When every common fellow that they meet,
If accident hath not cut off the scroll,
Can show a list of ancestry no long;
You call the Scythians barbarous, and despise them;

Yet Anachars was a Scythian born;
And every man of a like noble nature.
Tho' he were moulded from an Æthiops's loins,
Is nobler than your pedigree can make him.

CUMBERLAND.

OF PHORMIS AND CRATES, who are mentioned by Aristotle as the contemporaries of Epicharmus, we know scarcely any thing but their names. The former appears to have flourished in the time of Gelon, the Tyrant of Syracuse, and was in great favour at the Court of that Prince; but not a single line of his compositions remains. Of Crates we glean a few particulars from the Works of Stobaeus. He was by birth an Athenian, first an actor, and afterwards a writer of the "Old Comedy;" he is said to have performed the principal characters in the Plays of Cratinus, and was the great rival of Aristophanes' favourite actors, Callistratus and Philonides. We have the titles of twenty Comedies, and four small fragments of this author: the former are said to have been of a cheerful and facetious cast; and the author of the *Prolegomena* to Aristophanes assigns to him the merit of being the first who introduced intoxication on the Athenian stage. It is very evident that this experiment fully succeeded, for even the Tragedians exhibited characters in this situation in subsequent times. Aristotle, in his Treatise *Περὶ Παιδείας*, ascribes to Crates an important improvement in the Iambic metre of the Old Comedy, which he is said to have delivered from its former trammels and to have made more suitable to familiar dialogue: ἀφαιρέσει τὴν ἰσχυρὰν ἔξω, καθύπευθε λέγει ἢ μέθυ.—"He discarded the strict Iambic form, and constructed his plots in a plain and simple manner," sect. 11. Of the remains of this Poet we shall quote the last fragment of the four which survive, containing a short but affecting picture of old age.

These shrivell'd sinews, and this bending frame,
The workmanship of Time's strong hand proclaim;
Skill'd to choose whatever the gods create,
And make that crook'd which they fashion straight.
Hard choice for man, to do—or sin to be
That tottering, writhed, writhed thing you see:
Age then we all prefer; for age we pray,
And tread on to life's last lingering day.
Thus sinking slowly down, from worse to worse,
Find heaven's extorted boon our greatest curse.

CUMBERLAND.

CRATINUS, the son of Callimedes, an Athenian, was a Cratinus. Comic writer of Athens, who was the contemporary, although the senior, of Aristophanes. He flourished about a. c. 440. None of the entire compositions of this Poet have come down to us; and a few fragments alone remain of those Comedies which elicited the applauses of an admiring audience, and received the warm praises of Horace and Quintilian. Of the private life of Cratinus little or nothing is known; it would seem only to have been distinguished for its irregularities;—a fact which we may gather from the seditious mob of Athens erecting a monument to his memory, which, omitting all mention of his fine talents, stated only that he was a notorious drunkard: this also is said to have procured him the name of Φαίλας, "the wine-bibber." Horace also bears testimony to this feature of his character.

Prius tu credis, Mæcenas doctæ, Cratino,
Nulla pleræque dei nec vitæ crimine posuit,
Quæ scribitur aqua potioribus. Epist. lib. 1. l. 13

2 r 3

Epicharmus, &c.

From

A. M.

3554.

B. C.

450.

to

A. M.

3569.

—

B. C.

493.

Phormis

and Crates.

Biography.

From
A. M.
3554.A. C.
450,
to
A. M.
3569.
—
p. C.
435.The Flag-
gon.

Ulysses.

O! learn! Meceas, hear Cratinus speak,
And take this maxim from the gay old Greek;
No rene shall please, or lasting honours gain,
Which eddies flow from water-dropper's brain.

FRANCIS.

We are told that Quintilian that when he died, about B. C. 431, he was no less than ninety-seven years of age. Within a short period of his death, Cratinus is said to have composed a Comedy, aptly enough termed the *Flaggon*, as a reply to Aristophanes, who had ridiculed the infirmities under which he laboured, and which were attributed to his intemperance and debauchery. The vivid imagination of the Poet was never more conspicuously successful than upon this occasion: he entered the lists with his more youthful opponent, obtained the laurel crown and a complete triumph at the Dionysia, and shortly afterwards expired in the arms of victory. He seems to have been a Poet of considerable energy and fancy, and to have commanded a copious florid style; but his sense of decorum did not prevent him from attacking Homer himself, in his *Ulysses*, in which he parodied and ridiculed the *Odyssey*. Scarcely a single line of his numerous Comedies has reached us; one spark of his genius (*ex pede Herculeum*) will be seen in the following epigrammatic turn of thought upon the loss of a statue, which, being the workmanship of Dedalos, he supposes to have used its privilege of wings, and escaped from his pedestal:

My statue's gone! by Dedalos 'twas made:
It is not stolen therefore; it has strayed!

CUTWELLAND.

If, however, the moral character of the Athenian Poet was thus largely blemished, he is commended by Horace for his public spirit in lashing the vices and immoralities of the times, in that poetical triumphant which the Roman Poet so highly praises:

*Eupolis, styge Cratinus, Aristophanesque porce,
Aspeo ubi, quarem. Guardas! Præce venient sat,
Si quis erat dignus describe, quid malus, ut ferat;
Quod merces feret, ad siccum, et alioque
Fame-que, malis cum liberate volabat.*

HOR. b. l. Sat. 4.

The Comic Poets, in its outland age,
Who form'd the manners of the Grecian stage,
Was there a villain, who might justly claim
A better right of being damn'd to fame;
Rake, cut-throat, thief, whatever was his crime?
They fly'd stigma's darts the wretch in rhyme.

FRANCIS.

Persius, also, in his Satires, thus speaks of the three contemporaneous writers of Comedy at Athens:

*Auden quoscunque offendi Cratibus,
Iratum Eupolidem prægrands cum ore pollicis,
Aspeo et hæc.*

Whosoever thou art who growest pale at the satire of the bold Cratibus, or at the indignant Eupolis, or the grave and dignified Aristophanes,—look also at these things.

Suilius reckons but twenty-one Comedies to have been left by Cratinus; but we have the titles of at least thirty of his pieces, of which nine received the crown of victory at the Dionysia. Father Brumoy says of him, though we cannot see upon what authority, *Il étoit aussi timide guerrier que hardi Comédien*; "he was as cowardly a soldier as he was a bold Comedian."

Eupolis.

Eupolis was the more immediate contemporary of Aristophanes, and became a very popular author some years before the death of Cratinus. He is said to have composed no less than seventeen Dramatic pieces, at the early age of twenty. Of these, and other Comedies

which he doubtless wrote, for we have the titles of upwards of twenty Plays of his composition, we have only a few fragments. The manner of his death has been variously related. Some authors affirm that Alcibiades caused him to be assassinated for exposing him to ridicule in a Comedy, written against the obscene worship of the goddess Cottyto and the Bapte, who were her Priests; others contend that he was drowned; and Suidas, in particular, asserts that he perished in an engagement which took place in the Hellespont, between the Athenian and Lacedæmonian fleets. This Lexicographer further states, that his Countrymen, deploring his fate, passed a decree, that henceforth no Poet should engage in military enterprises. Cicero, however, in his first Epistle of the sixth book to Atticus, attacks a similar account of the Poet's death as a vulgar error, and quotes Eratosthenes for the fact of Eupolis having written certain Comedies after the time when the event of his fall was dated:—*Redarguit Eratosthenes; offert enim quas ille post id tempus fabulas docerit.* "Eratosthenes has already refuted this statement, for he brings forward the very Plays which Eupolis composed after the time." There is found in *Ælian's Natural History* an interesting story of the devoted attachment of a dog to Eupolis. The animal is said to have been once upon the point of killing a slave for attempting to steal some of the Comedies of his master, and to have died through hunger and sorrow watching upon Eupolis's tomb. This, according to Pausanias, was erected upon the banks of the *Ægospus*, in Sicynia. Some authors, however, assert that the Poet was buried at *Ægina*, but the year in which he died, his precise age, and the number of his Comedies, are alike unknown.

It appears from the Works of Eupolis which remain, and from the opinions of ancient writers, that the bold and unsparring character of his Satire recommended him to the people of Athens more than the beauties of his style, which, it seems, he was not very solicitous to polish. While, in common with his contemporaries, he stooped continually to the degrading expedient of flattery the intellect, and even the vices of the populace, he occasionally attacked the most powerful prodigals of the Republic, regardless of their personal interest, the terrors of the magistracy, and the mysticisms of superstition. In his celebrated Comedy of the *Bapte*, before Theophrastus alluded to, he bitterly inveighs against the effeminacy of his Countrymen, and holds them up to deserved contempt as the lascivious Priests of Cottyto, in the dresses and fashion of female mists.

*Tela secreti celarentur argis telli
Cœcurnum salvi Bapte lauro Cottyto.*

Juv. Sat. ii, 91.

The Bapte, who were wont to wear the Cœmpian Cottyto, celebrated similar orgies with the mid-light torch.

He also wrote two Comedies expressly against Autolycus the Areopagite, whose conduct in the Chersonesian war had rendered him unpopular and infamous. The first and second *Autolyceus*.

In his Comedy of the *People* he complains loudly of the general state of the public affairs, and satirizes the Athenian fickleness, in the choice of the most incompetent public men to conduct the government of the Commonwealth.

The *Lacedæmonians* severely attacks both the Lacedæmonian public and private character of Cimon, the son of Mil-
nians.

Eupolis.

From
A. M.
3554.A. C.
450
to
A. M.
3569.
—
p. C.
435.

Biography. tiades; so that Plutarch, in his life of that Statesman, declares it to have been the principal means of exciting the Athenian populace against him.

From A. M. 3554. Epœnia also wrote another successful Comedy, called *Marica*, against Hyltebulus, shortly after which, according to Thucydides, that Orator was sent into banishment by the sentence of ostracism.

The following fragment is from the *Flatterers*, composed about two years after the decease of Cratinus, and during the Archonship of Alcæus. It is the speech of a parasite enumerating a few of those arts usually practised by adventurers on the wealthy. Ben Jonson introduces a fine imitation of this character in a speech of Moses, in the *Play of the Fox*.

Marica. The Flatterers.

Mask now, and learn of me the thriving arts
By which we parasites contrive to live:
First rigues we are, my friends, (if that be sure,)
And dexterity we gull mankind.—Observe;
First, I provide myself a nimble thing
To be my page, a variety of all crafts;
Next, two new suits for feasts and gull days,
Which I promote by turns, when I walk forth
To son myself upon the public square:
These, if perchance I spy some rich, dull knave,
Straight I accost him, do him reverence;
And, sunning up and down, with idle chat
Hold him awhile in play; if every morn
Which his wife worship stiers, I stop short,
And bless myself for wonder; if he ventures
On some vile joke, I blow it to the skies,
And hold my sides for laughter.—Then to supper
With others of our brotherhood to meet
In some night-cellar on our barley cakes,
And club invitations for the next day's shift.

CURRICULUM.

Horne, in his *Art of Poetry*, describes the Old Comedy of Greece as immediately succeeding the Tragic triumphs of Eschylus; and we now proceed to give some account of the only author whose Works have remained, to afford us a fair idea of its peculiarities; and who has been justly called the Prince of the Comic Poets.

Successus Petrus his Comœdia, non sine multa
Laudis; and in vitium libertas excidit et viam
Dignum lege regi: lex est accepta, Chorusque
Turpiter oblectat, subditi jure nocendi.

Ar. Portius.

The Old Comedy succeeded them, and was deserving of considerable praise; but its freedom too often degenerated into licentiousness, which the laws were under the necessity of curbing; when, a wholesome restraint being imposed, and the Chorus abolished, all power of doing mischief was effectually removed.

Aristophanes.

ARISTOPHANES presents us, in his own Works, with the few fragments of his personal history upon which any reliance can be placed. Once admired and courted by all Attica, almost as little is now known of this Poet as of the humblest ministers to his fame who "strutted and fretted" their transitory bourn upon the stage. An enumeration of the Works of literary men, and the incidents attending them, is, generally, perhaps, the best and most accurate history of their lives. But of these incidents, few remain respectlog the literati of antiquity, and still fewer of those private anecdotes, which, in modern Biography, take the mask of the author from the man, and so decidedly illustrate the whole structure of his Works. The *Memorabilia* of Xenophon, and the Dialogues of Plato, may convince us, however, of the manner in which this desideratum was estimated in the "olden time," and of the talent that was occasionally engaged in the task;—such a memorial of Aristophanes had doubtless contained an inexhaustible fund of humour, and of that species of comparative instruction which the

wise and virtuous can draw from every diversity of human character. But this Poet was never made the subject of biography amongst the Ancients, and his name is particularly mentioned only by Plutarch, Quintilian, Ælian, and Horace.

Aristophanes was a Rhodian by birth, the son of Philip of Rhodes, according to some writers, and was born about a. c. 460. Others state, that he was a native of Ægina, a small island opposite to Athens; and all agree that he was not born in Athens, though domiciliated there in early life. The Poet calls himself of Cyathene, a borough of Attica, the son of Philip, but states, that he possessed some patrimony at Ægina; while Plutarch informs us, that his rights as an Athenian citizen being called in question by Cleon, a commission was appointed to try the question, and gave a solemn judgment in his favour. Plutarch, however, does not state the grounds of this decision; and it is more than probable, from the well-known vanity of the Athenians, that they were proud to enrol this celebrated Poet amongst their citizens, regardless altogether of the origin of his claims. Father Brumby, in his *Thésure des Grecs*, relates, from Plutarch, a characteristic anecdote of Aristophanes on this occasion, which attributes his success to a bon-mot. Parodying two simple lines of Homer, he addressed the judges with great gravity—

*Je suis fils de Philippe, à ce que dit mon père;
Père que je n'ai pas rien. Qui peut quel est son père?
I am the son of Philip; at least, so says my good mother.
Who is the name of heaven ever knew his father?*

—a witticism, says Brumby, worth as much to Aristophanes as the siliquent harangue of Cicero in favour of the Poet Archias, upon a similar occasion. Aristophanes is represented as having been very tall in his person, of a muscular, robust make, and, we have his own authority, in one of his Comedies, the *Peace*, for his boldness. There cannot exist a doubt, but that our author was a man of considerable influence and political consequence amongst his Countrymen; and the peculiarly fustian and feeble temperament of the Republic under which he lived, afforded him but too many opportunities of indulging the malevolence of his Muse. He is said, however, to have been of a frank, free, and convivial temper in private life; and his company was sought after by Plato and the most illustrious characters of the Age. His popularity was so considerable amongst the Athenians, according to Plutarch, that he not only was publicly crowned with olive as a testimony to his intellectual greatness, but they decreed him pecuniary confiscations and fines from those who attacked him with suits and prosecutions. Nor was his fame confined within the precincts of Athens, but, even in the Poet's life-time, spread throughout Greece and Sicily and to the Persian Court:

**Ovra Valerius xpi eis xilous lla xilou alon lau
*Ovra val Valerius, Aristophanem in xpietibus lantolau,
*Hædæus xpietis xpietis, xpietis xpietis xpietis;
Eras li xpietis eis xpietis, xpietis lau xpietis xpietis;
Touros xpietis xpietis xpietis xpietis xpietis xpietis;
Kai eis xpietis xpietis xpietis xpietis xpietis xpietis.*

ARISTOPH. *Achar.* l. 646.

The same report of his boldness have extended far and wide; so that the Persian monarch, when questioning the Lacedæmonian ambassadors, first asked them, whether they were masters of the sea; and then immediately interrogated them respecting this our poet. "Which of the two powers does he cease?" said the king;

Aristophanes.

From A. M. 3554. — B. C. 450. to A. M. 3569. — B. C. 435.

Biography. "For the cause of the party he espouses will certainly come off victorious in the present war, inasmuch as they have him for their coadjutor."

From
A. M.
3554.
—
B. C.
450.
to
A. M.
3569.
—
B. C.
455.

Dionysius, the Tyrant of Syracuse, made the most flattering overtures to Aristophanes to reside in Sicily, but in vain, and at the very time, too, when the Socratic Philosophers, Æschines, Aristippus, and even Plato, were the inmates of his Court. But the Poet, though almost an object of adoration at home, and enjoying a brilliant reputation abroad, was not exempt from either the shafts of envy, or of just retaliation; the men whose biting satire and cruel invective were levelled against citizens so powerful as Socrates, Euripides, and Cleon, (the last named of whom the political influence of Aristophanes ultimately brought to deserved disgrace and punishment,) was not likely to remain free from the most hostile and vigilant attacks of his opponents. His Works exhibit sufficient proofs of their industry; for we there find, that the Chorus, so far from assisting the general action of the Play, is principally occupied in defending the Poet from the attacks of his adversaries, in justifying his general political conduct, and in retorting and heaping up fresh invective upon those who differed from him in opinion. We refer our learned readers particularly to the speech of the Chorus in the *Acharnæ* of our author, verse 626, Brooke's edition.

Aristophanes does not seem to have been personally addicted to the gross immoralities and unnatural passions he so forcibly describes, but, in common with Cratinus, he was a decided votary of Bacchus. Atheismus, in the *Deipnosophiste*, indeed, asserts, that, as Sophocles insinuates of Æschylus, he was always in a state of intoxication when he composed. He seems to have been unhappy in his family circumstances, for in one of his Comedies he frankly declares, *Τὴν γυναῖκα δ' αἰσχύνομαι*, "I am ashamed of my wife;" and his two sons, Philippos and Ararotes, were notoriously undutiful and profligate characters. Our Poet himself lived to the advanced period of seventy years of age; eleven of his Comedies, written in the Attic dialect, still remain in a perfect state, and we have the titles of no fewer than fifty, of which some fragments only have survived the general wreck.

It will not be irrelevant to advert in this place to the opinions of some of the most illustrious critics, both of ancient and modern times, respecting the productions of Aristophanes. To Plato, the disciple and friend of Socrates, is ascribed the following beautiful epigram on our Poet:

*Ἄν' ἁλάρου πλάσις ἐν λελύσιν, ἔργα δὲν σπουδαῖα
βελτίον φέρειν ἂν ἄριστον.*

The Graces, in search of a Temple which could never fall, found thy tuneful breast, Aristophanes!

And Olympiodorus, in his life of that Philosopher, mentions his enthusiastic attachment to Aristophanes and Sophron. Cicero speaks of him as *facellimus Poeta Plerisq; Comædiarum*, "the most skillful Poet of the Old Comedy." Longinus also, in his Treatise *Περὶ Ὑψέως*, quotes Aristophanes as an instance of the sublime, but confines this praise, according to the theory of the eulogist, to the structure of his sentences, and the collocation of his words.

Quintilian speaks of the Ancient Comedy as alike remarkable for the pure Attic graces of its style, and the flowing eloquence that breathes through it. "Although its principal excellency," he says, "consists in the censure of vice, nevertheless it possesses considerable merit in

other respects. It is at once dignified and elegant, and I know not, with the single exception of Homer, who, like his own Achilles, is always beyond comparison, of any compositions more resembling the speeches of Orators, or better adapted to make men public speakers, than the Works of its principal authors, Aristophanes, Eupolis, and Cratinus."

Aristophanes has also found an able and eloquent advocate in the celebrated John of Antioch, St. Chrysostom. *Emilius Porus*, in an Epistle to Bietus, one of the scholiasts, on Aristophanes, thus expresses at once his own admiration of the Poet, and the attachment of St. Chrysostom to his Writings:—*Fecundum, et in dicendo vastatam incredibilem habet. Hæc Johannem illum Antiochenum, summorum Theologorum lumen, qui, propter aurum eloquentie flumen, Chrysostomi cognomen obtinuit, ad hujus poetæ quotidianam lecturam impulerunt, ex quâ maximam tum fœcundiam, tum vehementiam in corripendis vitia hausisse fertur. Ut Alexander Homeri poemata, sic etiam præstantissimus ille Theologus Aristophanem pulvisculo subdere solebat.*

"He possesses an incredible degree of eloquence and suavity of style. These excellencies induced John of Antioch (the pride and ornament of Theologians, who obtained the surname of Chrysostom for his golden strain of rhetoric) daily to peruse his Writings, from whence he is reported to have drawn his eloquence and vehemence in lashing the vices of his Age. This excellent divine, in imitation of Alexander's conduct with respect to Homer, was in the habit of placing the Plays of Aristophanes under his pillow." We cannot help considering these rather questionable comparisons; but to this Father of the Church has often been attributed the preservation of the Writings of our Poet.

Plutarch, in his comparison between Aristophanes and Menander, expresses a very different opinion from that of St. Chrysostom. Aristophanes, according to this celebrated Biographer, outrages nature in his Comedies; he addresses the populace rather than the people; his style is at once licentious and obscure; sometimes high and glowing, at other times low and colloquial; always onequal and ill sustained. He reproaches him too with great want of discrimination in character, and says that it is impossible to distinguish the son from the father, the citizen from the peasant, the hero from the tradesman, or the god from the vauet. The cruel and bitter invectives of Aristophanes excite a similar spirit in his commentator: he reproaches him for his puns, and his play upon words; and concludes with affirming, that the audience who could have tolerated these exhibitions must have been lost in gross debauchery and sensuality. This picture is probably too highly coloured; and the true character of Aristophanes, as is generally the case, will be found by the reader in a medium between the panegyric of Plato and the censure of Plutarch. It is supported by Father Bruney, and with some plausibility, that the Biographer, on this occasion, laboured under considerable prejudices against the Atheistic Poet, from considering him as the instrument of the death of Socrates; a fact which that acute Jesuit altogether denies. However this may be, Plutarch speaks in terms of rapture of the superior wit and elegance of Menander, and is certainly anxious in every point to exalt his merits at the expense of Aristophanes. Father Bruney appears to us to have triumphantly proved that there is little ground for the serious charge against our Poet above

Aristo-
phanes.
From
A. M.
3554.
—
B. C.
450.
to
A. M.
3569.
—
B. C.
455.

Critical
opinions
respecting
Aristo-
phanes.

Biography alluded to, and that, so far was the Comedy of the *Clouds* from being the immediate cause of the death of Socrates, that Play was performed full twenty-three years before that iniquitous event took place. In this opinion he has been followed by Professor Rollin, by Dr. Blair in his *Belles Lettres*, and by Mr. Cumberland in his *Observer*, &c.

Among modern critics, Aristophanes has been severely handled by Père Hapin, Voltaire, and Laharpe, while he has been ably defended by Madame Dacier and Père Brumoy. Rapin, who implicitly follows the judgment of Plutarch respecting his merits, closes his critique by comparing his Muse—à une femme offrande, et celle de *Méandre* à une honnête femme—"to a bold and shameless woman, and that of *Méandre* to a modest matron." Voltaire, who furnished the Article Aristophanes in the French *Encyclopédie*, characterises him as *ce Poète Comique, qui n'est ni Comique ni Poète, n'aurait pas été admis parmi nous à donner ses farces à la foire St. Laurent*—"That Comic Poet, who is neither Comic nor Poet, and who would not be suffered to exhibit his farces at St. Lawrence's fair." And Laharpe speaks of him in similar terms in his *Cours de Littérature*, warmly defending Plutarch's opinion. Madame Dacier, on the other hand, in the preface to her translation of the *Clouds* and *Plutus* of our author, highly extols the Attic wit and graces of his style, and declares that she read the *Clouds* two hundred times over for the pleasure its humour afforded her. She concludes by affirming, *Que l'on ait étudié tout ce qui nous reste de l'ancienne Grèce, si l'on n'a pas lu Aristophane on ne connaît pas encore tous les charmes et toutes les beautés du Grec*—"Supposing a person had carefully studied all that remains to us of the compositions of ancient Greece, but was unacquainted with the Writings of Aristophanes, he could not be said to have a perfect knowledge of the charms and beauties of the Greek language." Mr. Cumberland, in one of his Papers in the *Observer*, makes a similar remark: "If any man would wish to know the language as it was spoken by Pericles, he must seek it in the scenes of Aristophanes." We have no room to enter upon other able criticisms on the Works of this celebrated Athenian, but these may suffice to prepare the reader for a slight review of his Writings.

It will be difficult to convey to the English reader any just sense of the merits and defects of Aristophanes in comparison with the Comic Poets of modern times. His Writings, in fact, are not Comedies, nor even Farces, in the modern sense of the word, but a mass of miscellaneous Poetry on Criticism, Ethics, and Politics. They have no intricacy of plot, no gradual development of character, no leading story interwoven with a subordinate one which shall, at the same time, help forward the general plot, and form a kind of *relief* to its various incidents. The characters, it is true, are marked, if not with delicate wit, at least with strong humour, but at the same time they exhibit but few lights and shades, and are rather to be considered as successful caricatures than faithful likenesses of individuals: while of the passion which generally predominates over every other, both in Tragedy and Comedy, on the modern stage, little or nothing will be found. In his Works but of the most coarse and unqualified description. In truth, love, as considered by the juster taste of modern times rather in the light of a sentiment than a passion, was of their seclusion of their women, and the semi-barbarism of their

manners, utterly unknown to the ancient classic writers. Thus, only, indeed, can we account for the extreme grossness of the Old Greek Comedy, as exhibited in the scenes of Aristophanes. It is well known that the Philosophers and Writers of character never attended the Comic Theatre, an example which the respectable part of the citizens would be likely to follow; in this case, as the audience must have consisted of the profligate part of the female sex, and a turbulent and ferocious rabble, it ceases to be matter of astonishment that the Poet should have indulged in ribaldry and buffoonery, (curiously mixed up with the factious politics of the day,) and that to a degree of coarseness which would now scarcely be tolerated at the Fauxbourg St. Antoine, or St. Bartholomew's fair. But although Aristophanes is thus exposed to the charge of gross indelicacy in his Writings, it is in some measure counterbalanced by a strong vein of rich and original humour; there is also in his *Dramatis personæ* a certain bon-homme, a mixture of good nature and drollery, of shrewdness and *naïveté*, which have been the perpetual objects of imitation amongst the writers of modern Comedy. Strepsides in the *Clouds* of Aristophanes, in the opinion of Foutenelle, is the undoubted archetype of the Monsieur Jourdain, in the *Bourgeois Gentilhomme* of Molière, and exhibits, in no small degree, the simplicity, ignorance, and credulity which alike excite our compassion and contempt. Ben Jonson and Molière have, indeed, most freely copied from the Plays of the Comic Poet of Athens; and there can be no doubt but that the Carions and Parasites of the Greek are the prototypes of the Moseus and the Sganarelles of later times. But of all modern writers, the facetious Dean of St. Patrick's has imbibed most of the peculiar genius of Aristophanes, and the resemblance is so strong that it most strike even the most superficial reader of their respective Works. Swift, it is true, was not a writer of Comedy, and from a sense of professional decorum did not turn his attention to the stage, but his Writings abound with the same bitter satire, the same love for coarse but powerful humour, and the same fondness for indulging in filth and venom: they both had a strong turn for the ludicrous; their sense of it was exquisite even to a fault; and their satirical strokes were sharp and pointed; but the modern Poet possessed a malignity peculiar to himself, and a revolting misanthropic contempt for his species, unknown to the Attic bard. The Athenian somewhat resembles the busy gnat, who, having drawn our blood, flies into the air and disappears; but the English Wit strikes like an assassin with a poisoned dagger, and watches with a malignant satisfaction over the agonies which his thrusts have excited. Those of our readers who are acquainted with Swift's humorous History of John Bull, in particular, will see many points of resemblance between the two Satirists; and, in fact, the Demos of the *Knights* of Aristophanes may be considered as the original whence Swift drew his portrait of the English populace; though the sketch of the Greek has been justly thought to be far more spirited of the two. To Foote, in this Country, was once universally given the title of the "English Aristophanes;" for ourselves, after an intimate acquaintance with his Works, we cannot discover the resemblance. True it is, that his Comedies and Farces are distinguished for broad humour, personal satire, and coarse, bitter invective; but here comparison ceases: Ephraim Sinks, Pulpiton, Winking, and Mother Cole, have nothing in common

Aristophanes.
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A. M.
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—
A. L.
450
to
A. M.
3569.
—
B. C.
435.

General estimate of his Works.

Biography. with the Aristophanic personages; and to the bursts of true poetic feeling, the flights of imagination, or the elegant and sparkling diction which abound in the Athenian Poet, the English Comedian can make no pretensions whatever: he is deficient even in the varied humour and delightful whim of the ancient. The French Satirist, Rubelais, may perhaps be regarded as the most acknowledged and successful imitator of Aristophanes. His portraits of Pantagruel, Dandin, and some other whimsical characters, are sketched with much of the spirit and truth of his original; the wit of both writers, in some measure, qualifies their indelicacy, and their raciness of style is often successfully employed to conceal the homeliness and even coarseness of their sentiments. They are alike remarkable for their low buffooneries, immoralities, and puns; but there is, after all, a redeeming spirit of true taste about them which well rewards us for the perusal of their Writings. In the elegance and occasional sublimity of his style, Aristophanes has no successful rival amongst his imitators; in that vein of genuine Poetry which runs through strata of all descriptions, that frequent magic of diction which distinguishes his Writings, and forms so admirable a contrast to the homeliness and rusticity of his dialogue. Indeed we have ever considered the perfect melody of his versification as an insuperable bar to his appearing like himself in an English dress. Some of the choral parts, as our learned readers well know, would not suffer by a comparison with the wild sublimities of *Æschylus*, or the magnificence of *Sophocles*; and the light, graceful varieties of the metre surpass, perhaps, in harmony, the Chorususes of these mighty masters of the Tragic Drama. With these recommendations, however, the original of Aristophanes has never been a favourite study in this Country; he has been more admired than read by critics, and more occasionally culled for amusement than correctly understood. The difficulties which present themselves to the proper appreciation of his beauties may partly account for this. Independent of the obscurities of his style and the perpetual allusions to obsolete manners and customs, the continual play upon words, and the constant reference to the politics of the day; the state of parties, and private anecdotes, frequently give the whole point and sting to the snap-snap of the dialogue. The reader must not only be intimately connected with the principal events of the Peloponnesian war, but be equally familiar with the Tragedies of *Æschylus*, *Sophocles*, and *Euripides*, or it is impossible to perceive the point of his satire, or the appropriate introduction of the passages which he so facetiously parodies. These difficulties, however, have not deterred the scholars of the continent from considerable attention to our Poet.

*Accur-
dence.*

The Comedy of the *Acharnians*, or *Acharnians*, which stands the first of the Works of Aristophanes in order of time, was written during the calamitous period of the Peloponnesian war, and represented in the third year of the eighty-eighth Olympiad, during the Archonship of Euthyricus. It is altogether a political piece, abounding in allusions to the state of parties, and seems to have been written for the express purpose of persuading his Countrymen to an amicable accommodation of their differences with the Lacedæmonians and the other States of Greece. The plot, if it can be called one, is simple and improbable enough; and turns upon a separate Treaty of Peace, which one of the characters of the Drama makes exclusively for himself with the Lacedæ-

monians, and the indignation which is excited among his townsmen by this pusillanimous conduct. *Dicæopolis*, the principal personage of the Play, is of the same stamp of character with *Strepsiades*, a strange compound of knavery and honesty, of credulity and shrewdness, and by his numerous mistakes and blunders contributes much to the general effect of the piece. In this Play the Poet boldly ascribes the origin of the Peloponnesian war to the ambition of the famous *Pericles*, and his resentment of an insult which was offered to his beautiful and accomplished mistress *Aspasia*. *Euripides*, who seems to have been the pillow on which Aristophanes reposed his resentment and his wit, is not forgotten; *Dicæopolis* is humorously introduced as requesting that *Tragædian* to lend him the beggarly dress of *Telephus*, in order that he might plead his cause with more effect, and excite the compassion of his Judges the *Acharnians*. The addresses of the Chorus to the audience are written in an animated and patriotic strain; they portray with much force and humour the factions disposition of the public assemblies of the Athenians, and lash with no sparing hand the prevailing vices and follies of the "sovereign people." The Play concludes by the discomfiture of *Lamachus*, the Athenian General, who is represented by name on the stage, as being adverse to a general pacification, and the complete triumph of *Dicæopolis*. This piece is written throughout with strong farcical humour; some of the situations are very ludicrous, and the parables, or addresses of the Chorus, are replete with sentiments of public virtue, and adorned with great splendour of diction.

The Play of the *Knights* was performed in the seventh year of the Peloponnesian war, in the fourth year of the eighty-eighth Olympiad, during the Archonship of *Stratocles*. This Comedy was avowedly written against the demagogue *Cleon*, one of the Athenian Generals, who, by his factious eloquence, had made himself a great favourite with the populace of Athens. It is generally stated that *Cleon* was fined five talents after the representation of this Play, and that Aristophanes boasts of his victory in the *Acharnians*; whereas the latter Play was performed in the preceding year. There can be no doubt, however, but that this performance was completely successful in overturning the undue influence which *Cleon* enjoyed in the Republic; it pointed in vivid colours the character of that dangerous and obnoxious demagogue. But the Poet is not content with a single object; he proceeds to depict, in an unrivalled strain of force and humour, the follies of the Athenian people. In the composition of this Comedy Aristophanes may certainly claim to have exhibited some traces of the most glowing patriotism; but at the same time he had conceived a strong antipathy against *Cleon* for having endeavoured to curb the license of the Comic Theatre, and for having interfered with his rights of citizenship. The representation of this Play was attended with a curious and interesting circumstance: *Callistratus*, the favourite actor of Aristophanes, dreading the resentment of *Cleon*, declined undertaking to personate that powerful demagogue. In this dilemma the Poet himself appeared upon the stage as a performer, and sustained his arduous task with ease and spirit. The character of *Cleon*, of course, is the most prominent one of this Drama; the whole Athenian people are personified under the appellation of *Demos*.

The *Clouds*, exhibited, for the first time, in the Ar-

*Aristo-
phanes.*

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Biography. chonship of Isarchus, in the ninth year of the Peloponnesian war, and in the first of the eighty-ninth Olympiad, underwent several alterations and improvements in this following year, Aminias being at that time Archon. The chief notoriety of this piece is derived from its being considered by Plutarch as the immediate cause of the trial and death of Socrates; an event, as we have stated, which did not take place until several years afterwards. From the most authentic records (the Greek Preface and the Scholiasts) the date of the popularity of this Play is clear, and, taking the death of Socrates to have happened at the earliest possible period, it will not fall till the first year of the ninety-fifth Olympiad, during the Archonship of Laches, twenty-four years after the period of the popularity of this piece. Plutarch was followed in this charge against the Athenian Poet by Ælian, in his Various History, who adds, that Aristophanes was bribed by Anytus and Melitus thus to expose Socrates to the ridicule and resentment of the people; but the objection of the date of the Play is fatal to both accounts. The plot of this piece is simple, clear, and unaccountably interesting. Strepsiades is represented as a father, oppressed by debts and expenses brought upon him by an extravagant and prodigal son, who flies to any resources, however evil, for extricating himself from his embarrassments. These resources he pretends to have discovered in the School of Chærephon and Socrates, who is introduced by name upon the stage throughout the whole progress of the Play, and is placed in every ridiculous point of view, as a sophist and an atheist, by his witty and malicious persecutor. Of the other characters, that of Strepsiades is the most prominent; and ingeniously contrived to reflect the greatest possible ridicule upon the pedantry and chicanery of the sophists, by the contrast of his rusticity and credulity. Nothing indeed can exceed the ludicrous figure which Socrates exhibits in this Play; the Poet at one time introduces him hoisted up (as Ben Jonson expresses it) "with a pulley, and made to play the Philosopher in a basket; to measure how many feet a flea could skip geometrically by a just scale, and edify the people from the engine." Socrates himself, according to Ælian, was present in the Theatre during the whole of the performance, and boldly stood up in view of the audience during the representation. Notwithstanding this magnanimous conduct, the Theatre rang with plaudits at the piece, and the Philosopher was but the more conspicuous object of the insults of an infuriated rabble. One can hardly account for the cause of the enmity which Aristophanes bore against the Grecian Sage, but it has been conjectured that it arose from the circumstance of his disapproving of the undisguised licentiousness and bitter personalities of the Greek Comic Theatre, and exhorting the respectable part of the Athenian citizens from frequenting such immoral exhibitions.

Wasps. The Comedy of the *Wasps* appeared in the ninth year of the Peloponnesian war, and the second of the eighty-ninth Olympiad. It was designed to ridicule the extreme fondness of the Athenians for litigation, and their practice of constantly attending the Courts of Law; from which neither private nor political engagements, nor the amusements of the stage, could detach them. The personal satire of the piece, however, seems to be principally directed against Laches, an Athenian General, who, according to Justin, had commanded the first expedition against Sicily, and had become rich by the

bribes of the enemy. The committal and trial of the dog Laebus was obviously intended to be applied to this commander, and nothing can be more truly Comic than the formal accusation of the dog for various corrupt practices, and his final acquittal by mistake. Racine has chosen this Comedy as the model of his *Les Plaideurs*, the only Comic drama which he ever composed; he has successfully transplanted many of the whimsies of the Attic Poet, and has substituted the law-terms of the French Bar for those of the Athenian with admirable skill and felicity. Still, however, the copy wants the energy of the prototype. Racine has happily enough parodied, in the Aristophanic style, some of Molière's verses; and the scene between Chicanneu and the Countess may be considered as equal to any thing which can be found in the Comedies of Molière or Voltaire; but there is an air of carelessness and ease about the address of the Greek for which we look in vain in the brocade and gain suit of the Frenchman; and the characters, considered generally, are as essentially different as the manners and customs of Athens and of Paris. Ben Jonson also has imitated this production of the Grecian Poet, in his facetious Play of the Staple of News, in which the legal process against the dog is managed with much spirit and humour.

The *Peace* was performed at the Dionysia, under Pæan, the Archonship of Astyphilus, in the thirteenth year of the Peloponnesian war. This Play is purely political, and the same object is pursued throughout as in the *Acharnians*, but with considerably more dramatic effect. Aristophanes seems to have been utterly averse from the continuance of the war; and the whole of the plot turns upon a plan for an universal peace. The laxity of our Poet's opinions with regard to the Religion of his Country is here very evident,—or rather the utter contempt and disbelief in which he held the duties of the Pagan Mythology. Tyræus, the principal character of the piece, is a citizen of Athens, discontented with the duration of the war and the miseries it produced, and determined to go to Olympus to expostulate with the gods upon the subject. For this purpose the Poet furnishes him with an enormous black beetle, on whose back he can proceed earthward or heavenward; and thus conveyed to the sacred abodes, he inquires of Mercury for Jupiter, who rather reluctantly informs him, that Jove and the rest of the celestial Court are abroad, but that their chambers were occupied by the god Polemos, who had thrown the good lady Peace into a well, the mouth of which was covered with huge stones. Upon the receipt of this intelligence, Tyræus is much disconcerted, and begins to think that his handsome present of butcher's meat, for this information, to Mercury, will be thrown away. Two allegorical personages, resembling the Strength and Necessity of Æschylus, and whose names are War and Tumult, are then brought upon the stage with an immense mortar, in which they are represented as pounding all the cities and States which had unfortunately become their victims. During the absence of one of them, who departs in quest of a pestle, the Athenian citizens collect together a body of labourers and rustics, in order to assist him to draw up from her prison-house the goddess Peace, and, succeeding in their efforts, Tyræus forthwith descends from heaven, bearing off the goddess, and proclaiming, with heartfelt joy, her return to Earth. The Play concludes with the rapturous exultation which is expressed by the Chorus at the restoration and the blessings of Peace, and with

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Biography. strokes of railery and triumphant joy pointed against those who had a positive interest in the continuance of the war.

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Birds.

The *Birds* follows next in chronological order. This Comedy was acted in the eighteenth year of the Peloponnesian war, and the second of the ninety-first Olympiad, under the Archonship of Chabrias, at the Dionysia. It is supposed to have been composed in order to rouse the Athenians to exertion, and to divert their attention from the Sicilian war to the projects of the Lacedæmonians for fortifying Decelia, a town of Attica. Much obscurity, however, is attached to the origin of this piece; it is, perhaps, the most insipid and uninteresting of the Poet's compositions; and the want of plot and the barrenness of incidents are scarcely redeemed by the breaks of Poetry which we occasionally meet with, and the variety and elegance of the language in which they are clothed. The choral odes, in particular, amidst the low buffooneries and the revolting obscenities with which they are surrounded, seem, like the chrysalis, to start from filth and deformity into instant beauty and splendour, and sometimes take a flight which the bard of Pella or the Theban swan might not be ashamed to follow.

Thesmophoriazusæ.

The *Thesmophoriazusæ*, or *Festivals of Ceres*, was exhibited at the Dionysia, in the twenty-first year of the Peloponnesian war, during the Archonship of Callias. In this Play Aristophanes is exceedingly satirical against the fair sex, and abounds with the bitterest reflections on their reigning vices. But he does not forget the former object of his hatred, Euripides; in fact, the whole Comedy was avowedly written for the purpose of ridiculing the occasional languor and affectation of that Poet's style, his insipid and injudicious prologues, his pedantic expressions, and perverse morality. Aristophanes, perhaps, hated Euripides as the friend and pupil of Socrates, and the severe censurer of the indecorum of the Old Comedy; but, in a literary point of view, we can hardly join in the clamour which has been raised against him for his severe attack upon the great Tragedian, whose unrivalled pathos has certainly been acknowledged and felt by every reader, but whose defects as a writer laid him open to the attacks of criticism. The Thesmophoria were festivals held in honour of Ceres and Proserpine, at which none but free-born Athenian women were suffered to be present.

In the opening of the Play it is announced to Euripides, who was known by the epithet of *ædipodes*, (the woman-hater,) that the ladies, enraged at his unjust and ill-considered reflections upon them, intended in consideration, during this festival, what revenge they should inflict upon him for his conduct. The Poet, alarmed at the intelligence, and aware that their resentment was not to be despised, flies in a great fright to Agatho, a brother Poet, to know what must be done in this juncture. There is no regular plot in the Play; but the author contrives to laugh at Euripides throughout, and constantly to place him in several whimsical situations, that may give the palm of victory to his female opponents.

Lysistrata.

The *Lysistrata* was represented in the twenty-first year of the Peloponnesian war, in the first year of the ninety-second Olympiad, and during the Archonship of Callias. The plot of this Play is to the last degree gross and disgusting; but its general intent, in common with many other of the Plays of this Poet, was to promote the restoration of Peace. Lysistrata, and other Athenian females, are brought forward upon the stage in deep con-

sultation upon what measures they should pursue to obtain that desirable event.

The *Frogs* was also exhibited in the Archonship of Callias, in the twenty-sixth year of the Peloponnesian war, and third of the ninety-third Olympiad. This is another of the Comedies of Aristophanes directed against the literary merits and personal character of Euripides. The *Thesmophoriazusæ* was performed during that Poet's life-time, although at the time of its representation he had attained to an advanced age; but the *Frogs* was not exhibited upon the stage until about two years after his decease. Frischlinus, one of the commentators upon Aristophanes, asserts, that it was composed with the view of averting the popular hatred which had been drawn down upon the head of our author by the Tragedy of Palamedes, in which Euripides had tacitly reproached the Athenians with the unjust murder of Socrates. It is, perhaps, the most diverting of his performances; and the contest between Euripides and Æschylus for the Tragic chair is laughable in the extreme: the witty paradox of course assigns the pre-eminence to Æschylus, and the Play finishes with the award in his favour.

The *Ecclesiazusæ*, or the *Female Orators*, was Ecclesiastical in the last year of the ninety-sixth Olympiad, *ædipodes*.

during the Archonship of Demostrius. This drama contains a violent and undignified satire against the female sex, as a body, and a vehement attack upon the polity of Athens. But in the midst of political reflections and personalities, Aristophanes engages in a facetious and malicious parody of the style of Euripides, and laughs at his Tragedy of *Menippus*, a Play which is now lost. Upon the whole, this indelicate and singular performance may be considered as a burlesque upon all Utopian forms of government, and those crude and undigested plans of reform of which the turbulent innovators of Athens, in common with more modern patriots, were professed admirers. The Play turns upon a project concerted by Praxagora and other discontented Athenian matrons, to array themselves in the garments of their husbands, and then proceeding in this masquerade dress to the Ecclesia, or public assembly, there to vote that the guidance of the affairs of the Commonwealth should be committed to their hands. This is the general scope of the Play; but there is much conceits in the execution.

The *Plutus*, or *Riches*, was introduced upon Riches.

the stage in the fourth year of the ninety-seventh Olympiad, and according to the Greek preface and scholiast, under the Archonship of Antipater. It is the last, in point of time, of the Comedies of Aristophanes, and we are told by the Greek scholiast, that it is the second of this name which was composed by the Poet. It is remarkable for belonging rather to the Middle than the Old Comedy, and clearly shows that the licence indulged in by the Comic writers had been much curtailed in the days of Lysanther and the Thirty Tyrants. No real characters are here introduced upon the stage; it is still caustic enough in all conscience; nor are the indelicate and immoral sentiments which, unfortunately, too deeply tincture the dialogues of Aristophanes, so predominant in this piece as in the preceding Comedies. The Dramatic Art appears in an evident state of improvement with regard to decency and *bravado*, and was receiving that polish which it finally and happily attained in the Works of Plato, Menander, and Philémon. The

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Frogs.

Biography. argument or plot of this Play is probably familiar to the generality of our readers, and is admirably detailed by Mr. Aldison, in the 46th number of the *Spectator*. It is a satire upon the rich, and institutes an able comparison between the relative advantages of wealth and poverty.

We have now only to speak of the translations and editions of Aristophanes, as we have already noticed the various imitations of his style and manner. Of the latter, however, we would first give the mere English reader some idea, although we are well aware of the difficulty of a faithful and spirited translation of any portion of his Works. In the Play of the *Clouds*, he thus introduces Socrates solemnly addressing and invoking them, and afterwards follows the Chorus of Clouds themselves.

INVOCATION OF SOCRATES.

Oh, sovereign lord, immeasurable air,
Circling the pendant globe! Oh, holy light!
And ye dread shades, that heaven's loud thunder bear,
Arise, ye Clouds, and barest upon my sight!
Come, sister goddesses, come, triform powers,
That on Olympus' snow-clad brow recline,
Or in old father Ocean's secret bowers
With sea-born nymphs the mystic dance combine,
Or fill your golden urns from distant Nile,
Or on Maenads' placid breast repose,
Oh! hear my prayer! upon your suppliant smile,
And to my gaze your heavenly forms disclose.

CHORUS.

Appear, immortal Clouds! I appear
Light shadows, haste away
From father Ocean's echoing side,
And groves that shade the mountain side,
O'er watch-towers high, that far and wide
The outstretch'd globe survey;
The fruits and fields that drink the dew,
And fountains gushing to the view,
And the wild waste of waters blue
That break upon the ear;
Throw your dark shewery mantles by,
Your sacred forms unfold,
And now, white heaven's unwearied eye
In mid day lustre flames on high,
The subject world behold!

ANTISTOPHES.

See, virgin rulers of the storm,
Thou Pallas' holy ground,
Fair regions of the green and wine;
Behold the mystic domes arise,
Where many a secret sacrifice
And nameless rites abound;
And glittering altars cover the plains,
And statues and high towering fanes,
And priests, with chaplet-bearing trains,
Their solemn vows perform.
Each hour the wasted feast requires,
And, with retaining Sympies,
For Bacchus breathe the living lyres,
And dance, and sweet contending choir.
Salute the festive king.

Alon.

This Chorus in the original sufficiently proves that the higher elements of Poetry are occasionally mingled in the compositions of Aristophanes. The following quotation is no unfavourable specimen of his powers for humour and satiric. In the Play of the *Knights*, Demosthenes and Nicias are introduced upon the stage as complaining of the fickleness and ingratitude of their master Demus, (in whose person the vices of the Athenian people are covertly attacked,) and inveighing against

the unprincipled conduct of the demagogue Cleon. We avail ourselves of the spirited, but somewhat too diffuse, translation of a contributor to a periodical publication of high literary character:

With reverence to your worship, 'tis our fate
To have a heavy, cross-grain'd, bilious, sour
Old fellow for our master; one much given
To a hard diet; somewhat hard of hearing.
Demus his name, sir, of the parish Pops, here
Some three weeks back, or so, this lord of ours
Brought home a heavy slave from Paphlagonia,
Fresh from the sea-side, tight and young; and with
As nimble fingers and as fast a mouth
As ever yet paid tribute to the galleys.
This latter—Paphlagonian, (for the fellow
Wanted not penetration,) here'd, and weedy'd,
And fawn'd, and wagg'd his ears and tail, dog-fashion;
And then soon slid'd into the old man's graces.
Occasional devourer of leather-pamper,
With speech to the tune, made all his own—
"Go out, the court is open—out ye jolly'd our cause—"
"To town to take the bath—allow me, sir—"
This cake is excellent—pray sup this broth—
This soup will not offend you, tho' the soup falls—
You love hot stews; I pray take these things—
Hasten me, sir, with your commands for supper—
Bad times, methinks, for us! With crying looks,
Round comes my man of history, and, if he finds us
Cooking a fowl something far our master,
Incommodiously lays his paw upon it,
And, modestly, in his own name presents it!
Then, none but he, forsooth, must wait at table;
(We dare not come in sight!) but there he stands
All supper time, and, with a leathern fly-flap,
Whisks off the advances. Anon the leave
Falls to his cracks; and, when he sees
The old man plunged in mystery to the ears,
And scold'd from his few years, marks his time,
And enters on his tricks. False accusations
Now come in troops; and, at their heels, the whip.
Methinks, the nasal shuffles in among us,
And beg of one, browbeats another, cheats.
A third, and frightens all. "My honest friends,
These cards cut deep, you find it—I say nothing—
Judge you between your purses and your backs.
I could, perhaps—"—We take the gentle hint,
And give him all: if not, the old man's foot
Plays such a tune upon our tender parts,
That flinging is a just tale, a mere des-bits.

Pindar, until very lately, had not the good fortune, in this Country, to meet with a translator hardy enough to undertake an entire version of his Works; and a complete translation of the compositions of Aristophanes is to this day a desideratum in English literature. We are not, however, at all astonished at this, for reasons which we have before assigned. The Romans have attempted to introduce the knowledge of his Plays among them by a vile translation, which was executed many years back by the Rossetti; and our lively neighbours across the Channel have become imperfectly acquainted with his merits by that of Poinsett. Terucci, a native of Italy, furnished a translation of the *Plutus* and *Clouds*, which has considerable merit, and is enriched with some excellent notes. In addition to Poinsett's entire translation in French, Madame Dacier also published a translation of the *Clouds* and the *Plutus*, which gives no mean idea of the spirited originals, and, notwithstanding the sneers of Fielding and of Brunck, appears to us remarkable for its spirit, fidelity, and even delicacy. Although this Country cannot boast of a translation of all the Comedies, it has been by no means deficient in endeavours to translate the beauties of Aristophanes.

The first translation that appeared in England of the

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Biography. *Plutus* was published by a Thomas Randolph, in 1651, under the quaint title of *Hey for Honesty! Down with Knavery!* This was followed by another, in 1659, with the signature of H. H. B. Stanley also translated the *Clouds*, which was printed in a folio form at London, 1708. Duplicate versions have been made by White and Theobald of the *Clouds* and *Plutus*. All these translations were below mediocrity; until, in 1797, Mr. Cumberland presented us with a version of the *Clouds*, which we do not hesitate to consider, not only as far superior to the efforts of his predecessors, but unrivalled for its ease, spirit, and fidelity, by any other modern attempts at a translation of this Poet. Mr. Young and the author of *Tom Jones* conjointly printed a version of the *Plutus*, of which the notes are good, but the wit, humour, and force, have entirely evaporated from the text. Mr. Dunster, the editor of *Paradise Regained*, published a version of the *Frogs*, which is superior to the preceding ones that we have mentioned, and is only inferior to Mr. Cumberland's admirable performance. In 1812 an anonymous translation of the *Birds* appeared, the first, we believe, that has ever been executed in this Country. Unfortunately for the success of this attempt, the author, instead of making use of the familiar blank verse of our early Dramatists, has descended to plain prose, as the vehicle of conveying the wit and spirit of the Comic Poet of Athens. We admire his learning, his knowledge of the text, and his general accuracy of explanation; but the diction, the choral subtilities, and the spirit and life of the dialogue, are utterly lost in this dress.

We believe that the Rev. Mr. Mitchell, of Sidney College, Cambridge, has in the press a translation of the entire Plays of Aristophanes, with the exception of the *Lysistrata* and the *Ecclesiazusae*, and to its appearance the eyes of scholars will be anxiously directed.

The Princeps edition of Aristophanes was published at Venice, in folio, 1498, by Maonius Aldus. It contained only nine Plays, as the *Lysistrata* and the *Thesmophoriazusae* were not at that time discovered. The

second edition was published at Florence, in 8vo. in 1515, by Bernard Jania, containing eleven Plays. The third was a reprint of the Aldine edition, with the Greek Scholia, at Florence, 1525, in 4to, by Antonius Franciscus. Ludolph Kuster published an edition at Amsterdam, in 1710, in a folio form. It was accompanied by the invaluable Greek Scholia and the Latin version of Frischlianus. This is by far the most important, and, on the whole, the most complete edition. In 1760 Stephen Bergier published an edition of Aristophanes, at Leyden, in two quarto volumes; to which a Latin translation is appended. His faults have been ably pointed out, and deservedly castigated, by Brunck, who published, at Strasburg, in the year 1783, an edition of the whole eleven Plays of Aristophanes, with the fragments collected by Canter, but omitted in Kuster's edition; together with an entire new Latin version, composed by himself. In one sense, this is the best edition of Aristophanes, inasmuch as the text is most pure; but the notes are entirely critical, and not explanatory, and it is unaccompanied with the Greek Scholia. This omission greatly derogates from the usefulness of the whole edition, and prevents us from pointing out to the reader any *separate* edition of the Poet, in which he may be studied to the greatest possible advantage. As the case now stands, Kuster and Brunck must be read together, for it is impossible to understand Aristophanes without continually referring to the excellent Scholia upon his Works. This edition was inaccurately reprinted at Oxford, 1810, by Nathaniel Bliss.

Editions of separate Plays of Aristophanes have been very numerous among continental scholars, but in this Country we have only the well-known edition of the *Plutus* and *Clouds*, published in London, the Oxford edition of the *Knights*, and one of the *Acharnians*, by Mr. Elmsley, the learned editor of the *Œdipus Tyrannus* of Sophocles, and the *Heracleidae* of Euripides. It is enriched with several notes by the celebrated Dr. Bentley, and is considered by scholars as a very complete code.

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HERODOTUS.

FLOURISHED ABOUT A. M. 3559, B. C. 445.

Biography. THAT the sources of information respecting the "Father of History," as Herodotus is called by Cicero, are not more else, as well as more copious, may surprise many of our readers. Certainly the materials for the life of this celebrated Historian are at once few and of very doubtful authority; and the success which inspired so many imitators in ancient times, found no one to record its progress. He has been occasionally mentioned by various writers, and some slight allusions to the facts of his private history may be found in the pages of Aulus Gellius, Dionysius Halicarnassus, Lucian, and Strabo; but no regular biographical account has been given of him: the narrative compiled by Suidas is the basis upon which our information principally rests, and this is exceedingly meagre and unsatisfactory. It appears, however, according to the concurrent testimony of the Ancients, and, indeed, from the commencement of his own *Clio*, that the birth-place of Herodotus was Halicarnassus, the Capital of Caria, an extensive Country of Asia Minor. If the account of Strabo may be credited, the name of his father was Lyxes, and that of his mother Dryo. On the same authority we learn that he was descended from an ancient and illustrious family, and had an only brother of the name of Theodoros. About the time of his birth (according to Archbishop Usher's Chronology, a. c. 454) Lygdamis was the Tyrant of Halicarnassus, and appears to have been universally detested by the inhabitants for his rapacity and cruelty. Suidas says that our Historian, when arrived at manhood, was driven from his native city, and fixed his abode in Samos, on account of the oppressive conduct of Lygdamis; but it is not certain whether he voluntarily retired from Halicarnassus in disgust, or was forcibly expelled by the mandate of the Despot. After remaining some time at this place, determining to embrace every opportunity which presented itself for the accomplishment of his mind, he applied, although a Dorian by birth, to the study of the Ionic Greek; and to this early prepossession in favour of that mellow and refined dialect may probably be attributed the circumstance of his composing his History in it afterwards, and much of his celebrity as an author. However this may be, at Samos he appears to have first conceived the project of his admirable Work, and to have left it early in life, for the purpose of travelling and collecting materials for its composition. He successively traversed the Countries of Greece, Egypt, Asia, Scythia, Thrace, and Macedonia. Men were, at this period of the world, to be read for the purpose of making books; and it is sufficiently evident, from many passages in his Works, that he visited in person the greater part of the places and regions which he so eloquently describes. Whether, after these extensive migrations, he returned to Samos and re-established himself there, or whether the following events transpired during his early settlement in that island, cannot now be ascertained; but having received, at this place, intelli-

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gence of a patriotic design that was formed by the lovers of freedom in his own Country for the expulsion of Lygdamis, he immediately left the island and hastened to give his powerful support to the conspiracy. Upon his arrival at Halicarnassus, he placed himself at the head of the popular party; their exertions were crowned with success, the tyrannical Lygdamis was deposed, and the people reinstated in that liberty which was, through all his life and Writings, the object of our Historian's warm eulogium. Neither his patriotism nor his fame, however, could secure to Herodotus the abiding patronage of his Countrymen. So far from conciliating their affections by this disinterested conduct, the populace and its many Tyrants seemed inclined to sward him the same fate as, according to most Historians, he had already experienced from one. Factions and cabals disagreed the cause he had espoused, and he was under the necessity a second time of precipitately withdrawing into Greece for protection. Here we are told, by Lucian and the other ancient writers, that he arrived during the celebration of the Olympic Games, and availed himself of this favourable opportunity for reciting portions of his History before the numerous and illustrious visitors; appearing in the Theatre, as the Historian says, not merely as a spectator, but an actor in the scene. The consequences to his fame were as important and as flattering as the most sanguine anticipations could have depleted. "Of the name of Herodotus none were now ignorant," says Lucian; "there was not a single person in Greece who had not either seen him at the Olympics, or heard those speak of him that came thence; so that, in what place soever he came, the inhabitants pointed at him with their finger, saying, 'This is that Herodotus, who has written the Persian wars in the Ionic dialect.'—'This is he who has celebrated our victories.'" It cannot for a moment be supposed that Herodotus repeated the contents of all the books which comprised his History on this occasion; but that he selected the more striking and interesting passages, to which the vehement oratory of the Age would add an small force of impression. His books were now, according to some writers, honoured with the names of the nine Muses by public acclamation; and the Historian himself was crowned with laurel, and dismissed with the most decided marks of approbation. At this solemnity there occurred a remarkable event, which is said to have been the means of developing the genius of another celebrated Historian. Thucydides, with his father, Olorus, was present at these Games; and, on hearing the recitation of Herodotus, though at that time a youth of only fifteen years of age, he burst into tears with emotion. Our Historian, perceiving the circumstance, and, perhaps, secretly gratified at the extreme sensibility of the youth, exclaimed to his father, Olorus, *ἀπὸς ἡ φέρει τὸ βῆν ἐπὶ τὰ μετέπειτα*—"your son is enthusiastically fond of letters."

About twelve years after this event, which is said to

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appears at
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Biography. have taken place in the eighty first Olympiad, confident of the brilliant reputation which now awaited him, Herodotus proceeded to Athens, and in that illustrious city again repeated select portions of his Historical Work at the festival of the Panathæna. He was now in his thirty-ninth year. A people so susceptible of the beautiful and elegant in Arts and Letters as the Athenians could scarcely be insensible to the merits of Herodotus as a Historian, and we accordingly find that their literary taste was highly gratified by the recital of his Works, and their national vanity flattered in no ordinary degree by the praises which were lavished upon their splendid achievements at Marathon and Salamis. He was received with the most rapturous and enthusiastic plaudits; his brows were again decorated with laurel; the liberal present of ten talents was proposed to him; and a decree of the people in full assembly unanimously ratified the gift. Some respectable writers, however, dispute this account of Herodotus' visit to Athens, and assert that he never recited his History at the metropolis of Attica, but only at Olympus during the time of the celebration of the public Games at that place. It is also remarkable that Lucian, who mentions at some length the circumstance of Herodotus' presence at the Olympic Games, does not make the slightest allusion to his journey to Athens. Other accounts distinctly assign the portions of his Work read on these occasions.

The reputation of Herodotus was now in the zenith of its splendour, his good fortune had been commensurate with his merits, and by his very first efforts he had reached the highest pinnacle of literary renown. But he could not be induced to settle at Athens. At the commencement of the next Olympiad, during the Archæology of Callimachus, we find him joining a body of enterprising adventurers and colonists, who, under the protection of the Athenian Government, intended to form a settlement in that part of Italy which was afterwards called Magna Græcia. This expedition was rendered illustrious not merely by the presence of Herodotus, but by that of Lysias, at that time a very young man, and who afterwards became so renowned as an Orator. In the company of the Father of History, he imbibed, perhaps, that solid knowledge which became the foundation of his future fame. Thurium, or Thuri, was the place of colonization fixed upon by the Athenians; and was situated on the coast of the Tarentine gulf, very near the site of the ancient Sybaris. It is the generally-received opinion, which is stated by Suidas, that Herodotus spent the remainder of his days in this place, which is considerably strengthened by his having obtained the epithet of the Thurian, from the name of this settlement. Some writers, however, assert, that he died at Pella, a town of Macedonia, which was celebrated for being alike the birth-place of the Tragic Poet Euripides and of Alexander the Great. The appellation of Thurian, as applied to Herodotus, is to be first found in the Works of Aristotle, who is followed in this respect by Pliny, Julian, and others. Strabo, the Geographer, however, in his fourteenth book, calls him the Halicarnassian, and adds that he was afterwards called the Thurian, because he accompanied the colony which went to establish itself at Thurium; but the former is the most general title by which the Ancients were accustomed to designate the Father of History. One argument of a singular kind is brought against Suidas's statement of the death of our Historian, by Ammianus

Marcellinus, in his Life of Thucydides. He contends that it is impossible he could have died at Thurium, because his tomb was to be found at Athens, among the monuments of Cimon; and from this account President Bouhier, in the *Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres*, at Paris, attempts to refute the facts advanced by Suidas. But what was the tomb in question? Inquires Monsieur Larcher, in his preface to his remarks on the admirable translation of Herodotus. He observes, that it was probably a mere cenotaph, one of those marks of honour and distinction which were frequently bestowed upon the celebrated characters of antiquity, as in our own times, irrespective of the place of their death; and he brings forward several instances of this practice among the Ancients. Indeed, Stephen of Byzantium, the well-known Geographer, has transcribed an inscription, which is said to have been found at Thurium, and which unequivocally asserts the place of his decease. Wherever he finished his days, it is certain (according to Phry) that Herodotus not only resided at Thurium for a considerable length of time, but that he here corrected, enlarged, and completed his History. *Auctor ille Herodotus Historiam condidit, Thuriis in Italiâ.* We have thus explored every source of the personal history of Herodotus: what was the precise age at which he died we do not learn, nor the Olympiad in which his death took place.

The opinions of the most illustrious critics of antiquity, on the merits of our Historian, will not be uninteresting to the reader. Longinus, in his Treatise on the Sublime, considers him a second Homer amongst Historians, and applies to him the distinguished epithet of *Ὀμηροειδὴς*, *ἄνευ Ἡρόδοτος Ὀμηροειδέστι ἐρέετο*. His countrymen, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, runs a long parallel between the Historian of Thurium and Thucydides. We have not room to transcribe the whole passage, but may quote a portion of his elegant eulogium: "*Ἰσὺ δὲ συνέλπον εἶναι, καὶ μὲν αὖ συνέσει ἀμφοτέρω δ' ἄρ' ἐν ἀνεκδοταῖς ποιήεντι αὐτὸν λόγον διαφέρειν δ' ἐκαστὸν τὸν μάλιστα ἀλλήλων, οἷοι τὸ μὲν Ἡρόδοτος κάλλος διατρεῖν ἐστὶ, φοβερὸν δὲ τὸ Θουκυδίδου.*" In other words, then, the *καίρεσι* of both are beautiful, for I am not ashamed to call them *καίρεσι*; but they differ from one another, particularly in this, because the beauties of Herodotus consist in elegance and cheerfulness; those of Thucydides in sternness and austerity." Quintilian, in his Institutes, speaking of the style of Herodotus, calls it sweet, pure, and flowing. Cicero says it is copious and polished. (*fusum atque tractum*;) and, in his Treatise De Oratore, makes mention of him in strong terms of eulogy: *Atque tanta est eloquentia, ut me quantum ego Græcæ scripta intelligere possum, magnopere delectat.* "His eloquence is so great, at least as far as I understand the Greek language, that it exceedingly delights me." Aristotle quotes him, in his Rhetoric, as an instance of the flowing style, which he designates by the expression of *λέγει ἡμερῶς*. These are the principal testimonies of antiquity in favour of Herodotus, but it must not be concealed that some of the ancient writers have formed very different opinions of his claims as a Historian. Ptochæus, in particular, has vehemently attacked him; and, although he allows him the merit of great beauty and accuracy of composition, he wrote a Treatise expressly to derogate from his fame, and to shake the authenticity of his great Historical Work.

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Disputes about the place of his death.

Opinions respecting his merit.

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Biography. In his Treatise on the malignity of Herodotus, Plutarch accuses him of injustice toward the Greeks, and asserts that he has compromised their honour, especially that of Thebes and Corinth, for the sake of flattering the Medes and Persians. He proceeds to state, that in his account of the naval engagement at Salamis, he has unpardonably exaggerated the heroic exploits of Artemisia, Queen of Halicarnassus, because Caria, of which that town was the Capital, happened to be his native country. The invective of Plutarch is, on the whole, so exceedingly bitter, that had the two writers flourished at the same period, we must have concluded it to have been the fruit of strong personal antipathy. Were the charges which he publishes worthy of serious refutation, we might ask what inducement could the Historian have had to exalt the character of the Persians at the expense of his Countrymen's reputation. Indeed, the very contrary is the tendency of his Writings; and a perusal of the *Erato* will sufficiently confirm the fact. Plutarch, himself, perhaps, was much more the victim of these undue partialities, and has been supposed to bring forward these accusations against Herodotus, because the latter, in his narrative of the Persian invasion, invectives against the Thebans, who were the principal inhabitants of Boeotia, (the birth-place of Plutarch,) for their meanness and cowardice in deserting the common cause of Greece, and for being the first to submit to the Persian yoke.

Other antagonists of Herodotus. Dion Chrysostomus, the Favourite of the Emperor Trajan, is another of the celebrated antagonists of Herodotus: he directly charges him with having falsified the account of the Battle of Salamis, by representing that Adimantus, the Corinthian General, fled at the commencement of the engagement, and thus endangered the safety of Greece—an imputation upon the national character of the Corinthians, which he attributes to the circumstance of the refusal of that people to present Herodotus with a sum of money for the recital of his History. Other eminent writers, both of ancient and modern times, have regarded our Historian as utterly deficient in the grave and austere dignity of Historical truth. Among the rest, Ctesias, Strabo, Diodorus Siculus, and Aulus Gellius, have brought forward many strong and vehement objections against the authenticity of his assertions and descriptions. Manetho boldly disputes his accuracy respecting many of the manners and customs of Egypt; but of them, as we have observed in another place. (*Herodotus*, chap. v. of Egypt.) Herodotus invariably states that he derived his information from the Priests of that Country, and does not pretend to communicate the facts generally from his own personal knowledge; and, while something must ever be allowed for his credulity in receiving these statements, much more might have been expected from the barbarism of the Age, and no just impeachment of his industry as a Historian has yet been established. It is but just, indeed, to add, that the researchers of modern travellers, especially in Egypt, have increased rather than diminished the confidence which has been placed for Ages in the general accuracy of his narrative.

In some of the details of his History, Herodotus partakes of the ignorance of the times in which he lived, with regard to all Physical Science. Aristotle, in his History of Animals, censures him for asserting that, at the siege of Ninus, an eagle was seen to drink, when it is notorious that all birds which have crooked claws,

γομφύλινες, are never in the habit of drinking. Other mistakes have been remarked with respect to his account of the Nile also, and the causes of its periodical inundations; and his belief in visions, oracles, and omens: all of which are capable of a similar explanation.

The style of Herodotus is universally allowed to be remarkable for its harmony and sweetness: and may be compared to a river which flows equally and gently between its banks, fertilizing and gladdening the meadows through which it rolls, while that of Thucydides, with whom alone he can be paralleled, resembles the mountain torrent with its rapid tide, carrying every thing before it. It has been thought singular by some writers, that Herodotus, who was born a Dorian, should have been induced to compose his History in a foreign dialect, and that it would have been more to his honour to have disciplined his native Tongue to this important use; but the Doric in his day was hopelessly rude and dissonant. Even in the polished Court of Ptolemy Philadelphus, at a much later period of time, it was considered as broad and inharmonious, and must never be confounded by the students with that mellow Tongue which is so much admired in Theocritus, and the other Pastoral Poets of Greece. Hesychius, in his Lexicon, at the word *Βαφειογενής*, informs us that the inhabitants of Caria were so called for their harsh and barbarous pronunciation. It must be confessed that the style of Herodotus owes all its charms to the dialect of Ionia, which, though deficient in terseness, when compared with the Attic, is, perhaps, equal in elegance, and certainly superior in melody. The plastic hand of the Historian found facilities in this language for moulding the most important events and assertions into the most engaging forms; nothing can exceed the general simplicity of style in which every thing is told, or rather placed before the eye of the reader with the utmost distinctness; never is he infected by the nania for fine writing; we find

No inextricable graces to beguile,
No clustering ornaments to clog the pile;

there breathes throughout the whole composition a grave but mild dignity. It must, however, be confessed, that there is nothing of that Philosophy of History to be found in Herodotus for which Thucydides first distinguished himself, but which, perhaps, was not fully cultivated until the time of Tacitus. He seems to have had no idea of tracing effects to their causes, or of explaining the nature of the political convulsions which he describes; and, but for the brilliancy of diction with which he clothes the actions he depicts, he would, in some instances, hardly rank higher than Froissart or Montrelet, the Chroniclers of modern times.

Herodotus is, in truth, more dramatic than any other writer of Ancient History, and, like the penmen of a higher school, he does not narrate what Solon and Cæcæus said and did, but he introduces them to the reader as speaking and acting in his immediate presence. Of his verbiage, which, after all, is the distinguishing excellence of a Historian, and upon which we have already touched, it has never, generally speaking, been fairly impeached; on the contrary, it has been long acknowledged among scholars, that, when they at all approximate, his Writings are more conformable to the Sacred Scriptures than any other of the ancient Historians. We cannot but admire the pertinacious industry and perverse erudition of some modern scholars, who, in

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Biography. collecting every possible objection to the truth of his narrative, have forgotten that he never vouches for the accuracy of his statements, unless the facts actually passed under his own observation. In the Thalia, it is true that he gives us a tedious fable respecting the Arimaspi, an extraordinary tribe of Scythia, who had but one eye in their forehead, and "who stole the Grippon's gold in the North;" but it must be recollected, that he ridicules this story in telling it, and expressly declares his disbelief of its truth. He also details the current accounts of the Oioripæ, the Anthropophagi, and the Aigipæ, or goat-footed men; but they are given as popular traditions, and reflect only a fair image of the times and people amongst whom he wrote. The same remark will apply to the account of Alerix, in the Melpomene, who was said to run over the Earth, without eating any food, and with an arrow, which served instead of a Pegasus. In another part of that Book he solemnly protests against the truth of a similar story, which he feels obliged to tell, respecting a neighbouring nation to the Scythians, who were said to have acquired the appellation of Lycanthropi, from the circumstance of their being metamorphosed into wolves once a year, and in a few days resuming their human shape. These very stories, we would contend, that can have no credit with us as facts, include a matter-of-fact description of the Age which could believe them; and must be far, therefore, from establishing the charge either of intentional falsehood, or the folly of mingling truth with fable, without distinguishing between them.

His veracity.

Independently of what we have now said, the personal character of Herodotus would successfully repel the darker part of the insinuations which have been thus thrown out against him. Although a Heathen and an idolater, there was an evident dominion of conscience to which he bowed in some remarkable circumstances of his life, and which would not suffer him, as a Historian, to treat lightly, or intrude into those mysteries of Religion, which he believed as a Man. Having been induced to say thus much respecting the veracity of this excellent Historian, from a sense of the injustice with which it has been fashionable to treat him, we shall now give a short analysis of the Work itself.

Analysis of his History.

This History was, as before mentioned, recited by Herodotus himself, at the Olympic Games, and embraces a period of time, from its commencement to its close, of about two hundred and forty years. It professes to be a History of the Greeks and Barbarians generally, or what we should, in modern days, term a Universal History, for the Greeks called all nations beside themselves by the name of Barbarians. It particularly treats of the wars of the Persians against the Greeks, and their several invasions of the Grecian States; and, with a full and interesting account of other nations, represents every thing as it bore upon the Grecian interest, manners, and customs.

The narrative commences with the Empire of Cyrus the Great, the first King of Persia, and continues the History of that State till the reign of Xerxes, concluding with the battle of Mycale, which took place after his unsuccessful expedition into Greece, and which is about the period of the life of the Historian. This History, as we have intimated, is divided into nine books, named after the nine Muses. The first book, Clio, treats of the transfer of the Kingdom of Lydia, from Gyges into the hands of Croesus, the minority of Cyrus, and his

subsequent overthrow of the unwieldy Lydian Empire. It also notices the rising greatness of the powerful Republics of Athens and Lacedæmon. The second book, the Euterpe, gives a copious and judicious account of Egypt, of Egyptian customs and manners, and a long dissertation upon the succession of their Kings. The third, the Thalia, contains an account of the exploits and achievements of Cambyses, and particularly of the subjugation of the whole of Egypt by that capricious and tyrannical monarch, and finally records the election of Darius Hystaspes to the Persian throne, which was vacant by the death of Smerdis the Impostor. The fourth, the Melpomene, gives a detailed narrative of the unfortunate and calamitous expeditions of the Persians, during the reign of Darius Hystaspes, against the Scythians. The fifth, the Terpsichore, mentions the Republics of Athens, Lacedæmon, and Corinth, in their progress to stability and fame; gives a concise view of their resources and strength as they existed in the time of the Persian Emperor, Darius, and concludes with the expulsion of the Tyrant Hippias from Athens. The sixth, the Erato, records the origin of the Lacedæmonian Kings, the causes which induced Darius to declare war against the Greeks, the first invasion of Greece by the Persians, and finishes with the memorable battle of Marathon. The seventh, the Polyhymnia, contains a full narration of the formidable expedition of Xerxes, the son of Darius Hystaspes, into Greece, and concludes with an animated account of the battle which took place between the Greeks and Persians at the Straits of Thermopylæ. The eighth, the Urania, narrates the further progress of the arms of Xerxes, the taking and burning of Athens by the Persians, together with the events which took place at the sea-fight off Salamis, a battle which eventually led to the utter overthrow of the Persian power in Greece. The ninth, the Calliope, treats of the battle at Platæa, the fight off the Promontory of Mycale, and the subsequent retreat of the Persians in consequence of these engagements.

The great Historical Work of Herodotus has been in abridgement several times abridged. The principal performances of this kind are the well-known Work of Theopompus, of Chios, mentioned by Suidas, and that of David Chytraeus, which contains many valuable and learned notes. Before we proceed to enumerate the various translations and editions of our author, we must give some short account of a Work which has been attributed to him, without sufficient proof. It is called the *Life of Homer*, and has been published in most editions of them as an integral part of his Works. The principal advocates in favour of its genuineness are Fabricius, the celebrated author of the *Bibliotheca Græca*, the President Boucher, and our learned Countryman, Joshua Barnes, the well-known editor of Euripides, Anacreon, and several other classical Works; while Vossius, Spahnemius, Berglerus, Wesseling, and a legion of minor critics, have entered a solemn protest against its authenticity, and brought forward various arguments from the discrepancies of the style of this piece, and its general manner, to prove its utter incompatibility with its claims. Independently of these circumstances, it has also been remarked, that of all the writers of antiquity who have undertaken to discuss the birth, fortune, or Poems of Homer, not one has, by the most remote allusion, glanced at this Work, whose subject and whose author (had it been genuine) had

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The translations of Herodotus, as might be expected, have been very numerous, in most of the modern languages. We must be content to select the principal. The first that appeared was in Latin, by Laurentius Valla, a celebrated Greek scholar, and was printed at Venice, in 1474. Many editions of this version of Herodotus have been since published; it was revised by one Conrad Hoesbachi, of Cologne, in 1537, and its excellence has secured to it the honour of accompanying the Greek text in all respectable editions to the present day.

Monsieur Larcher, some years ago, favoured the world with the most faithful and spirited French translation of Herodotus which has yet appeared. From an intimate acquaintance with this admirable performance, we are unable to say whether we most admire the various erudition with which he has enriched his notes, or the happy and appropriate expressions in which he has conveyed the sense and spirit of his author. A late English translator has freely availed himself of the learning of Larcher, which incomparably exceeds that of any modern commentator on our Historian. A curious old English translation of the two first of the nine books of Herodotus was published in London by Marsh, in 1584. A complete translation did not appear in the English language until the year 1737, when a Mr. Littlebury published the text of Herodotus in two volumes, unaccompanied by either note or comment. This version evinces some care and learning; it is, in the main, faithful in letter to the original, but completely deficient in conveying its spirit. The late Mr. Beloe, well known in the literary world, both by his Writings and his public avocations, accomplished a translation of the whole History, and first published it in 1791. After the obsolete performance of Littlebury, it would confer but small honour to say, that it is very superior to any which has made its appearance in our language. It is written in easy, perspicuous, and, occasionally, in elegant language; but we cannot recognise Herodotus' resemblance in this mirror of a translation; it not unfrequently mistakes the sense; it sometimes perverts the meaning of his original, and, in more than one instance, it is evidently translated from the French of Larcher rather than from the Greek. Mr. Payne Knight, one of the most elegant and critical scholars of his Age, points out an egregious mistake of this translator, in his profound disquisition upon the Principles of Taste. The sentiments of so eminent a scholar may not perhaps be uninteresting to our readers, and we shall make no apology for subjoining them. The His-

torian having merely observed, "that the greatest heat of the sun was at a certain hour of the morning, when the business of the forum ceased, and not in the middle of the day, as in other Countries, *θερμότερον δὲ τότε τὸ ἥλιος ῥέειναι τοῖς ἀπὸ θύρας τοῦ δαδῶντος ἢ κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν τῆς ἀλλοτρίης μεσημβρίας, ἀλλὰ ὑπερβίβας μᾶλλον τὸ ἡριπύρρον διαλάσας*, Lib. iii. 104. It is thus rendered, in the translation, "In distinction from all other nations, the heat with these people (the Indians) is greatest, not at mid-day, but in the morning! They have a vertical sun, when with us people withdraw from the forum."

Dr. Lempriere, author of the *Classical Dictionary and Universal Biography*, published in 1791 an English version of the Clio of Herodotus, as a specimen of an entirely new translation, but did not favour the Public with a continuation of his performance.

The principal editions of Herodotus are as follow:
Herodoti Historici, Gr. fol. Venet. Ald. 1502. This is the Princeps Aldine edition, and was printed by Aldus Manutius.

— à Josch. Camerario, Gr. fol. Basilæ, 1541. A good edition, reprinted 1557.

— ob Henrico Stephano, Gr. fol. 1570. One of the most correct, according to Dr. Harwood, of the Greek classics published by Stephens.

— Gr. et Lat. fol. Hen. Steph. Parisiis, 1592. This is an excellent edition, corrected, amended, and enlarged; it is a reprint of the former one, but rendered greatly preferable by the additional notes, &c.

— à Gothofredo Jungermanno, Gr. et Lat. fol. Frankfurt, 1608.

— cum notis Henr. Steph. a Fred. Sylburgio, Gr. et Lat. fol. Olive P. Steph. 1618.

— à Thomâ Gale, Gr. et Lat. fol. Londini, 1679. This is a very superior edition.

— à Jac. Gronovio, Gr. et Lat. fol. Lugduni Batavorum, 1715. This is by no means a valuable edition; and it has been well observed that the editor knew more Latin than Greek.

— Gr. et Lat. 12mo. Glasgou, 1761, 9 vol. This is a very valuable and correct edition.

— à Petro Wesselingio, Gr. et Lat. fol. Amstelædæmi, 1763. This is by far the best edition of Herodotus, which has appeared in the Republic of Letters, and, in spite of various illiberal attempts made by subsequent commentators to depreciate its merits, still remains vastly superior to every edition which has preceded or succeeded it. It contains all the various readings, is adorned by numerous learned and judicious notes, and is, in short, an exemplar for future editors of classical books.

— Gr. et Lat. cum notis Variorum. Reizius, tom. 1, Bro. Lipsæ, 1778.

— curâ Schæferi, Gr. vol. 1, 2, Bro. Lipsiæ, 1800. This last edition has taken Wesseling's text for its basis, and has certainly made some excellent emendations in the original text. It was commenced by Reizius, and upon his decease was finished by Schæfer. It was reprinted incorrectly at Oxford in 1809, by N. Bliss.

Emilius Portus published a Lexicon for the use of those who were desirous to study the Works of Herodotus; and it was reprinted at Oxford, by Bliss, in 1817

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CHAPTER X.

OF PERSIA.

Persia.

§ I. Topography of Media and Persia.

At the close of our account of CYRUS (p. 278) we described the dying Prince, on the authority of Xenophon, as solacing himself with the reflection, that he had advanced Persia from an inconsiderable Kingdom to a mighty Empire. According to that Historian, it was now terminated to the East by the Red Sea, (as the Ancients termed the Indian Ocean,) to the North by the Euxios, to the West by Cyprus and Egypt, and to the South by Ethiopia. It is described, in the Book of Daniel, as reaching "from India even unto Ethiopia;" and, soon after the time of Cyrus, it was divided into one hundred and twenty Provinces, including an extent, as calculated by the learned Prideaux, forty times as large as England. Such was that portion of Asia which is distinguished in Ancient History as the Medo-Persian Empire.

We should here, perhaps, proceed to inquire into the progress of this Empire from its inconsiderable commencement to that large extent which it attained under Cyrus, and to collect what has been commemorated by the ancient authors generally followed upon these subjects. But our attention is demanded to the curious and important discovery respecting Persia, made by a distinguished Oriental scholar, the glory of our Country and of his Age; one who sought in the East to collect the priceless treasures of her ancient lore, leaving to posterity the acquisition of that wealth which the world covets.

In the desiderata found among Sir William Jones's Papers, he had mentioned "The History of Persia, from authorities in Sanscrit, Arabic, Greek, Turkish, Persian, Ancient and Modern." This he did not live to undertake. He has, however, in his VITH Dissertation, given a large account of "a rare and interesting Tract on twelve different Religions, entitled the *Dabistan*, and composed by a Mohammedan traveller, named Mohsua Fâni." On the "evidence" drawn from this Tract, which "appears unexceptionable," he shows that the Persian Empire, under the denomination of "the Irânic Monarchy, must have been the oldest in the World;" and concludes, "that Irân, or Persia, in its largest sense, was the true centre of Population, of Knowledge, of Languages, and of Arts; which, instead of travelling Westward only, as it has been fancifully supposed, or Eastward, as might with equal reason

have been asserted, were expanded in all directions, to all the regions of the world, in which the Hindû race had settled, under various denominations."

Sir William Jones does not appear to have drawn this extraordinary conclusion till after a cautious and diligent investigation of a subject which it required his peculiar attainments satisfactorily to discuss. He inquired into "the ancient languages and characters of Irân." These he found to have been "Chaldaic and Sanscrit," which "no supposition of a mere political or commercial intercourse between the different nations will account for, because, they are too numerous to have been introduced by such means, and are not the names of exotic animals, commodities, or Arts, but those of material elements, parts of the body, natural objects and relations, affections of the mind, and other ideas common to the whole race of Man." Hence our author concludes, "that the language of the first Persian Empire was the mother of the Sanscrit, and, consequently, of the Zend and Farsi, as well as of the Greek, Latin, and Gothic; that the language of the Assyrians was the parent of Chaldaic and Pahlavi; and that the primary Tartarian language had also been current in the same Empire; although, as the Tartars had neither books, nor even letters, we cannot with certainty trace their unpolished and variable idioms."

Discovering, "therefore, in Persia, at the earliest dawn of History, the three distinct races of men" who were "possessors of India, Arabia, and Tartary," he proceeds to inquire "whether they were collected in Irân from distant regions, or diverged from it as a common centre." To the latter conclusion he is thus determined.

To "the central position of Irân, which is bounded by Arabia, by Tartary, and by India," our author adds the considerations, that "the Brahmins could never have migrated from India to Irân, because they are expressly forbidden, by their oldest existing laws, to leave the region which they inhabit at this day;" that "the Arabs have not even a tradition of an emigration into Persia before Mohammed, nor had they, indeed, any inducement to quit their beautiful and extensive domains;" and that, "as to the Tartars, we have no traces in History of their departure from their plains and forests till the invasion of the Medes, who, according to etymologists, were the sons of Media; and even they were conducted by the Princess of an Assyrian family." Such is the fullest account which our limits

Topography of Media and Persia.

Sir William Jones's theory.

Persia.

will allow of the principal arguments which induced Sir William Jones to receive the doctrine of the *Dabistan*—"that a powerful monarchy had been established for Ages before the accession of Ceymers," who has been considered as the grandson of Noah. This account, considering our author's high authority, we have been solicitous to select from the Dissertation, in his own language. In connection with his opinion on the doctrine of the *Dabistan*, we may suitably refer to another learned Orientalist, Mr. Richardson, in his *Dissertation on the Languages, Literature, and Manners of the Eastern Nations*, prefixed to his *Persian Dictionary*. He remarks, on the authority of "Asiatic Historians," (p. 32,) that "Babylonia, Syria, Assyria, and Media, seem to have been merely feudatory Kingdoms of the old Persian Empire;" and that "Alexander the Great divided the Eastern Provinces of Persia among the Princes to whose families they originally belonged." He adds, on the same authority, that, "on this occasion, they received a banner from the hands of the Conqueror, paid homage, and engaged to maintain a certain number of troops, upon a footing somewhat resembling the military vessels of the Ottoman Empire."

Iran its
ancient and
proper
name.

Sir W. Jones observes, at the commencement of his Dissertation, that the Country, "which Europeans improperly call Persia, is correctly denominated Iran by the present natives of it, and by all the learned Mussulmans who reside in the British territories." Of this, "one of the most celebrated and most beautiful Countries in the world, the noblest island, (for so the Greeks and the Arabs would have called it,) or at least the noblest peninsula, on this habitable globe," he proceeds thus to ascertain the "largest boundaries."

"Let us begin with the source of the great Assyrian stream Euphrates, (as the Greeks, according to their custom, were pleased to mis-call the Forth,) and thence descend to its mouth in the Green sea, or Persian gulf, including in our line some considerable districts and towns on both sides of the river. Then, coasting Persia, properly so named, and other Iranian Provinces, we come to the Delta of the Sinthu, or Indus; whence, ascending to the mountains of Cashgar, we discover its fountains, and those of the Jaidan, down which we are conducted to the Caspian. We next are led from the sea of Kismir by the banks of the Cur, or Cyrus, and along the Caucasian ridges, to the shore of the Euxine, and thence by the several Grecian seas to the point from whence we took our departure, at no considerable distance from the Mediterranean;" and including "the Lower Asia within this outline, because it was unquestionably a part of the Persian, if not of the old Assyrian Empire."

"It may seem strange," continues Sir William, (and we shall make no apology for so considerable an extract upon a matter so important to Persian History,) "that the ancient History of so distinguished an Empire should be yet so imperfectly known; but very satisfactory reasons may be assigned for our ignorance of it: the principal of them are the superficial knowledge of the Greeks and Jews, and the loss of Persian archives or Historical compositions. That the Grecian writers, before Xenophon, had no acquaintance with Persia, and that all their accounts of it are wholly fabulous, is a paradox too extravagant to be seriously maintained; but their connection with it in War or Peace had, indeed, been generally confined to border-

ing Kingdoms under feudatory Princes; and the first Persian Emperor, whose life and character they seem to have known with tolerable accuracy, was the great Cyrus, whom I call, without fear of contradiction, Caikhosrau; for I shall then only doubt that the Khosrau of Firdaus was the Cyrus of the first Greek Historian, and the Hero of the oldest political and moral Romance, when I doubt that Louis Quatorze and Lewis the Fourteenth were one and the same French King; it is utterly incredible that two different Princes of Persia should each have been born in a foreign and hostile territory; should each have been doomed to death in his infancy by his maternal grandfather, in consequence of portentous dreams, real or invented; should each have been saved by the remorse of his destined murderer, and should each, after a similar education among herdsmen, as the son of a herdsman, have found means to revisit his paternal Kingdom, and having delivered it, after a long and triumphant war, from the Tyrant who had invaded it, should have restored it to the summit of power and magnificence. Whether so romantic a story, which is the subject of an Epic Poem, as majestic and entire as this kind, be Historically true, we may feel perhaps an inclination to doubt; but it cannot with reason be denied, that the outline of it related to a single Hero, whom the Asiatics, conversing with the Father of European History, described according to their popular traditions by his true name, which the Greek alphabet could not express: nor will a difference of names affect the question; since the Greeks had little regard for truth, which they sacrificed willingly to the graces of their language, and the nicety of their ears; and, if they could render foreign words melodious, they were never solicitous to make them exact; hence they probably formed Cambyses from Cambakhsh, or *Granting desires*, a title rather than a name, and Xerxes from Shîrûy, a Prince and warrior in the Shâhnâmâh, or from Shîrshâh, which might also have been a title; for the Asiatic Princes have constantly assumed new titles or epithets at different periods of their lives, or on different occasions; a custom which we have seen prevalent in our own times, both in Iran and Hindustan, and which has been a source of great confusion even in the Scriptural accounts of Babylonian occurrences: both Greeks and Jews have, in fact, accommodated Persian names to their own articulation; and both seem to have disregarded the native literature of Iran, without which they could at most attain a general and imperfect knowledge of the Country."

Of this Empire of Iran, as it was extended, or rather restored, by Cyrus, Assyria has been already described. (p. 214.) Other Provinces will be noticed in their proper places. We shall here confine our inquiries to the topography and early History of Media and Persia; the former of which had attained a superior importance, if not the sovereignty over Persia, at the time at which those Countries first attracted the attention of the Greeks.

Media is a Country, the name of which the Sacred History appears to derive from *Medai*, one of the descendants of Japhet; while, according to Strabo, it was denominated from Medus, the son of Medea and Jason, or from a city called Media, whence the whole Country borrowed the name. This Country was bounded on the North by the Caspian sea; on the South by Assyria, the Sarians, and Persia Proper; on the West by

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Armenia Major; and on the East by Parthia and Hyrcania. It now forms the Province of Al Jibal, or Irac Asami.

Media was, in early times, divided into six Provinces, which were afterwards reduced to two—Media Magna and Media Atropatia. In the former the principal Cities were Laodicea, Apamea, Arsacia, and especially Ecbatana, probably the present Tauris, the seat of the Medians, and afterwards of the Medo-Persian monarchs. Here, according to Josephus, "Darius found among the records of Cyrus his decree, commanding that the Temple should be built in Jerusalem." (Antiq. b. xi. c. 4.) Ezra (vi. 2) names the place "Achmetha, the Palace in the Province of the Medes." This City is also mentioned by name in the Books of Tobit and Judith. In the latter (i. 2-4) it is described as having "walls round about, of hewn stones three cubits broad and six cubits long, the height of the wall seventy, and the breadth fifty cubits, gates raised to the height of seventy, and the breadth forty cubits, and towers upon the gates a hundred cubits high, and the breadth in the foundation threescore cubits." The following account of Herodotus represents this City as possessing great importance and extent, and being of a very singular construction.

"There were seven walks of a circular form, gradually rising above each other to the extent of the height of each wall. The palace and treasury were within the innermost enclosure. The inner wall was equal in circumference to the city of Athens, (which Thucydides has described as one hundred and seventy-eight furlongs.) The battlements of this outer wall were painted white, the next black, the third purple, the fourth blue, the fifth orange; so that the walls might be known by their different colours. The two innermost were distinguished from the rest, the one being covered with silver, and the other with gold." In this Province was also situated Regeia, described by Isidorus as the greatest city in Media. It is supposed to have been the same as Rages, mentioned in the Book of Tobit as near to Ecbatana.

Gaza.

Media Atropatia contained Gaza, the metropolis of the Province; and also the cities of Samian, Faza, and Cynopolis. This tract, according to Strabo, was possessed by the Cadusi and the Caspi, a barbarous people of Scythian origin.

Face of the country.

The principal Mountains of Media, according to Ptolemy and Strabo, were Choatra, passing Media from Assyria; Zagrus, according to Ptolemy, one hundred cubits high, dividing it from Assyria on the East; also Parachontra, placed by Ptolemy on the borders towards Persia, and by Strabo on the confines of Media, Hyrcania, and Parthia. To these boundaries, between Media and the adjacent regions, must be added the Orontes, the Jaxartes, and Corocus, mountains of Media, arising in the middle of the Country. The rivers of Media, according to Ptolemy, were the Straton, the Ananidus, the Cyrus, and the Cambyse. It has, however, been remarked, that "these rivers, as they are represented to disembrace themselves into the most southern part of the Caspian sea, could not belong to Media Proper as it has been described by the Ancients."

The northern parts of Media, lying between the Caspian mountains and the sea, are very cold and barren, the earth swampy, and full of marshes. Insects abound

there, and anciently those parts were greatly infested with scorpions. The Provinces more remote from the sea enjoy a wholesome air, though liable to heavy rains and violent storms, especially in the Spring and Autumn. The southern parts produce all sorts of grain and necessaries for life. Here are large plains, among which that of Nysa is famous for the numerous studs of horses kept for the use of the Persian monarchs, and often mentioned and celebrated by the Ancients.

The Country of Media is first known in History as a Province of the Assyrian Empire, to which, according to Diodorus Siculus, it was subjected by Nimrus, in the XIIIth century before the Christian era. For several Ages the Medes appear to have patiently endured the yoke, until they revolted under Arbaces, Governor of Media, as we have already related in our account of SARRANAPALUS. (p. 215.)

§ 11. Early History of the Medes.

Diodorus Siculus, on the authority of Ctesias, has here introduced the names and actions of seven Princes, respecting whom Herodotus is entirely silent; but as Ctesias has been regarded as justly entitled to the epithet fabulous, we therefore prefer the authority of "the Father of History." According to Herodotus, the Medes, on recovering their independence, first adopted a popular government, or rather several distinct governments, which appear soon to have been jealous of each other, and disposed to hostility. After some years of confusion and anarchy, one of their Countrymen, Deioceus, by the reputation he attained as a Judge of their differences, procured himself to be elected King, in the year 710 before the Christian era.

This first King of the Medes soon degenerated from the exercise of mildness and equity which had procured his advancement, and became a Tyrant. He exacted from the people the labour of building, for his magnificence, the famous City of Ecbatana, where, to preserve his dignity, he kept himself concealed in the interior of his Palace, "believing," says the Historian, "that, while invisible to his subjects, he should be regarded as one of a superior race." Yet, as Montesquieu has remarked, this seclusion affected by the Princes of Asia was attended with no inconsiderable hazard.—*Cette puissance invisible qui gouverne est toujours la même pour le peuple. Quoique dix rois, qu'il ne connaît que de nom, se toient égarés l'un après l'autre, il ne sent aucune différence, c'est comme s'il avait été gouverné successivement par des esprits.* (Lett. Pers. No. 100). Herodotus, however, has described this Prince as making himself known by a vigorous exercise of justice, which, from the recess of his Palace, he distributed to all his subjects by means of his officers.

Deioceus, according to the most probable account of these Ages of uncertain History, appears to have passed fifty-three years in the exercise of royalty, when ambition drew him from his retirement, and he was slain in battle with the Assyrians. His son Phraortes succeeded to his Crown, and also inherited his martial propensities. He fell before the walls of Nineveh, after a reign of twenty-two years.

Cyaxares, the son of Phraortes, now ascended the throne. He rigorously disciplined his army, soon recovered what his father and grandfather had lost to the Assyrians, and then carried the war into the enemy's

Early his-
tory of the
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Climate.

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B. C.
599.

Persia. Country. There he besieged Nineveh, to revenge the injuries which Nebuchadnezzar had inflicted on the Capital of Media. But he was called away by a formidable irruption of the Scythians, who now overran a great part of Asia. Engaging them in battle, his army was routed and his Country for some years subjected to the conqueror. At length he is said to have prevailed over his enemies by the following stratagem. He invited them to a general entertainment among the Medes. The master of each family intoxicated his guest. Then the Scythians were massacred, and the Kingdom was restored to independence, though not to the enjoyment of Peace; for Cyaxares was presently engaged in a war with the King of Lydia, the occasion and event of which we have already described. (p. 266.)

Released from the Lydian war, he resumed the siege of Nineveh, which he took, in conjunction with Nebuchadnezzar, King of Babylon. The confederate Princes now led their army against the King of Egypt, whom they forced to abandon his acquisitions in Assyria, and to retire into his own Country. Their joint efforts against the Holy Land are detailed in the Sacred History.

Herodotus attributes to Phraortes the conquest of Persia, but that Country was rather subdued by his son Cyaxares—a supposition which best agrees with the language of the Scriptures. Thus the Kingdom of Media was enlarged to a powerful Empire, for Cyaxares shared his conquests with the King of Babylon. The Median Prince died in the fortieth year of his reign, and was succeeded by his son Astyages, the Ahasuerus mentioned in the Book of Daniel.

We have seen (p. 266) the marriage of this Prince with Aryetis, the daughter of the King of Lydia. By her he had Cyaxares II., called in Scripture Darius the Mede. He had also a daughter named Mandane, who became the mother of Cyrus, to which name (p. 275) we refer for the later History of the Medes. We proceed to the topography of Persia, and to deduce the early History of that Country to the same periods.

§ III. Of Persia Proper.

Persia Proper was named by Moses Elam, from the son of Shem, and is the Phars of the modern Kingdom. Ptolemy assigned to it the following boundaries. On the North, Media; on the South, the Persian Gulf; on the West, Susiana; and Carmania on the East. Its principal Cities were Persepolis, which became the metropolis of the ancient Persian Empire; Arima; Marandium, called now Maraz; Tosee, the Capital of a district of the same name; and Pasargard, built by Cyrus, and honoured with his tomb. On the testimony of ancient authors, this Country is thus described: to the North, hilly and barren, bearing neither fruit nor corn sufficient for the inhabitants, but producing emeralds, though of inconsiderable value; on the coast of the Persian Gulf, the soil hot and sandy, producing few trees beside palms; between these, a rich and pleasant region, abounding with corn, fruit, and cattle, and better watered, though by small rivers, than most of the neighbouring Countries. Xenophon describes Persia as so mountainous, that it was ill adapted for the breeding or the use of horses. Thus the Persians excelled as foot-soldiers, while the Medes were famous for their cavalry.

In our Introductory Chapter, (p. 67.) we have remarked the great obscurity in which we find the History of Persia during the period we are now passing over. In this penury of Historical information, the following narrative is supplied from the Asiatic Histories, by the learned Orientalist we have already quoted. Mr. Richardson says,

"About 800 years before the Christian era, a usurper called Zohak, we are informed, reigned in Persia. His government was oppressive, and became at length insupportable. The citizens of Ispahan (probably the ancient Aspadane) flew to arms, and, headed by a blacksmith named Gao, attacked, defeated, and killed the Tyrant. Gao, after this victory, discovering the retreat of Peridoun, the heir to the Crown, placed him on the throne, and received in return Ispahan, with its dependencies, as a feudal principality. What truth may be in this remote event," he adds, "it is impossible to determine; but it is a generally-recorded fact that the blacksmith's apron, said to have been displayed by Gao, when marching against Zohak, as a banner from the point of a spear, was taken by the Arabians at the Battle of Caddesia, when they conquered Persia, in the year 636. It had been laid up in the treasury of the Persian Kings, and was enriched with jewels to a prodigious value. It was considered as the great standard and palladium of the Empire, and was never carried to the field but on important emergencies, or when the King marched in person."

Mr. Richardson also refers to the Asiatic accounts of Rostan, "equally the favourite of History and Romance. He was a successful General under the first Kings of the Kainian dynasty, and received, in reward for his services, the Provinces of Sejestan and Zabestan, as feudal appanages of the Crown of Persia." (*Disert.* p. 33.) Here it may be proper to add what Sir Isaac Newton learned from "the Histories of the Persians now extant in the East, that the oldest dynasties of the Kings of Persia were those whom they call Pischdadians and Kainides, and that the dynasty of the Kainides immediately succeeded that of the Pischdadians. That the sixth King of the Kainides, whom they call Bahaman, and whom they take for Darius Medus, went Westward into Mesopotamia and Syria, and conquered Belshazzar, the son of Nebuchadnezzar, and gave the Kingdom to Cyrus, his Lieutenant-general over Media." (*Chronol.* p. 373—375.)

Returning to the scanty information which the Greek Greek Historians had acquired respecting the ancient Kingdom of Persia, we find Aeschamenes mentioned by Herodotus (l. vii. c. 11) as the head of a Royal House from which Xerxes traced his descent. From him is derived Cambyzes, who, marrying Mandane, the daughter of Astyages, became the father of Cyrus. Xenophon describes Cambyzes (b. i.) as "of the race of the Persidae, who were so called from Perseus." Whether the Persians had now recovered their independence, or whether Cambyzes was a tributary Prince to the King of Media, is left by the ancient Historians in great uncertainty. We proceed to collect what information has not already appeared in other places of our Work respecting the Medo-Persians, as they appeared in early times under the Empire of Cyrus.

§ IV. Of the Religion of Ancient Persia.

Sir W. Jones remarks, that "the primeval Religion

Of Persia Proper.
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B. C. 710.
to A. M. 3403.
B. C. 599.
Oriental Historical accounts.

Persia.

From

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3294.

A. C.

710.

to

A. M.

3405.

A. C.

599.

of Iran, if we may rely on the authorities adduced by Mohean Fâsi, was that which Newton calls the oldest (and it may be justly called the noblest) of all Religions—a firm belief that one supreme God made the world by his power, and continually governed it by his providence; a pious fear, love, and adoration of him; a due reverence for parents and aged persons; a fraternal affection for the whole human species; and a compassionate tenderness even for the brute creation." On the same authorities it appears that Hushang, whose system of Religion was long anterior to that of Zoroaster, introduced a worship which became popular, and which "was purely Sabian, a word deduced by Grammarians from *saba*, a host, and particularly the host of heaven, or the celestial bodies, in the adoration of which the Sabian ritual is believed to have consisted."

"In the learned Work," (the *Debiestan*, which gave occasion to Sir W. Jones's Dissertation,) "there is a description of the several Persian temples dedicated to the sun and planets, of the images adored in them, and of the magnificent processions to them on prescribed festivals, one of which is probably represented by sculpture in the ruined City of Jemshid, (Persepolis.) But the planetary worship in Persia," he adds, "seems only a part of the complicated Religion which we now find in the Indian *Puranas*."

Sir Isaac Newton, speaking of the period prior to Hystaspes and Zoroaster, says, that "the various Religions of the several nations of Persia consisted in the worship of their ancient Kings." (SA. *Chronol.* 41.) He afterwards, on the authority of Suidas, says, that "Zoroaster gave a beginning to the name of the *Magi* among the Persians, changing their ancient sacred rites," and, "according to the sacred commentary of the Persian rites ascribed to Zoroaster" by En-ebius, (*Præp. Ecan. h. i. c. ult.*) teaching a pure theism. "But," he adds, "in a short time they declined from the worship of this eternal invisible God, to worship the sun, and the fire, and dead men, and images, as the Egyptians, Phœnicians, and Chaldeans had done before." (*Chronol.* 351, 352.) It appears, however, from the following description, by Xenophon, of the objects, rites, and ministers of worship, that the name and authority of the *Magi* were not first introduced by Zoroaster, or, at least, not in the Age of Hystaspes, and that the worship of the Persians, in the time of Cyrus, was by no means confined to the deification of their Kings.

Cambyses, at the close of a long admonition to his son on his departure into Media, warns him that "the gods, who are eternal, know all things that have been, are, or shall be." (b. i. ad fin.) "When they had passed the borders, they supplicated the gods, guardians of Media, to receive them propitiously." (b. ii. ad int.) On leaving his uncle Cyaxares, to march against "the Assyrians and Carians," Cyrus sacrificed "first to regal Jove, then to the other deities. He also invoked the heroes, inhabitants, and guardians of Media. As soon as he had passed the borders, he propitiated the Earth by libations, and the gods by sacrifice, and supplicated the heroes, inhabitants of Assyria. He then again sacrificed to paternal Jove." (b. iii.)

But the fullest information on these subjects, given by Xenophon, is in the description of a Royal procession, and the performance of a solemn sacrifice.

"When the gates of the Palace were thrown open, first were led bulls of great beauty, four a-breast, devoted to Jove and other gods, as the *Magi* directed. Next to the bulls were horses, for a sacrifice to the sun. After these proceeded a white chariot, with a perch of gold adorned with a wreath, and sacred to Jove. After this a white chariot, sacred to the sun, and adorned as the preceding. This was followed by a third chariot, whose horses were adorned with scarlet coverings. Behind this followed men, bearing fire upon a large altar. After these Cyrus himself appeared. All the people, at the sight of him, paid their adoration; but no Persian ever paid Cyrus adoration before. When they came to the sacred enclosures, they sacrificed to Jove, and burned the bulls to ashes, as they did on sacrificing the horses to the sun. Theo, killing certain victims to the Earth, they did as the *Magi* directed. Then they sacrificed to the heroes, guardians of Syria." (b. viii.)

Describing the circumstances immediately preceding the death of Cyrus, the Historian says, that "he made the usual sacrifices, and danced the Persia dance, according to the custom of his Country." Then, in consequence of a dream, by which he was "assured that his end drew near, he sacrificed on the summit of a mountain to Jove paternal, the sun, and the rest of the gods." (b. viii.)

Xenophon represents the Medes and Persians as having also greatly revered diviners, and addicted themselves to the practice of augury. The ministers of their Religion, whom he calls *Magi*, appear to have been held in very high esteem. They were allowed to separate for the gods, from the spoils taken in war, whatever they chose, and to set apart any portion of land as sacred to their worship. Of this worship they had the sole direction, and particularly appointed what deity should be invoked on any special occasion. If, as we have conjectured, (p. 273,) the Work of Xenophon "be authentic in all its prominent details," such is probably the most satisfactory account now remaining of the objects, rites, and ministers of worship entertained by the Persians in the reign of Cyrus, the period to which we limit our inquiry. As to Herodotus, though he wrote before Xenophon, yet he does not profess to describe Persia as it had been, but rather as he himself observed it. His short account, however, upon this subject, which is here quoted, does not materially differ from the description by Xenophon, except as rejected by the Persians.

"They erect no statues, temples, nor altars; but rather charge with great folly those who erect them; for they do not, like the Greeks, believe that the gods are born of men.* They sacrifice on the summits of the mountains to Jupiter, and give that name to the whole circumference of heaven. They also sacrifice to the sun, the moon, the earth, fire, water, and the winds. To these alone they have sacrificed from the beginning." (*ἑρῶντες πρὸς τῶν πάντων θεῶν ἀρχαῖον*.) evidently confining himself to the period concerning

* This reader may profitably consult on this passage The *Dissert. Legation*, b. x. s. 1; M. Larcher's *Hérodote*, Note l. 363; and Mr. Hugh Farmer, on *The General Providence of the Workshop of Human Spirits in the Ancient Heathen World*, 60—84.

Of the Re-

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Persia.

From

A. M.

3294.

A. C.

710.

to

A. M.

3405.

A. C.

599.

Divination

and augury

commonly

practised.

Worship-
ers of the
sun and
fire.

Persia.

From
A. M.
3294.
— B. C.
710.
to
A. M.
3405.
— B. C.
599.

which we now inquire; for be adds, as if passing down to his own times, "They have learned from the Assyrians and Arabians to worship Urania; the Assyrians naming Vana, Mylitta; the Arabians, Alitta; and the Persians, Mitra."

"To conclude our inquiry into the Religion of the Medo-Persians, before and under the government of Cyrus, it appears, from the foregoing details, that they were still as really idolaters at the death of that Prince as at the period to which the *Dabestan* referred; though, if the Historians we have quoted had received, or have recorded correct information, the temples and images had disappeared. As to Arimanius and Oromasdes, the Principles of light and darkness described by Plutarch (*In and Osiris*) as the principal deities of the Magi, there is no evidence for their worship in this period, and they will naturally come to be considered under Zoroaster. After all the Historical authorities adduced upon this subject, there has been an attempt to show us that Cyrus is described by the Prophets as "a Prince acquainted with the true God," and that "his people were never reproached in the Scriptures with idolatry." We refer to a note on the life of Zoroaster, in the *An. Univ. Hist.* v. 390. Mr. Richardson, too, attributes to the Religion of the ancient Persians more remains of the original theism, though corrupted, than we have discovered. He says that, "exclusive of the universal belief in the facient Peri system, they appear, in general, to have acknowledged one Supreme Being, and to have paid a high degree of veneration to angels as subordinate deities. This, with a respect to the stars, was the great doctrine of the Sabian Religion, which prevailed of old in Persia, Arabia, and other Eastern Countries." (*Dissert.* 37.)

§ V. Language, Manners, and Customs.

We have already noticed the result of Sir W. Jones's inquiry into "the ancient languages and characters of Iran." The learned Orientalist lately quoted remarks that "the language spoken anciently in Persia opens a wide field of unsatisfactory inquiry;" that "the union of those people, named by Europeans the Medes and Persians, is of such high antiquity, that it is lost in darkness; and long precedes every glimmering we can discover of the origin of their speech. Whatever their language was, therefore, it must have evidently been very nearly the same, with the simple and common variation of provincial idiom." He adds, that "in this Tongue we have no genuine remains;" for the Works attributed to Zoroaster are spurious,* being "the wretched rhymes of a modern Parsi Distour, who lived about three centuries ago." He adds, that "the old dialect of Persia is entirely lost" amidst "barbarous corruptions or inventions of the Guebre Priests, without the least similitude to the inscriptions still discernible on the ancient ruins of Persepolis."

The forms of government in Media and Persia appear to have differed considerably. The first is generally supposed to have been despotic, after the accession of Deioces, except that the Kings, even though they claimed to equal the gods themselves, had not the power of re-

versing their own decrees. As to Persia, we have found feudal customs described as prevailing in that Country; where, says a great authority on the subject of government, Algernon Sidney, "the Kings were limited till they conquered Babylon." Thus, according to Xenophon, (b. i.) Cyrus, when he sought for aid against the King of Assyria, sent to "the public council" as well as to Cambyses; and requested Cyrus to endeavour to obtain the command of the forces, "if the council should send any." Xenophon adds, "that the elders in council chose Cyrus commander of the expedition into Media." It appears also from this passage that Persia must have recovered her independence which, as we have related, she lost under the ascendancy of the first Cyaxares.

The Medes are said to have been warlike, though in the time of Cyrus they had become effeminate and luxurious, and were charged with corrupting the Persian plainness and simplicity. They were celebrated for the use of the bow, with which they fought on horseback. Their arrows, according to an ancient writer, quoted by Eusebius, were "poisoned with a bituminous liquor called naphtha. Thus prepared, they were shot from a slack bow, and burned the flesh with such violence, that water only increased the flame, dust alone could abate it." The same writer reports that they encouraged a breed of large dogs, "to whom they used to throw the bodies of their friends, parents, and relations, when at the point of death, looking upon it as dishonourable to die in their beds, or to be laid in the ground."

The practice of polygamy, so inconsistent with domestic happiness, was carried by the Medes to great excess. According to Simbo, it was even enforced by law, and appears to have been allowed to the wives, as well as enjoined upon the husbands. In confirming alliances, the Medes, according to Herodotus, like the Lydians, (besides the ceremonies they used in common with the Greeks,) were accustomed to make an incision in the arm, and to pledge one another in the mingled blood.*

As to the manners and customs of the Persians, Herodotus (b. i.) describes the profusion which they indulged in the celebration of birthdays, their minute distinction of ranks, in their forms of salutation, and their eagerness to adopt the fashions of foreign nations. He justly commends the law which forbade any person, even the King, to punish a criminal capitally for his first offence; and another, which restrained the severity of masters towards their slaves. On the subject of the Persian education, Xenophon has enlarged as the design of his *Cyropædia* naturally led him. According to him, to prevent crimes by a wise early institution, rather than to punish them with severity, was the great object of the Persian government, which Herodotus had before praised for rendering falsehood unprofitable, and not permitting that to be spoken of, which it was improper to practise. Under such a salutary discipline, according to this Historian, was Cyrus formed, and to such a national education was he indebted for that courage, perseverance, and subordination among his soldiers, which enabled him to become the founder of the Medo-Persian Empire.

Language,
Manners,
and
Customs.

From
A. M.
3294.
— B. C.
710.
to
A. M.
3405.
— B. C.
599.

Warlike
character of
the Medes.Miscellaneous
customs.Forms of
govern-
ment.

* Such was also the opinion of Sir W. Jones, thus expressed in a letter which he published in the *French* language, in 1771. *Tous les (ou lions de la littérature) orientale se trouvent. Ici, par les musulmans, pourvus d'applaudir à l'Arabe, et par les chrétiens, de la langue Persane moderne, et traitement en corvées accises.*

* Tacitus (*Annal.* iii.) describes this custom as prevalent in later times among all the Eastern nations. The author of *Historie Civile et Naturelle du Royaume de Siam* (t. 63.) says, *Les Siamois se coupent le bras et se font une entaille étendue, de la paume au poignet, ou du corps pour en faire servir de sang, qu'ils boivent réciproquement.*

Persia.

From
A. M.
3294.
—
B. C.
710.
to
A. M.
3405.
—
B. C.
599.

Architec-
ture.

The Sciences have no place in an account of this Empire in the time of Cyrus; and of the Arts which then adorned it very little can be discovered. Cyaxares, called Darius the Mede, according to Sir Isaac Newton, "was the first King of the Medes and Persians who coined gold money. They were called Darics, or *Stateres Dariæ*, and stamped on one side with an effigy of an archer, who was crowned with a spiked crown, had a bow in his left hand, and an arrow in his right, and was clothed with a long robe." He adds, "I have seen one of them in gold, and another in silver. They were of the same weight and value with the Attic stater, weighing two Attic drachms." (*Chronol.* 319.)

To what degree of perfection Architecture and the Arts of design had arrived in Medo-Persia, at the close of the period which we are describing, very little indeed can be ascertained, but from the discovery and description of the palace of Persepolis, a city, the building of which is attributed by *Ælian* to the elder Cyrus. As, on this very probable supposition, its ruins are the only remains of his magnificence, and the shattered ornaments most refer to the manners and customs of his time, we shall close this section with the description of Persepolis, given by one of the earliest European travellers in modern times. We refer to the *Travels of Mandelstoe*, who, in 1638, visited the ruins, which are "called by the Persians *Tiziminar*, i. e. Forty Pillars."

Persepolis.

"The foundation on which this vast structure was erected, is raised twenty-two geometrical feet, having at each of its four corners stairs of white marble of ninety-five steps, so flat and broad, that twelve horses may go up conveniently together abreast. Before you come to the main body of the structure, you pass through a square, where you see the ruins of a wall, and the remainders of two great gates, each of which have a horse harnessed and saddled, after a very stnick manner, carved on one side; and, on the other, two creatures, resembling a horse, except that they have wings on each side, and the head is crowned like that of a lion. On one side you see the ruins of nineteen pillars of white and black marble, the least of which are eight, and some

ten ells high, without the bases. The inhabitants thereabouts told me that, not many years before, there were forty pillars standing.

"As you go on further you meet with the ruins of two rooms but indifferently large, but every thing is of the finest polished marble. Several figures of men, of an extraordinary size, are to be seen on both sides the doors, some in a sitting, others in a standing posture, their hair falling down carelessly over their shoulders, and their garments reaching down to their heels, with very wide sleeves, and a girdle round the waste. They had very long beards, and round cups on their heads. Hard-by you find certain unknown characters engraven upon a square pillar, which have no resemblance to the Greek, Hebrew, Arabian, or any other language, being triangular, or rather pyramidal. There are twelve lines of them so well proportioned and nicely engraven, that they have not the least footsteps in them of barbarism.

"There is upon the same ground-work a large court ninety paces square, with two gates on each side, some of which are six, others only three paces wide. You see also in another court very curious carved work in marble—battles, triumphs, Olympic Games, every thing in its due proportion. Upon each of the gates you find a graceful person carved, sitting with a globe in one, and a sceptre in his other hand. My curiosity led me to get up on high, where I saw a King represented, paying his devotions to the sun, fire, and a serpent." (*Harris's Voyages*, 1706, xi. 115.)

Our traveller expresses his regret as to these surprising ruins, "that no body hitherto has undertaken the engraving of them." This desideratum has been since amply provided to the curious in such researches, by Chardin, *Le Brun*, and the author of *Persepolis Illustrata*, 1739; the plates of which appear to have been copied in the *Ancient Universal History*. Our Countryman, Sir Edward Herbert, visited Persepolis a few years before Mandelstoe. His narrative, which is less perspicuous, may be seen in *Harris's Voyages*, l. 430, where are delineated the unknown characters.

Language,
Manners,
and
Customs.

From
A. M.
3294.
—
B. C.
710.
to
A. M.
3405.
—
B. C.
599.

CAMBYSES.

FLOURISHED FROM A. M. 3475. B. C. 529. TO A. M. 3483. B. C. 521.

Biography. We have shown, in the biography of Cyrus, the different accounts of the manner of his death, as described by Herodotus and Xenophon. They agree, however, in the opinion, that he left to Cambyzes the undisturbed possession of that vast Empire to which he had attached the name of Persia. According to the former Historian, before Cyrus set out on the expedition, in which he represents him as miserably perishing, he appointed his successor, after the manner of the Persian Kings, and named his son Cambyzes to that dignity; committing Crassus to his charge, with an injunction to treat the captive Prince with kindness and respect.

Following Xenophon's more probable account, Cyrus appears to have closed his life in peace and honour, dying in his palace, (of Pasargada,) surrounded by his family. In his last hours, he conferred the Empire on his eldest son Cambyzes, with the reserve of the rich and powerful Satrapy of the Medes, Armenians, and Cadusians, with which he invested his younger son Tanoxares, the Smerdis of Herodotus, and the Mergis of Justin.

Accession of Cambyzes. According to the opinion adopted by Herodotus, Cambyzes was the son of Cassandane, the daughter of Phraortes, of the race of the Achaemenides, though we shall presently relate another conjecture upon this uncertain subject. Of the age which this Persian Prince had attained on his accession, or how his reign was occupied before his expedition to Egypt, and the previous preparations, we have no account, except what occurs in Josephus and the Sacred History. From the former we learn (Antiq. xi. 2) that "the Governors in Syria and Phoenicia, and in the Countries of Ammon, and Moab, and Samaria, wrote an epistle to Cambyzes," in which they persuaded him that, if the Jews were permitted to rebuild the city and temple, they would refuse to pay tribute or do homage, but "resist Kings, and choose rather to rule over others than to be ruled over themselves." On reading this epistle Cambyzes "forbad the Jews to build the city and the Temple; accordingly, these Works were suspended till the second year of Darius."

His military spirit. Cambyzes, indisposed to cultivate the spirit or the Arts of Peace, was early desirous, as a favourite object of his attention, to employ the Persian forces, which his father had rendered invincible, in some important military service. It is justly remarked by Mr. Whiston, in his Josephus, that were Herodotus's account of the death of Cyrus correct, it is inexplicable that, instead of marching into Egypt, Cambyzes should not have prepared "to avenge his father's death upon the Scythians and the Massagetae, and to prevent those nations from overrunning his northern Provinces." He, however, turned his attention wholly to Egypt, under what circumstances of provocation it is not easy exactly to ascertain, amidst the very different representations upon this subject.

According to one account, on which Herodotus relies, VOL. IX. 345

Cambyzes had sought in marriage the daughter of Amasis, King of Egypt, who both doted and detested the power of Persia. He was thus unwilling to accept, yet fearful of declining, the proffered alliance. Under these impressions he sent, instead of his own daughter, Nitetis, the daughter of Apries, the former King of Egypt, whom he had dethroned and imprisoned. Cambyzes married this Princess, who was elegant and beautiful, supposing her to have been the daughter of Amasis. She, however, soon undeceived him; when he prepared to revenge the insult by immediate hostilities against Egypt. Such is the Persian account.

On the contrary, Herodotus says, "the Egyptians claim Cambyzes for their own, by asserting that this incident did not happen to him but to Cyrus. He disputes this statement; but Ptolemy, in his *Stratagemata*, relates that Nitetis lived a long time with Cyrus as the daughter of Amasis: till, after bringing him many children, besides Cambyzes, she acknowledged herself the daughter of the deposed King Apries, whose wrongs she persuaded her husband to avenge; but he dying before he could accomplish that design, she urged her son to retaliate the injuries his grandfather had suffered from Amasis and the Egyptians. There is still another story. Nitetis is said to have been the wife of Cyrus, but not the mother of Cambyzes. His mother, Cassandane, complaining in her son's presence of Cyrus's neglect, Cambyzes, at ten years of age, vowed hostility to the country of Nitetis, and, on ascending the throne, made war against Egypt. Yet, after all, the most probable account is, that the Egyptians had become in some measure tributary to the Persians, in consequence of their alliance with the King of Lydia, and, on the death of Cyrus, had refused to acknowledge his successor. Whatever might have been the occasion of the war, the reign of Cambyzes commenced with numerous preparations for the invasion of Egypt.

He engaged ships from Phoenicia and Cyprus, and attached to his native troops a numerous body of Ionians, Eolians, and Greeks. Of these Greek auxiliaries, the principal part had revolted from Amasis, under the conduct of their Commander, Phanes of Halicarnassus, whom Herodotus describes as distinguished by mental as well as military accomplishments. That General, on some affront which he had received from Amasis, determined to revolt, and escaped in a vessel from Egypt, with a design of offering his services to Cambyzes. Amasis ordered him to be vigorously pursued, by the most faithful of his eunuchs, in a three-banked galley. He was overtaken in Lydia, but intoxicated his guards, and escaped into Persia. There he found Cambyzes projecting his expedition. He was, however, deterred by the difficulty of supplying his army with water on its march through the desert, which Herodotus describes as a three days' journey.

Cambyzes.
From A. M. 3475. — B. C. 529. to A. M. 3483. — B. C. 521. Quarrel with the King of Egypt.

Preparations.

Biography.

From
A. M.
3475.
—
B. C.
529.
to
A. M.
3483.
—
B. C.
521.

Phanes.

Phanes first explained to Cambyses the resources and situation of the enemy, and the nature of the country he was about to invade. To secure the most accessible entrance into Egypt and a supply of water for his army, he recommended an alliance with the Arabian Prince who ruled over the intervening Country. The ceremonies observed in forming such an alliance Herodotus has described. They are sufficiently curious to warrant their insertion.

"On these occasions, some one connected with both parties stands between them, holding a sharp stone. With this he opens a vein of the hand, near the middle finger of each of the contracting parties. He then takes a piece of the vein of each, which he dips in their blood. With this he stains several stones, purposely placed in the midst of the assembly, invoking, during the ceremony, Bacchus and Urania. When this is concluded, he who solicits the conjugal pledges his friends for the sincerity of his engagements." The alliance being thus ratified, the Arabian Prince "ordered all his camels to be laden with camel-skins filled with water, and to be driven to the Deserts, there to wait the arrival of Cambyses and his army." (Herod. iii. c. 8.)

The Persian Prince had entered the fourth year of his reign, when, his formidable preparations being thus completed, he set forward at the head of his army. On reaching the borders of Egypt, Cambyses was apprized of the death of Amasis, after a reign of forty-four years; a death which spared him the sight of his country's subjugation, and closed a life which, according to Herodotus, had never been marked by any great calamity. Psammetichus, his son, succeeded to the precarious throne, and was now advancing against Cambyses with a powerful army.

Death of Amasis.

Pelusium taken by stratagem.

Psammetichus had garrisoned Pelusium, the key of Egypt towards the Mediterranean. The possession of that place became essential to the projects of Cambyses, as the only means of securing a communication with his fleet. Understanding that the garrison consisted entirely of Egyptians, he availed himself of their peculiar superstitions, according to the advice of Phanes, for the Greeks probably held in contempt all superstitions except their own. Cambyses, therefore, as Polyænus relates in his *Stratagemata*, ordered a number of cats, dogs, sheep, and other animals esteemed sacred by the Egyptians, to be ranged in the front of his army as he advanced to the assault. The besieged, not daring to employ a hostile weapon against their gods, could offer no opposition to the besiegers, and thus the city of Pelusium was taken without any resistance.

Psammetichus advanced towards the Pelusian mouth of the Nile, and encamped opposite to the Persians. The Greeks and Carians, who had remained faithful to their alliance with Egypt, now punished the defection of Phanes, by indulging a barbarous retaliation upon his miscreanting family. On his flight from Amasis, he had left his sons in Egypt. These were now brought out before the camp, and singly put to death, in sight of their father. A vessel had been prepared for the purpose of receiving their blood. This was afterwards filled with wine and water. The auxiliaries, having drank the horrid potion, (*ταύροις δὲ κόβ' ἀμάρων*)* and

The sons of Phanes put to death.

probably sworn to avenge the treason of Phanes, immediately engaged the Persians. The army of Psammetichus, was, however, soon discomfited, and the greater part destroyed, only an inconsiderable number of the fugitives escaping to Memphis, whither Cambyses prepared to follow them.

Cambyses.
From
A. M.
3475.
—
B. C.
529.
to
A. M.
3483.
—
B. C.
521.

Herodotus relates, from his own observation, a curious circumstance connected with this battle. The people of the place where it was fought pointed out to him two distinct heaps of bones, into which those belonging to each army had been separated. The skulls of the Persians were soft, and would yield to the slight impression even of a pebble, while those of the Egyptians were so hard that the blow of a large stone would scarcely break them. To account for this diversity, it was remarked that the Egyptians, from an early age, shaved their heads, and rendered them hard by a constant exposure, uncovered, to the action of a fervid sun, while the skulls of the Persians became soft by being always sheltered under caps and turbans.

Egyptians defeated.

After thus routing the army of Psammetichus, the Persian Prince appears to have sought the completion of the conquest of Egypt, without the further effusion of blood. With this design, at Memphis, to which the fugitives had retired, was seated on the Nile, he sent a Persian herald up the river, in a vessel of Mithylene, to demand their submission. The infuriated people, soon as they saw the vessel enter the harbour, disregarding the sacred character of a herald, rushed from the citadel, destroyed the vessel, tore the pieces the crew, convulsing of two hundred, and carried the mangled limbs into the citadel, probably to deprive them of the rites of sepulture. The Persians immediately besieged the place. After an unavailing resistance, the Egyptians surrendered, when Cambyses proceeded to execute a most rigorous vengeance, of which Herodotus has given a very interesting description.

Memphis taken.

On the tenth day after the surrender of the citadel, Psammetichus was conducted without the walls, that, while himself a public spectacle, he might feel the distress and mortification of the following scene. His daughter, habited as a slave, was sent with a picher to draw water accompanied by young women in the same servile attire, who were the daughters of the first families in the place. The children and parents loudly expressed their grief, while Psammetichus merely fixed his eyes upon the ground. Next, he beheld his son, with two thousand Egyptians of the same age, parading in procession, with ropes round their necks and bridles in their mouths. These were selected for execution by the counsellors of Cambyses, to avenge the destruction of the Mithylenian crew. They had determined that, for each man massacred, ten Egyptians should be put to death. Psammetichus witnessed the whole scene; yet, while the Egyptians around him wept and uttered loud lamentations, he remained unmoved as before. Then appeared a venerable old man, who had formerly been a guest at the royal table, and was now in the garb of a mendicant. After being made to pass through the ranks of the army to ask alms, he was conducted to Psammetichus, to beg alms of him, and the Egyptians around him. The King could not suppress his emotions, but, calling on his friend by name, beat his head and wept loud. To an inquiry, by Cambyses, why such scenes as he had before witnessed had failed to excite any lamentations, the captive Prince thus

Disgrace of Psammetichus.

* Herod. iii. 11. Thus, according to Bulliott, (*Hell. Catal. xvi*) Catiline is said, after exacting an oath of secrecy of his fellow-conspirators, to have handed round a mixture of blood and wine; *Ammon corpora torquentem vino permixtum in potum circumtulit*.

Biography. replied: "Son of Cyrus, the misfortune of my family were too great to be thus lamented; but it became me to shed tears for the sad condition of a friend, who, in his old age, has fallen into indigence, from the possession of rank and fortune." It added that even Cambyses was affected by this reply, and that Cræsus, and all the Persians who were present, wept at the affecting incident.

From A. M. 3475. Cambyses, thus softened, would have saved the life of the son of Pammenitus, and issued his orders to prevent the execution, but his mercy came too late. The young Prince had suffered among the first of the two thousand victims.

He C. 521. He spared, however, the life of the wretched father, till he was shortly after convicted, or at least accused, of encouraging attempts for the recovery of his Crown.

Death of his son. Pammenitus, who was put to death by being forced to drink bull's blood, thus closed a disastrous reign of only six months' continuance.

Pammenitus put to death. From Memphis Cambyses proceeded to Saïs, and entered the palace of Amasis, on whose corpse he projected a mean revenge. He ordered it to be taken out of the tomb, and treated in his presence with every possible indignity. The corpse was then burned, as if in direct opposition to the Egyptian custom of preserving the bodies of the deceased; though also, as Herodotus remarks, in defiance of the veneration paid to fire in the Religion of the Persians. He adds, however, that Amasis, warned by an oracle, or rather naturally apprehending this violation of his tomb, had directed his interment in the interior recess of the sepulchre, while another corpse, on which Cambyses now gratified his revenge, had been placed at the entrance. Thus, in the language of the Prophet, did "the sceptre of Egypt pass away," while the whole Country submitted to the conqueror. The neighbouring people, also, the Bactrians, Lybians, and Cyrenians, sent presents, and imposed on themselves an annual tribute.

His martial projects. Cambyses, now in the fifth year of his reign, instead of returning to Persia, which he does not appear to have ever revisited, pursued other objects of ambition, dictated by a restless disposition, utterly incapable of pacific occupations. He determined to make war upon three nations at once, the Carthaginians, the Ammonians, and the Macrobians or long-lived Ethiopians. From the first of these projects he was diverted by the refusal of the Phœnicians to employ their ships against the Carthaginians, with whom they had a friendly alliance, and who had descended from their ancestors, for Carthage was a colony of Tyre. The other naval forces at the command of Cambyses were insufficient for his design, and he could not venture to compel the service of the Phœnicians, who had voluntarily joined his arms, and who constituted the principal and most skilful part of his naval force. Thus Carthage escaped the yoke of subjection to the Persians, and was left to occupy and reward the Roman valour, while Cambyses determined to pursue his other projects.

Design on Ethiopia. He sent spies into Ethiopia, to learn the condition and resources of the Country. These assumed the character of ambassadors, bearing presents from the King, and charged to inform themselves respecting the marvellous *table of the sun*. According to Herodotus, there was a plain, near the chief city of the Ethiopians, filled to the height of four feet with the roasted flesh of all kinds of animals. From these whoever pleased

might satisfy their hunger. Solinus and Pomponius Mela describe this supply as supernatural; Pausanias rejects that account as fabulous. Herodotus says, the natives of the place affirm that the Earth immediately produces these viands; but he more justly concludes that they were carried to this table in the night, under the inspection of the magistrates.

The ambassadors employed by Cambyses were some of the Ichthyophagi, so named from their subsisting entirely on fish. He sent for these people from Elephantine, because they were skilled in the language of Ethiopia, on which their Country bordered. To them he committed the following presents for the King: "A purple vest, a gold chain for the neck, bracelets, an alabaster box of perfumes, and a cask of palm wine."

The Ethiopian Prince soon detected the design of these pretended ambassadors, and treated both them and their royal master with contempt. He undervalued the presents, especially the gold chain, for among the Ethiopians brass was the rarest metal, and prisoners were secured by chains of gold. The King, however, relished the wine, and advised Cambyses to be content with his own dominions, and not covet the possessions of another. He sent him also, in return for his presents, his own bow, adding this counsel, "When his subjects can bend this bow with the same ease that I do, then, with a superiority of numbers, he may venture to attack the Macrobians Ethiopians; in the mean time, let him be thankful to the gods that the Ethiopians have not acquired the same ambitious views of extending their territory."

Cambyses, highly incensed by this message, immediately commanded the march of his army, though quite unprovided for such an expedition, "never reflecting," says Herodotus, "that he was about to visit the extremities of the Earth." He left no part of his force behind, except the Grecian auxiliaries, on whom he depended to keep the Country in awe. Arriving at Thebes, in Upper Egypt, he detached from this army 50,000 men, to march against the Ammonians, with orders to ravage their Country, and burn the temple of Jupiter Ammon. By the help of guides, they reached the city of Oasis, at the distance of seven days' march from Thebes. What became of them afterwards was never known. Herodotus relates, from the Ammonians, that "after they had left Oasis, they halted to take some repast, when a strong South wind arose and overwhelmed them beneath a mountain of sand." This account appears to have been credited by Plutarch, in his life of Alexander, where, speaking of that prince's design "to visit the temple of Jupiter Ammon," he adds, "it was a long and laborious journey, and they might be surprised by a violent South wind amidst the wastes of sand, as it happened long before to the army of Cambyses. The wind raised the sand, and rolled it in such waves, that it devoured all 50,000 men." A modern traveller (Savary) conjectures, with great probability, that the Egyptians, intending the destruction of their enemies, having brought them into the vast solitudes of Lybia, abandoned them in the night, and delivered them over to death.

Cambyses, in the mean time, advanced with his main army against the Ethiopians. He had not proceeded through a fifth part of his projected route before he began to find the fatal effects of his imprudent haste. The scanty stores of provisions were consumed,

Cambyses.
From A. M. 3475.

A. C. 529.
to A. M. 3483.
— B. C. 521.

Presents interchanged.

Cambyses marches into Ethiopia.

Biography. The army then fed on the beasts of burden, and at length poorly subsisted on the roots and herbs which an uncultivated soil could supply. Cambyzes had yet the indiscretion to advance, till his troops were reduced, amidst sands and deserts, to the dreadful expedient of devouring one another. The whole army was now decimated, every tenth man, selected by lot, being slain, and prepared as food for his companions; thus providing a nourishment, says Seneca, more horrible than famine. *Alimentum habuerunt fame satius.* This scene he well contrasts with the unfeeling luxury of the King. *Servabantur illi interim generosa avia, et instrumenta pulularum camelis stabantur, eum sortirentur milites quis quis male periret, quis pejus viveret.* "His attendants provided delicate birds for his table, and conveyed on camels his culinary utensils, while his soldiers were determining by lot who should miserably perish, or preserve their existence in greater misery." At length this voluptuous Prince, who cared only for himself, began to be apprehensive for his personal safety. He now desisted from his purpose, and marched back with the remains of his army, of which such numbers had perished, without feeling the stroke of an enemy. Halting at Thebes, "he found," says Rollin, "the gods more easy to be conquered than men."

Return to Thebes.

Thebes was famous for the wealth and magnificence of the temples there dedicated to the gods of Egypt. These temples Cambyzes now pillaged of their movable riches, which amounted to three hundred talents of gold, and two thousand three hundred of silver, and then commanded them to be burned to the ground,—probably instigated by the Persian abhorrence of temple-worship. He also, according to Diodorus, took away from the tomb of King Ozymandias the celebrated circle of gold, which was in circumference three hundred and sixty-five cubits, and represented on its surface all the motions of the heavenly bodies. Sir Isaac Newton, who names the Egyptian King Amemphis, says, that "in his temple or sepulchre at Abydos, they placed a circle of three hundred and sixty-five cubits in compass, covered on the upper side with a plate of gold, and divided into three hundred and sixty-five equal parts, to represent all the days of the year; every part having the day of the year, and the heliacal risings and settings of the stars on that day, noted upon it; and this circle remained there till Cambyzes spoiled the temples of Egypt." (Chron. p. 30.) The Persian Prince also visited the famous statue of Memnon; the mutilated remains of which modern travellers have discovered among the ruins of Thebes. This wonderful production he began to break in pieces, under pretence of discovering some magical secret which might have occasioned the extraordinary musical sounds.

To Memphis.

Leaving Thebes, Cambyzes returned to Memphis, where he dismissed the Greek auxiliaries. The Egyptians were now celebrating a most solemn and joyful festival on the discovery of their god Apis. Whatever emblematical designs may have been ascribed to "the wisdom of the Egyptians" in worshipping the sacred ox, the following were his natural qualities:

Apis.

Herodotus describes this supreme deity of Egypt as a calf, whose "skin is black, on its forehead is a white star of a triangular form, the figure of an eagle on the back, the tail divided, and under the tongue an insect like a beetle." According to Pliny, this sacred bull must

have "a white spot resembling a crescent on the right side, and a lump under the tongue." When a calf was found, really, or according to the pretences of the Priests, answering the proper description, they announced to the people the birth of Apis and fecundity.

"Immediately," says Ælian, "they built a temple to the new god, facing the rising sun, according to the precepts of Mercury, where they nourished him with milk for four months. This term being expired, the Priest repaired in pomp to his habitation, and saluted him by the name of Apis. They then placed him in a vessel, magnificently decorated, covered with rich tapestry, and resplendent with gold, and conducted him to Nilopolis, singing hymns and burning perfumes. There they kept him for forty days. During this space of time, women alone had permission to see him, and saluted him in a manner grossly indecent. After the inauguration of the god in this city, he was conveyed to Memphis with the same retinue, followed by an innumerable quantity of boats sumptuously adorned. There they completed the ceremonies of his inauguration, and he became sacred to all the world." It was in the ceremonies of this festival that Cambyzes found the Egyptians so unseasonably employed when he returned to Memphis, disappointed and dispirited, from his Ethiopic expedition.

The Persian Prince apprehended that these festivals were excited by the joy of the Egyptians, on the knowledge of his disasters. He interrogated the magistrates, and, disbelieving their story, commanded them to be put to death. He then sent for the Priests, who also assured him that they were rejoicing because they had found their god Apis. This deity he commanded them to bring into his presence, when, seeing a calf, he burst into laughter, or rather into a rage, and, drawing his sword, gave the animal a mortal wound. He ordered the Priests to be severely scourged, and forbade the people of Memphis, on pain of death, to persist in the worship of Apis. The god, according to Herodotus, "died in the temple, and was buried by the Priests without the knowledge of Cambyzes." Plutarch says that, by the King's order, Apis was exposed and devoured by dogs. Of the ox Apis, he well remarks that, "though revelling in every delight that he can desire, yet he longs after the liberty which nature gave him, wants to bound over the fields and pastures at his pleasure, and discovers a manifest uneasiness under the hands of the Priest who feeds him." (Cleonemus ad Æn.)

To this outrage on their Religion, the Egyptians, as Insanity of we learn from Herodotus, (iii. 30.) were ready enough to attribute, as a judgment, the insanity of Cambyzes. That Historian, however, says, (iii. 33.) that "from the first hour of his birth he laboured under what by some is termed the sacred disease." This disease (the epilepsy, according to Hippocrates) the Historian further supposes to have produced his mental derangement, of which, indeed, he had given some proofs before his adventure with Apis. "The madness of the heart," at least, he had amply discovered; and his story will soon afford us some additional examples.

The brother of Cambyzes, whom we have already mentioned, attended him on his expedition into Egypt, and was the only officer in the army who could bend within two fingers' breadth, the bow which the King of Ethiopia had tauntingly presented to the Persian Prince. This superiority naturally excited jealousy in such a

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521.

Death of Cambyzes.

Biography. disposition as Cambyses indulged. He could no longer bear the company of his brother, but on some pretence sent him back into Persia. Dreaming, however, that a messenger arrived to inform him that Smerdis had ascended the throne, and touched the heavens with his head, his jealousy was awakened. He sent into Persia his favourite courtier, Prexaspes, who executed his bloody commission, and quieted the apprehensions of Cambyses by putting his brother to death. The manner of his death is differently related. Some report that Prexaspes drowned the Prince in the sea; others that he watched an opportunity, and assassinated him during the diversion of the chase.

Death of Meroe. This murder soon gave occasion to a second. Cambyses had a sister called Meroe, who accompanied him in his expeditions, and whose name he gave to an island in the Nile. He indulged a passion for this Princess, and was desirous of marrying her. He therefore consulted the Royal Judges whether the Egyptian laws would allow such a marriage. The interpreters of the law shrewdly replied, that there was no law to authorize a marriage between a brother and sister, but they had a law which declared that a King of Persia might do what he pleased. Herodotus attributes to "the Royal Judges the most approved integrity," yet he admits that "in this answer the awe of Cambyses prevented their adopting literally the spirit of the Persian laws," and that, "to secure their persons, they took care to discover what would justify him who wished to marry his sister." Thus Cambyses gratified his inclination, and afforded the first example of those incestuous marriages which became common in Persia.

This Meroe, affected by the cruelty of Cambyses in putting her brother to death, could not suppress her grief and resentment, which forced from her a disingenuous application of the following occurrence, related by Herodotus on the authority of the Greeks. Cambyses diverted himself, in the presence of Meroe, with a combat between the cub of a lioness and a young whelp, which another whelp of the same litter presently flew to assist, and they thus overcame the young lion. Cambyses enjoyed the sight, but the Princess wept; because, on seeing one whelp assist another, she remembered Smerdis, who was unsupported, and whose death she feared no one would revenge. Herodotus adds another account from the Egyptians; that Meroe divided a lettuce, and then accused Cambyses of thus dividing the house of Cyrus. However the provocation was offered, the enraged husband aimed a blow at the Princess with his foot, which produced a miscarriage and became speedy death.

Excesses of Cambyses. Cambyses, indeed, appears, at this period of his reign, to have indulged his cruel disposition to an excess of frenzy. He caused several of his principal Nobles to be crucified alive, and daily sacrificed some of the courtiers to his fury. Prexaspes, his obsequious agent in the murder of his brother, was now rewarded as his guilty compliance with the Tyrant's pleasure had so justly merited. He was one day asked by the King what opinion the Persians entertained of him. The courtier replied, that they admired his wisdom, but regretted that he indulged to excess in wine. "They think," replied the King, "that wine disturbs my understanding, but you shall judge." Theo, after drinking more freely, he ordered the son of Prexaspes, who was his euphener, to stand upright at the further end of the

room in which they were feasting. "Now," turning to Prexaspes, he said, "If I shoot this arrow through the heart of your son, the Persians have slandered me; but, if I miss, I will allow that they have spoken truth." He drew his bow, the youth fell, and, on his body being opened, it was found that the arrow had pierced his heart. Cambyses asked the wretched father if he had ever seen any one shoot with a steadier hand. Prexaspes, either from the base servility of a courtier, or from apprehensions for his own life, but who, as Rollin remarks, "ought not to have had voice or life remaining," replied that Apollo himself could not have aimed more correctly. Scæva, who attributes the answer to flattery rather than to fear, thus condemns the monstrous adulation, *Sceleratius telum titulus laudatum est, quàm missum.*

We have seen that Cyrus had commended Cressus to the care and protection of his son. His excesses provoked the captive King of Lydia to venture on a remonstrance, preceded, indeed, by a flattering compliment. When the courtiers were once depreciating Cyrus, in comparison with Cambyses, who, "to all which Cyrus possessed, had added the Empire of Egypt and the Ocean," Cressus claimed the superiority for his conqueror, because he had left behind him such a son as Cambyses. His fidelity, however, was rewarded, though his flattery had been well received. Cambyses suddenly drew his bow, when Cressus escaping by flight, he commanded his immediate execution. The courtiers delayed, expecting that the King would presently relent, and revoke the cruel order. Thus it happened, when Cambyses rejoiced to find Cressus alive, but put his attendants to death, for having disobeyed his orders. It was at Mæphis, according to Herodotus, that Cambyses was abandoned to these cruel extravagancies; there, also, he employed himself in forcibly entering the sacred recesses of the temples, lo violating the tombs, and, as if to indulge an inhuman curiosity, in examining the bodies of the dead.

As to his talents for government, they appear to have been exclusively military; and such, indeed, are almost all the recorded transactions of his reign. To his spirit of military adventure we have seen how he was indebted for the vast extension of his Empire. One accession, however, he acquired by the base and successful policy of one of his Satraps.

Polycrates, the Tyrant of Samos, for the term had not originally an ill sense, was the friend of Amasis, King of Egypt. Herodotus describes his uninterrupted prosperity, which caused Amasis to disclaim his alliance, concluding that a person uniformly prosperous was reserved for some uncommon calamity, in which a friend and ally could not fail to bear a part. On this rupture, Polycrates had assisted Cambyses, in his invasion of Egypt, with a naval force, consisting of some discontented Samians, whom he wished to expatriate. This Prince was at length deserted by his good fortune, and his destruction was effected in the following manner:

Oretes, irritated by a reproach cast upon him of Oretes, having neglected to conquer Samos, which lay so contiguous to his government of Sardinia, resolved, at any rate, to circumvent Polycrates and become master of the island. For this purpose he adopted the following stratagem. Pretending to revolt from Cambyses upon some discontent, he expressed a wish to secure his

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A. M.
3483.
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B. C.
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Biography. treasure. This he proposed to intrust to the care of Polykrates, and to present to him one half of it, by which he might be enabled to conquer Ionia and the adjacent islands. Polykrates, who ardently desired to increase his treasure and also extend his dominions, sent a messenger to Sardis. There a large number of bags were shown to him, full of gold, as he supposed, but really filled with stones, covered at the top with the precious metal. On the return of his messenger, with a highly flattering report, Polykrates, eager to possess the treasure, set out for Sardis, contrary to the counsel of his friends, only taking with him Democleas, a celebrated physician of Crotona. Immediately on his arrival, Ortes arrested him as an enemy to the State; and, by that treacherous Satrap's orders, he lost his life on a gibbet. Thus ended the uninterrupted prosperity of Polykrates, (who had probably intellectual accomplishments superior to his contemporaries, for Athenæus celebrates his extensive Library,) and thus was Samos added to the Persian Empire.

Cambyzes had entered the eighth year of his reign, when he left Egypt with a design to return into Persia, where, as we have remarked, he appears never to have resided, except during his preparations for the invasion of Egypt. On his arrival in Syria, he met a herald sent from Susa to apprise the Persian army that Smerdis, the son of Cyrus, was proclaimed King, and to command their obedience. This revolution had the following origin: when Cambyzes left Persia, on his expedition into Egypt, he committed the government of the Country to Patizithes, one of the principal Magi, who had a brother resembling Smerdis, the son of Cyrus. Patizithes was apprised of the death of Smerdis, which had been concealed from the public; and he was aware that the tyranny and extravagancies of Cambyzes had now become insupportable; he therefore ventured to place his brother on the throne, as the true Smerdis, and caused him to be proclaimed by heralds, dispatched for that purpose, through the Empire.

Cambyzes, though enraged at the appearance of a herald on such a commission, yet had the consideration to respect his sacred character; he, however, strictly examined him. He also interrogated Presapes as to the certainty of his brother's death, which he now affected to disprove, accusing the deception of his dream. From these inquiries, it fully appeared that the true Smerdis was really dead, and that the usurper of the Persian throne was Smerdis the Magian. With the hope of speedily disposing of him, Cambyzes ordered the immediate march of his army into Persia: that Country, however, he was never more to see; for, when mounting his horse, his sword slipped from the scabbard, and gave him a mortal wound in the thigh.

The Egyptians recollected that Cambyzes had inflicted such a wound on Apis, and they naturally indulged the belief that the horrid impiety, as they esteemed the action, was now retaliated, while Cambyzes suffered the just judgment of their deity. Yet, that it was "an especial judgment from heaven upon him for that fact," which seems to have been eposued by the pious and learned Pridesaux, we are not able to perceive; nor does the opinion that "God bath very signally

punished the profanations of Religion in the worst of times, and under the worst modes of heathen idolatry," appear worthy of that author's judgment and religious information. (See Coenert. pt. i. h. iii. an. 522.)

Cambyzes, amidst the cruel and extravagant occupations of his short reign, had found leisure to comply with some of the religious observances of his time. While he remained in Egypt he had sought to learn his future fortunes, by consulting the Oracle of Buttus, which was famous in that Country. It was there revealed to him that he should die at Ecbatana; and he seems to have known only of the city in Media where that name. There all his treasures were deposited and there he aspected, from this answer of the Oracle, to die in his old age. There was also another Ecbatana, in Persia, described, by Pliny, as a town of the Magi. But when Cambyzes found that the town in which he lay in his wounded condition was also called Ecbatana, "he exclaimed," says Herodotus, "This is certainly the place in which it is appointed for the son of Cyrus to die." This Ecbatana, in Syria, according to Pliny, was situated on Carmelus, a mountain of Galilee, on the Mediterranean, about fifteen miles South of Ptolemais.

Twenty days had elapsed since Cambyzes had received the fatal wound. He now summoned around him the principal Persians in his train. To these he explained how he had been induced to kill his brother, whose death he bitterly lamented. Cambyzes next endeavoured to excite his courtiers against Smerdis the Magian, and conjured them not to suffer the Empire to revert to the Medes, for the Magian was of that nation. But the dying advice of this Prince was received with the inattention which his life had deserved. The Persian Nobles attributed it to nothing but resentment against his brother; and submitted to the usurper, whom they regarded as the true Smerdis; especially as Presapes, probably bribed to the interest of the Magian, soon varied his cory, and declared that he had not killed Smerdis with his own hand.

"Cambyzes," says Herodotus, "bewailed his misfortunes; and, when the Persians saw the King thus involved in sorrow, they tore their garments, and expressed their grief aloud. After a short interval, the boat became infected, the thigh mortified, and death ensued." "Thus," adds the Historian, whose third book we have here generally followed as almost our sole authority, "died Cambyzes, son of Cyrus, after a reign of seven years and five months, leaving no posterity."

The reign of Cambyzes, whom Josephus (*Ant. xi. 2*) inaccurately describes as dying at Damascus, has been sufficiently characterized by its uniform cruelty and violence. He seems to have possessed, as before observed, sufficient military talents, but, if he had any other accomplishments, their memory has perished. The son of Cyrus must always be regarded as unworthy of his father, and be ranked, in all faithful History, among that too large assemblage of despotic Princes who have lived only for themselves. His reign, though short, was indeed long enough to exhibit, in a striking manner, the mischievous effects of unlimited power, especially when administered by unbridled passion.

**Contem-
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t-
A. M.
3475
B. C.
529,
to
A. M.
3483.
—
B. C.
521.
Oracle of
Buttus**

**Revolt of
the Magian
Smerdis.**

**Cambyzes
mortally
wounded.**

**Death of
Cambyzes.**

D A R I U S.

FLOURISHED FROM A. M. 3483. B. C. 521. TO A. M. 3447. B. C. 485.

Biography. Two premature death of Cambyzes, which we have already described, the absence of the Persian army from the Capital of the Empire, and especially the incredulity of the Nobles as to the death of Smerdis; all these circumstances seemed to promise the Magian that his usurpation would be successful, and that he might be suffered peaceably to occupy the throne of Cyrus, under the pretence of being really his son.

This usurper, the Smerdis of Herodotus and the Orontes of Justin, is named Mardys by Eschylus, and, by Ctesias, Spendadates. According to Mr. Richardson's *Dissertation*, there is no name in the Persian Histories of their Empire by which Smerdis Magus can be designed. But, as the learned writer remarks, these Histories are equally silent respecting Cyrus, Croesus, and the accession of Darius Hystaspes by the neighborhood of his house. That this Smerdis was the Artaxerxes mentioned by Ezra (c. iv.) is affirmed with the highest probability. To him, therefore, may be justly attributed the name rigor towards the Jews which we remark in the conduct of his predecessor Cambyzes. Both of them might, indeed, regard it as no unpopular measure, at the commencement of their reigns, to discontinue those obnoxious tributaries; for such the sacred laws and customs of the people of God must have rendered them to all idolatrous nations. Hence Plooy the elder describes them as a nation distinguished by their contempt of the gods; *gens contumeliosa numinum insignia*.

Smerdis the Magian.

His severity to the Jews. For the Royal order, which prohibited the Jews to proceed in rebuilding the city and Temple, we have the authority of Ezra, (iv. 7-24.) Josephus being entirely silent as to any intercourse between the Court of Persia and the Jewish people, from the death of Cambyzes till after the first year of Darius. The circumstances mentioned by Ezra cannot be more accurately described than in the following narrative which Dr. Prideaux has collected from the Sacred Historian:

"As soon as Artaxerxes was settled in the Kingdom, after the death of Cambyzes, the Samaritans wrote a letter to him, setting forth, that the Jews were rebuilding their city and Temple at Jerusalem; that they having been always a rebellious people, there was reason to suspect that, as soon as they should have finished that Work, they would withdraw their obedience from the King, and pay no more toll nor tribute, which might give an occasion for all Syria and Palestine to revolt also, and the King be excluded from having any more portion on that side the river Euphrates; and for the truth of what they had informed him of, as to the rebellious temper of that people, they referred him to the records of his predecessors, wherein they desired search might be made concerning this matter. On the receipt of this letter, examination being made, according to the purport of it, into the records of former times, concerning the behaviour of

the Jews under the Assyrian and Babylonish Empires, and it being found in them with what valour they had long defended themselves, and with what difficulty they were at length reduced by Nebuchadnezzar, an order was issued forth to prohibit them from proceeding any further, and sent to the Samaritans to see it put in execution, who immediately, on the receipt thereof, went up to Jerusalem, and, having exhibited their order to the Jews, made them desist, by force and power, from going on any further with the work of the house; so it wholly ceased till the second year of Darius, King of Persia, for about the space of two years." (*Connect.* pt. i. h. iii.) Dr. Prideaux justly concludes that this rigorous decree was not a little promoted by the circumstance that Artaxerxes was of the sect of the Magi, which held the Jews in the utmost abhorrence. This Magian, though thus sagacious to the Jews, had the policy to conciliate the other nations which composed the Persian Empire. "He commenced his reign," says Herodotus, "by publishing everywhere an edict, which exempted his subjects, for the space of three years, both from tribute and military service; and also distinguished the various dependents on his power by great munificence." He appears to have so well succeeded in these attempts to conciliate, that, according to the same Historian, "he was seriously regretted, after his death, by all the inhabitants of Asia, except the Persians." These would be likely enough to indulge a national antipathy, because the Magian was a Mede. The usurper also married the wives of Cambyzes for the obvious purpose of giving plausibility to his pretensions; but this circumstance proved the speedy occasion of his ruin.

We found the Nobles, who attended the last hours of Cambyzes, convienced, notwithstanding the assertions of the dying Prince, that his brother had really ascended the throne. With this conviction they appear to have returned to the Capital. Among these Nobles was Otanes, the son of Pharnaspes, a Persian distinguished by his rank and fortune; he was the first who suspected that the reputed Smerdis was not the son of Cyrus, from the extreme caution which he displayed by never venturing to remove from the citadel, or to loathe any of the Nobles into his presence. Otanes had a daughter named Phadyma, one of those who had been married to Cambyzes, and had now become the wife of his successor. The father inquired of his daughter if the person with whom she cohabited were the son of Cyrus? She replied, that she had never seen that Prince; nor had she any previous acquaintance with her present husband. Otanes then referred his daughter to Atossa, the daughter of Cyrus, who had also been married to Cambyzes, to learn whether the person with whom they now cohabited was her brother. But this satisfaction could not be procured, as the usurper, among other precautions, had kept his wives

Darius.

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B. C.
521.
to
A. M.
3447.
—
B. C.
485.

His general lenity.

Biography. strictly apart. Otanes now prevailed on his daughter to attempt an hazardous experiment. The Magian, for some great crime, had, during the life of Cyrus, been deprived of his ears. As this circumstance would serve to settle the question of the usurpation, Phadryna was urged to make the discovery, whether he were the true or the pretended Smerdis, when next called to her husband's bed. "As soon as she saw him in a profound sleep she tried to touch his ears, and being perfectly satisfied that he had none, as soon as it was day, she gave intelligence to her father."

Otanes immediately communicated the discovery to two Nobles, on whom he could rely, and who had indeed suspected the imposture. They now agreed that each should choose a friend, to whom they might safely intrust the important secret. To these six confederates was presently joined Darius, who was named Oehus before his accession to the throne. He had opportunely arrived from Persia, where his father, Hystaspes, was Governor; and indeed he came to Susa with a full conviction of the usurpation of the Magian, and a design to accomplish his immediate destruction. To this he warmly urged his associates; opposing the caution of Otanes, who would have first strengthened their party. But Darius was inflexible, and threatened that if the day were suffered to pass without executing their purpose, he would not wait to be betrayed to-morrow, but would immediately disclose to the Magian the whole conspiracy. Gubryas, another of the confederates, whose daughter Darius had married, now seconded his ardour, and his sentiments gave universal satisfaction.

Prexaspes. In the mean time, according to Herodotus, the two Magi, Patignishes and the pretended Smerdis, sought to engage the good offices of Prexaspes, whom that Historian unaccountably describes as "a man who, through every period of his life, merited esteem." Of what description must have been his admirers, some passages in the biography of Cambyses sufficiently discover. Yet the peculiar outrage which he had suffered from that frantic Prince, by the murder of his son, might well be supposed to have inspired Prexaspes with hostility to the whole House of Cyrus. The two Magi commanded the attendance of this flexible courtier, in the citadel, where they had secured themselves, and first exacted from him an oath not to reveal the deceit they had practised. Then having, as they fondly imagined, bribed him to their purpose, by the promise of munificent rewards, they proposed to assemble the people around the tower of the royal residence, whence he should declare aloud that it was Smerdis, the son of Cyrus, who now occupied the throne.

His declaration and death. "Prexaspes having consented to their proposal, the Magi assembled the people, and sent him to harangue them from the top of the tower. Utterly regardless of their instructions, he first recounted the genealogy of Cyrus from Achæmenes; and when he arrived at Cyrus himself, he enumerated the favours which he had bestowed on the Persians. Prexaspes then proceeded to discover the truth which he had long concealed, from the danger of revealing the transaction, but which was now forced from him. He, at length, assured the people that he had actually slain Smerdis, the son of Cyrus, and that the persons now governing were the Magi. Then, after lavishing imprecations on the Persians, unless they determined to recover the Empire,

and take vengeance on the usurpers, he threw himself headlong from the tower." Thus died Prexaspes, greater than he had lived; though, as Larcher has remarked in the following passage, where he contrasts and accounts for the various conduct of this courtier, he might have closed his life more nobly than by a horrible suicide.

On this self-destruction of Prexaspes the learned writer just mentioned, whom every inquirer into Ancient History would wish to accompany, thus sily philosophizes: *Comment concilier cette action mâle et vigoureuse avec la réponse pusillanime et avilissante du même homme au despote des Perses! Ici, quelle énergie! Là, quelle bassesse! Un homme assez fort pour se tuer dans une pareille circonstance, et par un motif aussi noble, a-t-il pu voir de sang-froid égarer injustement son fils, et louer lâchement l'adresse du meurtrier! La mauvaise éducation, l'habitude du joug, le despotisme peuvent comprimer le pers; mais, loin de se détruire, souvent ce report réagit avec une force irrésistible. Detru ces contrariétés dans le même homme, ce mélange de bassesse et de grandeur, dont, sans cela, on a peine à rendre compte. Avec des principes, Prexaspes se serait rendu redoutable au tyran sous lequel il plioit sans murmurer; avec des principes, le même, au lieu de se tuer, aurait prévenu les sept conjurés. Hérodote, iii. 318. (How can we reconcile this bold and daring action with the sly and dastardly answer of the same man to the Persian despot? In the one case what intrepidity! In the other what baseness! A man of sufficient fortitude to kill himself in such a manner, and for such a noble purpose, could yet behold without emotion the murder of his innocent child, and even basely praise the skill of the murderer! An ill education, habits of servility, despotism,—these may, indeed, repress the spring of honourable action, but, so far from its being destroyed, that spring will often recover its elasticity, and act again with irresistible force. The influence of just principles would have made Prexaspes the dread of the tyrant, to whom he tamely submitted without a murmur. With these principles, instead of killing himself, he would have anticipated the deed of the seven conspirators.)*

The dying declaration of Prexaspes, joined to the discovery made by the daughter of Otanes, could not fail to convince the people of the usurpation of the Magian, and his reign must have soon terminated, even if the daring enterprise of the seven conspirators had been unsuccessful. Herodotus asserts, and seems to have been followed implicitly by those who have written after him, that these conspirators were ignorant of what had passed at the tower of Susa, till they learned the fate of Prexaspes on their passage to the citadel. The Historian adds, that "they withdrew for awhile to deliberate." Otanes proposed to defer the enterprise; but Darius urged its immediate execution. "They were still divided in opinion, when they observed seven pair of hawks, who pursued two pair of vultures, and tore them in pieces with their beaks and claws." The conspirators accepted the omen, and advanced to the palace; but their previous ignorance of the fate of Prexaspes is as improbable as the marvellous tale, so consonant with ancient superstition, which it served to introduce. Must not the order for assembling the populace have been a matter of public notoriety? And would the conspirators fail to place some one in the

Darius.
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485.
Remarks.

The conspiracy
attacked the
Magian.

Biography. crowd, where they might themselves decline to appear, to bring the earliest notice of the result? It was probably on such information, that, "after imploving the aid of the gods, they proceeded instantly to attack the Magi," during the first moments of their consternation.

The devoted Tyrants were deliberating on the conduct they should observe in this extremity of their affairs, when the conspirators, having availed the outer guards by their rank, and slain the eunuchs who opposed their further progress, were rushing towards the inner apartments. The brothers, hearing the cries of the eunuchs, and presently ascertaining the occasion of the tumult, determined on a resolute, though hopeless defence. One of them armed himself with a bow, which, as the conspirators pressed on him, became useless, and he fled to an adjoining apartment. The other seized a lance, with which he wounded Aspathines in the thigh, and deprived Intaphernes of one of his eyes, but presently fell in the unequal combat. Smerdis, who had fled unarmed, was pursued by Darius and Gobryas into a dark apartment. The latter seized him round the waist, when Darius feared to aim a thrust at him, lest he should destroy his friend. "Strike," said Gobryas, "though you kill both!" Darius obeyed, and ran his sword through the Magian. The two wounded conspirators remained to guard the citadel. Their five companions sallied forth into the city, making violent outcries, and exposing in their hands the bloody heads of the Magi.

The people, informed of what had been achieved, and of the Magian imposture, of which, however, the last words of Prexaspes had sufficiently apprized them, became irritated against the whole sect, and determined to follow the bloody example of the conspirators. They put to the sword every one of the Magi who came in their way, and night alone prevented their utter extirpation. Herodotus adds, that "the Persians solemnly observe that day as one of their grandest festivals. They call it *Magaphonia*, or the "Slaughter of the Magi." On that day none of the sect is permitted to appear in public."

No revolution was ever more complete and nodisputed than that which ended the reign of eight months which have been assigned to Smerdis the Magian; a royalty which was, indeed, little more than a splendid imprisonment. After five days, the conspirators, who had no further use for weapons, met together to deliberate on the future government of the Empire. Herodotus, on this occasion, attributes to these rough soldiers remarks worthy of philosophical politicians, on three different forms of government—democracy, aristocracy or oligarchy, and a monarchy. He describes Otanes contending most tenaciously for the first and popular form of government; and he seems to have pursued his convictions upon the point with much personal disinterestedness. Megabyses contended for the second, and Darius for the third. This last opinion being approved by four out of the seven conspirators, a monarchy was the government adopted, or rather continued, for the Persian Empire. Otanes, without further opposition, protested, for himself and his posterity, against being subjected to the will of a Sovereign; and Herodotus adds, that when he wrote his History, the family of Otanes was the only one which retained its liberty, on condition of not transgressing the laws of the Country. This liberty, probably, was only an exemption from personal service at the will of the Sovereign; for it is difficult to suppose any other

Independence which would consist with the described submission.

Otanes thus declining to have any concern in the election of a King, his six companions consulted how best to accomplish their design. "It was agreed upon, as a preliminary, that whoever of them became King, there should, every year, in honour of Otanes, be presented to him, and to his descendants for ever, a Median babit, and that he should also receive such presents as the Persians deemed most honourable. These distinctions were awarded to him because he projected the deposition of the Magian, and took the first steps towards the execution of the design. For themselves, they mutually agreed that each should have access to the royal palace without the ceremony of being announced, except when the King was in the company of his wife; and that the King should not take a wife but from the family of one of the conspirators." These preliminaries being adjusted for their mutual advantage and security, "they agreed to meet the next morning at sunrise, and that he whose horse neighed the first should be made King." The Persians adored the rising sun, and probably some homage to that deity was designed by the conspirators when they agreed to assemble at his rising. Whether their determination, by the neighing of the horse, had any religious reference, is not so clear. Such, however, is the opinion of M. l'abbé Brotier, in his remarks on Tacitus, (*De moribus Germ.* §. x.) where that Historian had attributed to the ancient Germans a disposition to draw presages and warnings from the actions of the horse. *Proprium gentis, equorum quoque præsegiæ as monitus experiri.*

Herodotus here introduces a story respecting the contrivance of Darius's groom to procure the Empire for his master, on which, as before remarked, the Persian Historians are silent. He says, "The next morning, at break of day, according to their agreement, they assembled on horseback. As they traversed the suburbs, when they came to the place whither the night before a mare had been brought to the horse of Darius, he immediately began to neigh. At the same time there was thunder and lightning, although the sky was quite clear. These signs appearing to signify the favour of heaven to Darius, served that Prince for an inauguration. The other Noblemen immediately dismounted, fell prostrate at his feet, and hailed him King." Herodotus relates, that Darius was no sooner seated on the throne, than he commanded "the erection of an equestrian statue with this inscription: Darius, son of Hytaspes, obtained the sovereignty of Persia by the sagacity of his horse (whose name was inserted) and the ingenuity of Ælares, his groom."

Darius, whose original name, as we before remarked, according to Ochsus, had reached the twenty-eighth year of his of Darius. age when he had thus the good fortune to be raised to the throne of Persia; a name which then comprehended by far the greatest part of that portion of Asia known to the Greeks in the Age of Herodotus. He was the son of Hytaspes, who will appear in another place as the friend and patron of Zoroaster. This noble Persian was of the Race of Achæmenes, and consequently a relation of Cyrus, whom he had attended in all his wars, and was by him appointed Governor of Persia. In the writings of the modern Persians he is named Lorasph, and his son Gushasp.

Darius, as we have seen, while a private Nobleman, His wives,

Darius.

From

A. M.

3483.

—

n. c.

521.

to

A. M.

3447.

—

n. c.

485.

Their mutual agreement.

The sect of the Magi massacred.

Deliberation of the conspirators.

Biography.—had married the daughter of Gobryas, his daring associate in the destruction of one of the Magians. To this wife he added, on his accession to the throne, the two daughters of Cyrus—Atossa, who had been the wife of her brother Cambyzes, and afterwards of the Magian, and Artyston, who had never been married, and who became the most favoured of his wives. He also married Parmys, the daughter of Smerdis, the son of Cyrus, and Phaeisima, the daughter of Otanes, who detected the Magian.

Having strengthened himself by these marriages, he proceeded to divide the Empire into twenty governments, each having a Satrap, by whom he collected an annual tribute. Among these Satrapies, the Holy Land was comprehended in a large district, which formed the fifth. It is merely named by Herodotus as the Syrian Palestine. "Had he," says Major Rennell, "been ended with a prophetic spirit, to have foreseen that from Palestine there was to arise a light to guide the footsteps of men to the highest state of happiness that this world affords, by humanizing them, and making them fitter for the purposes of Society; and, moreover, by giving them hopes of a better state hereafter; he would have thought it a spot of much more importance than he attaches to it." (*Geog.* p. 247.)

Annual revenues.—The annual revenue drawn from these Satrapies, Rollin computes at forty-four millions of livres, or not quite two millions sterling. Mr. Gibbon, from a comparison of two passages in Herodotus, (b. i. c. 192, and b. iii. c. 89, 96,) conjectures that "the monarch might annually save three millions six hundred thousand pounds, of the seventeen or eighteen millions raised upon the people." From these imposts were exempted the Province of Persia, the Ethiopians bordering on Egypt, whom Cambyzes subdued, and the inhabitants of Nyssa, sacred to Bacchus; who, instead of paying any specific taxes, each made an annual present.

As to all the other Provinces, Darius ascertained the tribute they were severally to pay, connecting sometimes many neighbouring nations into one district; and sometimes passing over many which were adjacent, and forming one government of various remote and scattered nations. During the reign of Cyrus and his son, there were no specified tributes, but presents were made to the Sovereign. Such is the account given by Herodotus, though it ill agrees with the unusual forbearance, as to the exaction of the regular tribute, which we have ascribed on his authority, to the Magian usurper. The Historian adds, that, in these innovations, Darius seemed to design only the acquisition of wealth, and that, as Cambyzes had been negligent and severe, while Cyrus had discovered a gentle disposition, studying the good of his subjects, the Persians called Darius a merchant, Cambyzes a despot, and Cyrus a parent. Yet the moderation of Darius, in the exaction of these imposts, is thus applauded by Plutarch: "When he laid a tax upon his subjects, he summoned his Lieutenants, and asked them whether the tax was burdensome? When they told him it was moderate, he ordered them to collect half as much as was at first demanded." (*Apoth. ad Ant.*)

Revolt of Intaphernes.—Soon after Darius had been raised to the throne, he was alarmed by apprehensions of a revolt against his authority. Intaphernes, one of the seven conspirators, attempted to enter the royal palace, in consequence of their mutual stipulation for free intercourse with the

King. He was stopped by the keeper of the gates and an officer of the Court, because the King was in the company of one of his wives. Intaphernes, regarding this interruption as a mere excuse, drew his sword, and cut off their ears and noses; then, with his horse's bridle, tying them together, he left them in that mangled condition. Thus they presented themselves before the King, and related the conduct of Intaphernes.

The monarch, suspecting some concert among the conspirators, and that this attempt to enter the palace so unseasonably was part of an extended project of rebellion, sent for the rest of his former companions separately, but found no ground of accusation against any of them. "When he was thus convinced," says Herodotus, "that there was no concert between the conspirators, still apprehending that Intaphernes would revolt, and also suspecting his connections, he ordered him to be seized, with his sons and all his family. They were put in irons, and condemned to die."

The wife of Intaphernes, whose freedom from arrest on this occasion is certainly a very improbable circumstance, now appears to have appealed incessantly to the compassion of the King, presenting herself for that purpose before the royal palace. Darius, at length, moved by her importunity, granted her the life and liberty of any one of her family whom she would choose. This wife and mother now neglected to save her own immediate family, and requested the preservation of her brother; alleging to the astonished King, that she might have another husband and other children, but as her parents were dead, she could not have another brother. With this strange preference, of which an instance may also be found in the *Antigone* of Sophocles, Darius is said to have been so much gratified, that he pardoned her brother, and also her eldest son. Intaphernes and the rest of his family were immediately executed. Thus speedily perished one of the brave conspirators, by the power which he had contributed to raise. The cruelty of Intaphernes was, indeed, not ill required, and it sufficiently discovers the rancour and worse than brutal manners of the Age; but whether this royal counsellor, with his unhappy, and, so far as appears, unoffending family, became the victim of the just apprehensions or the unfounded jealousy of his former companion, it is impossible to ascertain.

In our account of Cambyzes (p. 349) we have mentioned the conduct of Oretes, Governor of Sardis, who basely put to death Polycrates, and seized upon his island of Samos. This, as his conduct soon discovered, was not designed to extend the Persian Empire, but to aggrandize himself. Taking advantage of the relaxed royal authority during the short period of the Magian usurpation, he put to death Mitrobates, the Governor of Dascylium, and his son; the father having formerly offended him. Both were highly esteemed in Persia. Oretes also ordered the assassination of a messenger sent to him from Darius. The King determined to punish the Governor of Sardis for these and other enormities. Yet, as he was a Satrap of very extensive power, (for he ruled over Phrygia, Lydia, and Ionia, and had regularly a guard of a thousand men,) Darius resolved to proceed by stratagem, rather than by open force. He assembled his Nobles, and asked which of them would undertake to bring the body of Oretes, dead or alive. Thirty Persians offered themselves to this hazardous service; but as only one could be em-

Darius.

From A. M. 3483.
— B. C. 521
to A. M. 3447.
— B. C. 485.

Biography. played, the decision was made by lot, and it fell on Bagabaz, the son of Artaban. He proceeded to Sardis, furnished with letters of different descriptions, which he might employ as they best suited his purpose. They were addressed to the Secretary of the Province. Those he first delivered contained some general instructions, which had no reference to the real purpose of his mission. When he found that these letters from the King were treated with respect, he delivered one to this effect: 'Persians, King Darius forbids you to serve any longer as guards to Oretes.' In a moment they threw down their arms.' Bagabaz now ventured to go the whole length of his commission, and "put into the hands of the Secretary a letter couched in these terms: 'King Darius commands the Persians who are at Sardis to put Oretes to death.' The guards immediately drew their swords and killed him. Thus was the death of Polycrates of Samos revenged on Oretes the Persian."

Democedes the Physician. Soon after this transaction, a circumstance occurred chiefly worthy of notice on account of the important events with which it was connected. Darius had injured his foot, when leaping from his horse, while engaged in the diversion of the chase. The Egyptian Physicians at his Court tried their utmost art, but only aggravated the malady. It was now recollected that there was a Physician among the slaves of Oretes, who had been brought to Susa, with the rest of that Governor's effects; for men degraded in the condition of slavery have been usually regarded as things rather than as persons. This slave was Democedes of Crotona, whom we mentioned, in the biography of Cambyzes, (p. 350.) as having accompanied Polycrates when he took his fatal journey to Sardis. "He was brought before the King," says Herodotus, "in chains, and covered with rage." Darius inquired if he was skilled in Medicine. This he refused to confess, lest he should be detained in the King's service, and never suffered to revisit his home. Darius, suspecting that he dissembled, determined to put him to the question, and bade his attendants produce the instruments of torture. Democedes now resumed his true character, and, by his applications, speedily recovered the King. In acknowledgment of his cure, Darius granted him the pardon of the Egyptian Physicians, who, according to Herodotus, (lib. iii. c. 132.) were barbarously condemned to crucifixion, because they had failed in their attempts to heal the King's malady. He also presented him with two pairs of fetters of gold. Upon which Democedes ventured to ask the King, whether, in return for his restoring him to health, he wished to double his calamity. The King was delighted with the reply. He now ordered that Democedes should be introduced to his wives as "the man who had restored the King to life." By every one of these he was suitably rewarded.

This celebrated Physician had a sumptuous house provided for him at Susa, a place at the royal tables, and every thing he could desire, but the liberty of returning into Greece. That liberty he gained by means of Darius's Queen, Atossa, whom he cured of a very desperate disorder, and from whom he had previously exacted a promise that she would promote his favourite object. Atossa, the daughter of Cyrus, was also desirous that the King should extend his dominions by making a conquest of Greece. "I wish," says she, "to have in my service women of Sparta, Argos, Athens,

and Corinth, of whom I have heard so much." For such scorching objects have mankind been involved in the miseries of war!

Darius, as the result of this conversation with Atossa, appointed fifteen Persians, in whom he could confide, to accompany Democedes, whom he loaded with presents and entreated to return. The Persians, by the assistance of their guide, were especially to examine every part of the Grecian coast. From Sidon they sailed to Greece in two triremes, and a larger vessel containing valuable stores. Having visited the principal Grecian cities, they passed over to Tarentum, in Italy. There, to encourage the escape of Democedes, the helms of the vessels were taken away, and the Persians detained as spies. In the meantime, the Physician proceeded to Crotona, where he married a daughter of Milo the wrestler; of which marriage he desired the Persians to inform their master. He appears to have passed the remainder of his life in health and reputation.

The Persians were now liberated, and the helms of their vessels restored. They sailed to Crotona, where they endeavoured to seize Democedes, and in vain demanded that he should be given up, as a subject of the King. Thus deprived of their conductor, they abandoned the further survey of Greece. On their return, being forced by contrary winds on Japygia, now Cape di Leuca, they were made slaves, but ransomed and sent home to Darius by Gillas, so exile from Tarentum. Such, according to Herodotus, were the adventures of "the first Persians who, with the view of examining the state of Greece, passed over thither from Asia."

About this period, in the third year of Darius, the transactions of his reign have a very important co-occurrence with the Sacred History. The Jews had resumed the erection of the Temple and the restoration of their city, works which we have seen suspended by the rigorous prohibitions of Cambyzes and the Magian. On the accession of Darius, they were at first inattentive to improve the favourable opportunity, and suffered for their neglect by the failure of their vintage and harvest. At length, being divinely warned by the Prophet Haggai, they zealously applied themselves to the work, which their inveterate foes the Samaritans again endeavoured to obstruct. But Talmai, the Satrap who governed Syria and Palestine, appears, on this occasion, to have acted the part of a just and prudent magistrate. He proceeded to Jerusalem, and demanded of the Jews by what authority they acted. On their producing the decree of Cyrus, Talmai wrote to Darius, who ordered that search should be made for the original decree, which was found among the archives in the palace of Ecbatana, or, as Ezra names it, "Achmetha, the palace that is in the Province of the Medes." This original decree agreeing with the copy which the Jews had produced as the justification of their conduct, Darius ordered that it should be again published. He also decreed the restoration of the sacred vessels of which Nebuchadnezzar had spoiled the former Temple; and that resources for carrying on the work should be dispensed to the Jews out of the revenues of the Province, "that they may offer sacrifices of sweet savour unto the God of heaven; and pray for the life of the King and of his sons." If any one obstructed the work, timber was to be taken down from his own house to construct a gibbet on which he should

Darius.
From
A. M.
3483.
—
A. C.
521.
to
A. M.
3417.
—
B. C.
485.

Farmer of
Darius to
the Jews.

Biography.

From
A. M.
3453.
—
B. C.
521.
to
A. M.
3447.
—
A. C.
485.
Josephus's
account.

he langed, and his house be demulsified. (Ezra, ch. v.) Prideaux (pt. i. h. iii.) remarks, on the authority of the learned Lightfoot, (*Of the Temple*, c. 3.) that "the decree having been granted by Darius, at his palace in Shushan, (or *Susa*, as the Greeks call the place,) to remembrance hereof, the Eastern gate in the outer wall of the Temple was, from this time, called the gate of Shushan, and a picture and draught of that city was portrayed in sculpture over it, and there continued till the last destruction of that Temple by the Romans."

The account given by Josephus of the circumstances by which the Jews obtained these royal favours materially differs from the Sacred History. According to the Jewish Historian, in his *Antiquities*, (b. xi. c. 5.)

"Darius, the son of Hystaspes, while he was a private man, had made a vow to God, that if he came to be King, he would send all the vessels of God which were in Babylon to the Temple at Jerusalem." He adds, that "Zorobabel came to Darius from Jerusalem; for there had been an old friendship between him and the King," who made him one of his body-guards.

The Historian proceeds to relate that, "in the first year of his reign, Darius feasted those which were about him, and those born in his house, with the Rulers of the Medes, and Princes of the Persians, and the Toparchs of India and Ethiopia, and the Generals of the armies of his hundred and twenty-seven Provinces." The King, on retiring to rest, being unable to sleep, called upon his three body-guards, of whom Zorobabel was one, to divert him by their solution of problems which he proposed to them "concerning the strength of wine, of a King, of women, and of Truth," promising munificent rewards to him who excelled. Zorobabel, who discoursed last, upon Truth, is described as having "spoken the most wisely," when "the King commanded that he should ask for somewhat more than he had promised, which he would give him, because of his wisdom, in which he exceeded the rest. Zorobabel put him in mind of the vow which he had made to build Jerusalem and the Temple of God. 'This,' said he, 'is that request which thou permittest me to make.' So the King was pleased with what he said, and arose and kissed him; and wrote to the Toparcha and Governors, and enjoined them to conduct Zorobabel and those who were going with him to build the Temple. He also ordered the rulers of Syria and Phenicia to cut down and carry cedar-trees from Lebanon to Jerusalem, and to assist him in building the city; and that all the captives who should go to Judea should be free; and he prohibited his Deputies and Governors to lay any taxes upon the Jews. He also enjoined the Idumeans, and Samaritans, and the inhabitants of Celestria to restore those villages which they had taken from the Jews; and that fifty talents should be given them for the building of the Temple. And he sent the vessels, and fulfilled all that Cyrus had intended for the restoration of Jerusalem."

Such are the circumstances which, according to Josephus, led Darius to become the worthy successor of Cyrus, as the restorer of Jerusalem and the Temple. Some parts of this narrative, however, seem to show that the learned Jew had studied, till he had learned to imitate the narvellous digressions of the Greeks. Yet the able translator of Josephus, Mr. Whiston, whose erudition on some points was as remarkable as his fearless integrity on all occasions, considered "the

whole a contrivance of King Darius, in order to be decently and ioffensively put in mind, by Zorobabel, of fulfilling his own vow for the rebuilding of Jerusalem." He also attributes to Cyrus and Darius a disposition to worship "the one true God, the God of Israel, though the entire idolatry of their Kingdoms made them generally conceal it." That these Princes had great reverence for the God of the Jews, whom they could scarcely have failed to regard as superior to all other local deities, cannot be questioned; but the evidence is yet to be produced for the extraordinary fact that they had received the doctrine of the divine unity, in opposition to the Polytheism of their Age and Country.

Hitherto the transactions of the reign of Darius had been entirely pacific. The first armament of Darius was directed against Samos, which seems not to have remained under the Persian power when Polycrates was basely allured to Sardis, and there murdered by the Governor Oretes. When Otanes summoned the island, Mæandrius, who commanded there, consented to retire; and Otanes prepared to invest with the government Syloson, the brother of Polycrates, who was now in favour with Darius, on account of a service he had rendered to the King while an officer in the army of Cambyses. The Samians, however, under Charicles, the brother of Mæandrius, surprised and killed some of the principal Persians, who, depending on the truce, were "sitting at their ease. The rest of the troops soon came in their assistance, and repulsed the Samians." As the horrid result of this treachery, Otases, irritated by the destruction of his soldiers, ordered a general massacre of the inhabitants, and at length delivered the island to Syloson, probably as a tributary to Darius. Samos was thus depopulated, from the exasperation of the Persians, as we have learned from Herodotus; or by the cruelty of Syloson, as Strabo relates. It was, according to the former Historian, re-peopled by Otases, whose military appointment on this occasion was not a little extraordinary. It will be recollected, that among the seven conspirators, he alone had contended for a democracy, and had stipulated for himself and his family that they should not be regarded as subjects of the regal government.

While this expedition to Samos was in preparation, Revolt of the subleaded, but still disaffected and powerful Province Babylon. of Babylon broke out into a rebellion, for which it had been preparing during several years. In this design it was, no doubt, greatly assisted by the absence of Cambyses from the government, the Magian usurpation, and the weighty cares of Darius, on his accession to the Empire. Expecting the speedy vengeance of the King, who, on the first news of this revolt, had assembled his forces, the Babylonians prepared to sustain a protracted siege, and resorted to a horrible expedient. "Of all the women in Babylon," says Herodotus, "each man, besides his mother, reserved one female of all his household, to whom he was most attached; the rest were collected together and strangled." The Historian coolly adds, that "one woman was preserved to prepare the bread, and the rest were destroyed to prevent a famine." It has been well remarked by Prideaux, that now "was very signally fulfilled the Prophecy of Isaiah, (xlvii. 9.) that two things should come to them in one day, the loss of children and widowhood. In what greater perfection," adds the learned and pious author, "could these calamities come

Darius.
From
A. M.
3453.
—
B. C.
521.
to
A. M.
3447.
—
A. C.
485.
Reduction
of Samos.

Biography. upon them, than when they themselves, thus upon themselves, became the executioners of them?" The same author satisfactorily shows, on the testimony of Zechariah, (i. 7.) that "the revolt of the Babylonians could not have occurred till the year 517 before the Christian era, and in the beginning of the fifth year of Darius."

The King advanced with a powerful army, and laid close siege to the revolted city. The Babylonians, confiding in their preparations and the strength of their walls, which Cyrus had left entire, treated the besiegers with contempt. They even amused themselves by dancing on the ramparts. Referring, probably, to a proverbial phrase for an impossibility, they assured the Persians that Babylon would be taken when moles should produce young. Thus, after a year and seven months passed before the walls, Darius and his army despaired of reducing the city. They had vainly employed all the known stratagems of war, not forgetting those by which Cyrus had formerly succeeded. But the Babylonians were ever on their guard, and could be neither surprised nor overpowered.

It was in this extremity, and in the twentieth month of the siege, that an officer in the army of Darius distinguished himself by a deed so extraordinary, that the Historian might well have introduced his account without a prodigy. This person was Zopyrus, the son of Megabyzus, one of the seven who had put an end to the Magian usurpation. According to Herodotus, this officer, being informed that one of his baggage-mules had produced a foal, was at first incredulous, and, when convinced of the fact, enjoined secrecy on his attendants. He, however, reflected on the circumstance, and calling to mind the taunting language of the Babylonians, assured himself that the city might be taken.

Zopyrus now presented himself before Darius, and asked if he greatly desired to conquer the place. The King eagerly replied in the affirmative. He then deliberated how he might effect his object so that the capture of the city should be attributed solely to himself; and found no scheme so plausible as that of mutilating his own person, and, in that condition, seeking refuge in Babylon as a fugitive escaping from the cruelty of Darius. Zopyrus did not allow a moment's reflection on the irreparable injuries he was about to inflict on himself, but immediately cut off his nose and ears. He also clipped his hair, so as to assume the degrading appearance of a slave; and having scourged himself till his body discovered the bloody strokes of the whip, he thus presented himself before the King.

"Darius, indignant at the sight of a person of his rank so cruelly treated, leaped instantly from his throne, and extremely inquired of him who had thus mutilated him, and on what pretence? 'No man, sir, except yourself,' answered Zopyrus, 'could have the power to use me in this manner. I have thus disfigured myself, being vexed to behold the Assyrians deride the Persians.' 'Most wretched man,' exclaimed Darius, 'would you thus disguise the infamy of the deed you have perpetrated? Inconsiderate mortal! will the enemy yield the sooner because you have mutilated yourself? Were you not deprived of Reason upon this occasion?' 'Sir,' replied Zopyrus, 'if I had apprized you of my intention, you would not have suffered me to execute it, I therefore acted for myself. Unless you deny me your support, Babylon is certainly ours. I propose, in

my present condition, to go thither as a deserter. I shall ascribe my sufferings to your orders, and hope they will be thus encouraged to intrust a part of their forces to my command. On the tenth day after I am admitted into Babylon, do you, sir, detach 1000 men, whose loss will be unimportant, to the gate of Semiramis. Seven days after, post 2000 more near the gate of Ninaveh. After an interval of twenty days, send 4000 men towards the gate of the Chaldeans; but let none of these detachments have any weapons except their swords. At length, after that twentieth day advance the whole army direct to the city for a general assault. But, above all, let the Persians be stationed before the Belidian and Cissian Gates. I fully expect that the Babylonians, having witnessed my exploits in the field, will intrust to me the keys of those gates. The Persians, under my guidance, will then accomplish the rest."

"Having thus spoken, he hastened towards the gates of the city, looking back frequently, as if with the apprehensions of a deserter. The sentinels on the watch-towers perceiving him, quickly descended, and, opening the wicket of their gate, demanded who he was, and for what purpose he sought admittance? He answered that he was Zopyrus, and that he had come over to the Babylonians. On this the keepers of the gate brought him before an assembly of the people, (*ἔτι τοὶ κορὰ τῶν Βαβυλωνίων*), to whom he deplored his miserable condition, which he attributed to the cruelty of Darius, because he advised him to raise the siege, no hope remaining of his reducing the city. 'Now,' says he, 'I come to you, Babylonians! a promoter of your cause and an inveterate foe to Darius, his army, and the Persians. With all his plans I am well acquainted, and can well revenge the treatment I have received.' The Babylonians, seeing a Persian of the first quality deprived of his nose and ears, his body lacerated and covered with blood, readily believed his story, and that he came to assist them. They were quickly disposed to gratify his wishes, and without hesitation gave him the command of a detachment of their forces. With these he proceeded to accomplish the plan which he had concerted with Darius."

Zopyrus had now slain, in the three projected ramparts, and probably without any remorse, the 7000 fathers of his Countrymen whose lives were devoted to the success of his stratagem. The Babylonians regarded him with unbounded confidence. He was entrusted with the command of all the forces, and the guard of the ramparts. On the day appointed, Darius advanced with his army to a general assault. Zopyrus now dropped the mask. While the Babylonians were repulsing the soldiers from the ramparts, he opened to the Persians the Cissian and Belidian gates. Those of the Babylonians who saw what passed fled for refuge to the temple of Jupiter Belus; the rest continued firm at their posts till they also knew that they were betrayed to the enemy. Thus fell Babylon a second time into the power of the Persians.

Darius signified his victory by crucifying 3000 of the most distinguished among the Babylonians, as if to appease the manes of the Persians who had been sacrificed to the stratagem of Zopyrus. The walls of Babylon were now lowered, and the gates taken away. Thus began the Prophecy to be fulfilled concerning this glory of kingdoms, though long after this period, accord-

Darius.
From
A. M.
5163.
—
B. C.
521.
to
A. M.
3147
—
B. C.
453.

Adventures
of Zopyrus.

Biography.

From
A. M.
3483,
A. C.
521,
to
A. M.
3447
—
A. C.
485.

ing to Plutarch, (*Dr Exilis*), "the Persian Kings passed their Winter in Babylon, their Summer in Media, and their Spring at Susa." The same author (*Apophthegm*) says of Xerxes, what Larcher justly transfers to Darius, that, "being offended with the Babylonians, who rebelled, and having overcome them, he forbade them the use of arms, but encouraged them to pass their time in singing and playing on instruments, and in other dissipations." To supply the loss of the women who had been cruelly cut off at the commencement of the siege, Darius ordered that fifty thousand should be sent to Babylon from the neighbouring nations.

As to Zopyrus, Herodotus makes the King extol him beyond any Persian, except Cyrus. Plutarch relates (*Apophthegm*) that as Darius was once "opening a pomegranate, being asked of what he would wish for a number equal to the seeds of that fruit, he answered of Zopyrus," and "that he would not have Zopyrus named to gain a hundred Babylonians." Herodotus records the same anecdote, except that he gives the former the name of Megabyzus. On Zopyrus the King now accumulated wealth and distinction. Every year he made him such presents as were most valuable in the estimation of the Persians. He also appointed him Governor of Babylon during life, with an exemption from tribute. His son Megabyzus succeeded to his honours, which his grandson tarnished, by betraying his Country, and deserting to the Athenians.

Darius
invades
Scythia.

After this complete subjugation of Babylon, Darius did not manifest any inclination for repose, but immediately marched in person against the Scythians, under the pretence of revenging their former invasion of the Media. That event had occurred one hundred and twenty-eight years before; but Ambition is never destitute of an occasion for war. The King made formidable preparations, deaf to the prudent counsel of his brother Artabanus, who urged that Scythia, from the poverty of the Country, would prove, if subdued, a worthless acquisition: while the distance from Persia, with the harry and roving manners of the inhabitants, would make the conquest very uncertain. Darius excused but disregarded this advice, and proceeded from Susa with his army, having first committed a deed of cruelty not unworthy of a conqueror. A Persian, named Oebasus, had three sons enrolled for this expedition; he requested that one might be left with him to solace his old age. Darius affected graciously to exceed his request, by discharging all of them from military service. The deluded father was overjoyed, but presently found that the King had ordered their immediate execution.

Darius marched from Susa to Chalcedon upon the Bosphorus, where a bridge had been constructed by the ingenuity of Mandrocles the Samian, whom the King munificently rewarded. Near the spot he ordered the erection of two columns, on one of which were inscribed in Assyrian, and on the other in Greek characters, the names of the nations which attended him. He is also said to have erected pillars in other places, with pompous inscriptions, in one of which he allowed himself to be described as the best, and handsomest of all men living. The King had collected troops for this expedition from all the nations which acknowledged his authority, amounting, cavalry included, to 700,000 men. There was also a fleet of six hundred ships, to provide the necessary supplies for such an army, and to wait the

troops and their baggage across the wide rivers of Thrace and Scythia. "The circuit taken in this expedition," says Major Rennell, "cannot well be estimated at less than a march of one hundred and fifty days, or five months." The same able Geographer, in his *Remarks on Herodotus*, thus traces from that Historian the riots of Darius:

"He crossed the Danube over a bridge of boats, not far above the site of Ismail; the Ionian fleet being despatched from the Bosphorus to perform the service of laying the bridge. Having left the Ionians in charge of it, he marched through Scythia, eastward to the Tannis, the Scythian army, which was divided into two bodies, retiring regularly before him, at the distance of a day's march, filing up the wells, and destroying the produce of the fields; their families and cattle being previously sent to the northern frontier. Darius, crossing the Tannis, came into the territories of the Sarmatians, and from thence into those of the Budini, which, having crossed, he came to the Desert, of seven or eight days' journey in breadth. Here he halted, on the banks of the Oasus, (supposed to be the Volga,) where he constructed eight lodges, at about six miles from each other, the remains of them being visible in the time of Herodotus. And this was the most distant limit of the expedition of Darius Eastward." (*Geog. Syst. of Herod. p. 102.*)

"It had been the intent of the Scythians to entangle the Persians in the Desert lying between the Budioi and the Thyssageis, but, finding this scheme impracticable, they made the circuit to the North and West, leaving the Persians at fault." (*Ib. p. 104*.) Arriving in Scythia, Darius found two other bodies of the Scythians, who retired before him, and treated with contempt his demand of submission to the Great King, by the customary presents of earth and water. On the contrary, the Scythians despatched a messenger to Darius, bearing to the King these enigmatical gifts, a bird, a mouse, a frog, and five arrows; the language of which Gobryas thus interpreted: "Persians! unless you can fly like the air like birds, hide yourselves under the earth like mice, or leap into the marshes like frogs, you will never return to your Country, but will perish by these arrows."

At length, perplexed by the cautious policy of the Hs retreat. enemy, his provisions nearly exhausted, and his army weary and dispirited, the King found it necessary, according to the advice of Gobryas, to abandon the further prosecution of his rash enterprise. Determining on a retreat, he lighted fires in the night to disguise his proceedings, and decamped with all possible expedition, leaving the sick and aged in the power of the Scythians. These now advanced to the Danube, where, as they were chiefly cavalry, and well acquainted with the country, they arrived before Darius, and would have persuaded the Ionians to retire with their vessels, and thus destroy the bridge. Miltiades the Athenian, the Prince of the Chersonesus, advised a compliance with their proposal, according to Cornelius Nepos, *Ne a fortis datam occasionem liberanda Græcia dimittenda*; (lest an opportunity should be lost of securing the liberties of Greece.) This was strongly opposed, from a selfish motive, by Histæus the Milesian, who at length gained over the rest of the Ionian leaders to the interest of Darius. They removed only a part of the bridge, and thus deceived the Scythians, who now

Darius.
From
A. M.
3483,
—
A. C.
521,
to
A. M.
3447.
—
A. C.
485.

Biography.

From

A. M.

3183.

—

B. C.

521.

to

A. M.

3447.

—

B. C.

485.

His designs
upon India.

returned in the hope of intercepting the Persians. Darius, by marching in another direction, had avoided the enemy, and at length reached the Danube. In the Persian army was an Egyptian of a very powerful voice, who was commanded to call out for Histieus the Milesian. He was heard, and the bridge was immediately formed for the passage of the troops. The King now proved the wisdom of Coes the Mytlenian, who had recommended the preservation of this bridge, when, in the confidence of victory, Darius, after he had first passed over, had given orders for its destruction. Thus the remains of the Persian army escaped from this disastrous expedition, while the Scythians were engaged in a long and fruitless pursuit. They hence regarded the Ionians as the basest of mankind, attached to servitude, and incapable of freedom. Darius passed the winter and most of the following year at Sardis.

Megabyzus had been left by Darius in Thrace; whence he sent messengers to Amyntas, King of Macedonia, to demand earth and water. This was readily offered, though the gross indiscretion of the young Persian Noblemen who formed this embassy cost them their lives at a Macedonian banquet. In the mean time Darius became ambitious of extending his territory towards the East. Nor in the conjecture of Major Rennell improbable, that, while in the army of Cambyses, he had made observations which inspired his attempt to penetrate India by the Persian Gulf. Herodotus, in his account of the divisions of the Empire, describes the Indians as forming the twentieth Satrapy, and paying six hundred talents of gold. (Lib. iii. 94.) Of the acquisitions of Darius in India, and the circumstances which opened that Country to his ambition, the only account remaining is the following short passage of the same Historian: "A very considerable part of Asia was discovered by Darius. That Prince, wishing to ascertain where the India flowed into the ocean, sent out ships, with persons in whom he had confidence, especially Scylax of Caryandis. They embarked at Caspatras, in the Parthian territories, following the eastern course of the river towards the ocean. Hence, sailing westward, they arrived, after a voyage of thirty months, at the same port from whence the Phœnicians formerly sailed to circumnavigate Libya. In consequence of this voyage, Darius subdued the Indians, and became master of that ocean." (Lib. iv. 44.) Prideaux conjectures that, when Scylax "returned by the Straits of Babelmandel and the Red Sea, he landed where now the town of Suez stands, at the hither end of that sea." He dates the commencement of the voyage at B. C. 509, in the thirteenth year of Darius. Two years are allotted for the discoveries and return of Scylax. The succeeding three years appear to have been occupied in the invasion and conquest of India, or, at least, those years are not accounted for by any other transactions of Darius's reign. Thus, in the nineteenth year of that reign, and B. C. 503, may be dated the commencement of those events which brought the armies of Persia into Greece, and gave rise, in the first instance, to one of the most splendid passages in her brilliant History.

Darius, under a sense of his singular obligations to Histieus, had made him Sovereign of an extensive territory in Thrace. Megabyzus, who governed that Country for the King, represented to his master the impolicy of this grant; on which Darius summoned

Hystieus to his Court, and detained him there, under the pretence of requiring his counsel, while Aristagoras, his nephew and son-in-law, governed Miletus as his Lieutenant. This Governor concerted with Aristophanes, brother of Darius, and Governor of Sardis, the conquest of Naxos. Failing in his attempt upon that island, he apprehended the resentment of Aristophanes, and to secure himself, encouraged the Ionians to join him in a confederacy against the Persians. They made a fruitless application to Sparta for succours, which, on the contrary, were readily contributed by the Athenians, now irritated against Aristophanes. Ten years before, he had received Hippian the Tyrant, expelled from Athens, and, by a haughty message, had attempted his restoration, as we had occasion to relate in former sections, (pp. 222, 229.) Twenty ships, under the command of Miltiades, joined Aristagoras and the Ionians, who were now in the third year of their revolt against the Persian power.

The confederates, landing near Ephesus, and taking some Ephesians for their guides, passed over Mount Tmolus, and arrived at Sardis, where Aristophanes and his troops retired to the citadel, which they maintained. The enemies burned the city, but missed the plunder of it. In their attempt to reach their ships they were intercepted by the Persian forces, and defeated with a great slaughter. The Athenians now retired from the confederacy, which they could never be persuaded again to join. When Darius was informed of these events, "he desired to know who the Athenians were. On being told, he called for his bow, and shooting an arrow in the air, exclaimed, 'Suffer me, O Jupiter! to be revenged on these Athenians.' He afterwards directed one of his attendants to repeat to him, three times every day, when he sat down to table, 'Sir, remember the Athenians.'" (Herod. h. v. c. v.)

The Ionians, however, though thus deserted by their allies, for some time maintained themselves against the Persians. At length they were defeated both by sea and land. Aristagoras was slain, and Miltiades taken and destroyed. Histieus had been allowed to quit Susa, under pretence of quieting the disorders of his Country, but had joined the confederates. He was now taken in an engagement, and immediately crucified by order of Aristophanes, lest Darius should have prevented it, as he is said to have deeply regretted his death. The Persians proceeded to reduce the Hellespont, and the Thracian Chersonesus; Miltiades, who commanded there, put his effects on board five vessels, and sailed to Athens. The Phœnicians intercepted him, and took one of the vessels, commanded by his son, Metiochus, on whom Darius refused to avenge his quarrel with the father. According to Herodotus, the King "showed him the greatest kindness, gave him possessions in Persia, and married him to a Persian lady."

Darius was now in the twenty-eighth year of his reign, when he appears to have engaged with peculiar ardour in his project for the conquest of Greece. Recalling the former Commanders, he committed the conduct of the Persian forces solely to Mardonius, the son of Gobryas, a very young man, who had recently married a daughter of the King. Mardonius, according to Herodotus, collected at the Hellespont "a numerous fleet and a powerful army," with which he "proceeded towards Eretria and Athens," to revenge the burning

Darius.

From

A. M.

3483.

—

B. C.

521.

to

A. M.

3447.

—

B. C.

485.

His quarrel

with the

Athenians.

Miltiades

destroyed.

Mardonius

marches

into Greece.

Biography. of Sardis. On his arrival in Macedonia, that Country presently submitted. But the Thracians, availing themselves of his insecure inattention, surprised his army in the night, destroyed a great number of his soldiers, and wounded Mardonius himself. His fleet, in the mean time, while doubling the Cape of Mount Athos, now Capo Santo, encountered a storm, in which there perished three hundred of his ships and 20,000 men. Thus disabled, Mardonius returned into Asia with the wreck of this mighty armament, when Darius, too late, regretted the confidence he had rashly placed in his youth and inexperience.

The King, who still had the resources of immense treasure and a vast population at the command of his sovereign will, could not be diverted from his ambitious project. He, however, first sent heralds into Greece to demand submission, in the customary form. The dread of the Persian power prevailed over the people of Ægina and many of the Grecian cities; at Athens and Sparta they were otherwise received. "The Athenians," says Herodotus, "threw the heralds of Darius into their pit of punishment, and the Lacedæmonians, into wells, telling them to procure the earth and water there, and carry it to their King." (b. vii. c. 33.)

Darius now hastened the departure of Datis the Mede, and Artabanes, his own nephew, son of the Governor of Sardis, whom he had appointed General in the place of Mardonius. They received special orders from the King to plunder and burn Eretria and Athens. On reaching the coasts of Ionia, they collected an army of 300,000 men, and a fleet of six hundred ships. In the ensuing Spring they assembled their whole fleet at Samos. Having taken Naxos, and all the neighbouring islands, they besieged Eretria. The dissension among the citizens, the retirement of the Athenian succours, hopeless of serving such self-devoted allies, and the treachery by which the city was at length betrayed to the Persians, we have already narrated, (p. 290.) To execute the royal vengeance, Eretria was pillaged, the temples were destroyed, in revenge for those burned at Sardis, and the inhabitants were sent captives to Susa. There, according to the caprice so often discovered in the exercise of despotic power, Darius treated them kindly, and allowed them a settlement, in which their descendants were found to after ages.

Passing over to Attica, the Persians were led by Hippas to the plain of Marathon, ten miles from Athens. Their army, according to Cornelius Nepos, (*Miltiad.*) consisted of 300,000 foot, and 10,000 horse. The forces which the Athenians could oppose to such a formidable hostility were only 10,000 foot, (including 1000 Plataeans,) for they had no cavalry. The particulars of this almost incredible battle; the choice of Miltiades for General, by the disinterested patriotism of Arimides and the rest of his companions; the delay of the Lacedæmonian succour, from a superstition which robbed them of a glorious distinction;—all these subjects, which belong more properly to the History of the victors, have been already related, (p. 290.)

The Persian soldiers had now lost much of that hardihood which distinguished the armies of Cyrus. According to Plutarch, (*Aristid.*) "those who fought in the Battle of Marathon had garments embroidered with gold upon their delicate bodies, well suited to their effeminate minds." They are, however, admitted by Hero-

dorus to have consisted of Persians and the Sacæ, obliging the Greeks to give way, and pursuing them. But the Athenians and Plataeans, who formed the wings of the Grecian army, closed upon the Persians, and obtained a complete victory, killing a great number, and pursuing the rest, who were escaping to their ships. The loss of the Persians in this battle is stated by Herodotus to have been no more than 6,400 men slain on the field, but Trogus computed that, by sword, shipwreck, and disease, there were lost 200,000. Hippas, who had thus basely designed the subjugation of Attica, deservedly fell in the Battle of Marathon, according to the general opinion, though, according to Strabo, he fled to Lemnos, where he sickened and died. This memorable event is placed at the year a. c. 491, and in the thirty-first year of the reign of Darius. Pausanias relates, that in the Porico at Athens, called Porico, there was a Picture, in which the most celebrated Athenians and Plataeans were drawn from the life. There were represented to one part the Barbarians flying into the marsh, who so largely contributed to the victory of the Greeks, who, in another part, were slaughtering their enemies, as they attempted to enter the Phœnician vessels.

Herodotus, at the commencement of his seventh book, (*Polymnia*), says, that "when the news of the Battle of Marathon reached Darius, he who was before incensed against the Athenians for their destruction of Sardis, became still more exasperated, and resolved more eagerly on the invasion of Greece. He therefore instantly sent orders to the cities under his allegiance to provide a far greater number of transports, horses, and provisions." "Thus," adds the historian, "Asia experienced three years of confusion; her ablest men being called out to the Greek expedition. In the fourth year the Egyptians revolted."

Darius was now preparing two armies, that he might at once display his power in Attica and Egypt. But his intention was diverted to a contest in his own family for the succession in his Crown. This, according to the custom of the Persians, their Kings determined before they proceeded on a military expedition. One competitor was Artobazanes, his eldest son by the daughter of Gobryas, whom he had married, as already mentioned, while to a private condition. The other was Xerxes, the eldest son of Atossa, the daughter of Cyrus. On him, according to the advice of Demotares, the sated King of Sparta, the succession was bestowed, because the father of Artobazanes was only a private individual at the time of his birth, while the father of Xerxes was a King.

Herodotus, to whom we are almost entirely indebted for our knowledge of Darius, describes this appointment of a successor as the last transaction of his reign. His preparations, indeed, to accomplish mighty projects were unceasing; but he was arrested by a power mightier than his own. He died after a reign of thirty-six years, a. c. 486, and, according to this Historian, "in the year which followed the revolt of the Babylonians, leaving ungratified the resentment he had cherished against the Egyptians and Athenians, who had ventured to oppose his power."

It is just reflection of Dr. Prideaux, that "as God was pleased to make Darius His instrument to restore His Temple at Jerusalem, and to promote His worship

Darius.

From A. M. 3483.

A. C. 521. to A. M. 3447.

A. C. 485. Death of Hippas.

Rage of Darius.

He prepares to renew the war.

Death of Darius.

Biography. there," so "He blessed him with a numerous issue, a long reign, and great prosperity." But when that learned and pious author describes him as "a Prince of wisdom, clemency, and justice," we confess our inability to discover those invaluable qualities predominating in the transactions of his reign. He has had the undisputed, and probably justly-merited, reputation of being a judicious military Commander; and, according to Plutarch, (*Apophteg.*) he praised himself for his presence of mind in battles and dangers." Yet there was little wisdom

discovered in the attempts to extend rather than to consolidate and improve an already unwieldy Empire. And, as to the clemency and justice of Darius, though some traces of these may appear as "a spot of azure in a clouded sky," yet we cannot describe them as characteristic of his government, till we have forgotten the family of Intaphernes, and the manner in which the sons of the venerable Oebasus were yielded to the request of the wretched father.

Darius.

A. M.
3514.—
B. C.
490.

MILTIADES.

FLOURISHED ABOUT A. M. 3514, B. C. 490.

Biography. THE sickness of the Athenian democracy, ever prone to its favours, ungrateful in its neglect, or tremendous in its anger, is in no instance more strongly illustrated than in the lives of the Patriots Miltiades, Aristides, and Themistocles. Each of these exalted citizens possessed his own peculiar virtues; each of them was loaded with honours and rewards, and each of them, in his turn, felt the severity of those laws and the tyranny of that power which he himself had so largely contributed to support, if not to originate. In contrast with the evils, however, of a popular form of government, exemplified in the lives of these celebrated men, we must not omit to observe, on the other hand, a certain beneficial result. In times of public danger, and of threatened subversion under foreign dominion, men of great and extraordinary powers in a democracy rise up, as it were, from the very stones of their cities; real merit much more readily finds both its due impetus and its due reward; and the temptations of Ambition are open to its votaries only, because they have first preserved them to their Country. Among the Athenians, the extreme jealousy of native power, lodged in the hands of any one person, for a long time effectually guarded them against the ambition of their chieftains. But as individuals possessed too little, so the aggregate of the community enjoyed too much authority; and the misuse of that power is strikingly displayed in the lives of those who were in turn the favourites and the victims of a fierce and ungovernable populace.

Miltiades, the senior Chief of the heroes of Marathon, and the immediate director of the triumphs of that ever-memorable spot, was descended from a noble and distinguished family. His father, named Cimon, the son of Cypselus, was one of those high-minded Athenians who, in the time of Pisistratus, could not brook obedience to the Tyrant, and quitted his Country in consequence of that feeling. The magnanimity of Pisistratus, however, soon induced him to return, and he was afterwards slain in a domestic tumult in the city. This Cimon left two sons, one named Stesagoras and the other Miltiades, the Athenian General. Stesagoras was soon called to a higher station than that which either his father or himself had filled in Athens. The sons of Cimon had an uncle named Miltiades, the

son of Cypselus, who, by his own merits, and in consequence of the dictates of the Delphic Oracle, became Prince of the Thracian Dolonces, the inhabitants of a part of Chersonesus; and, dying without issue, his nephew Stesagoras succeeded him in that sovereignty. The reign of Stesagoras was short; he was slain by a blow from an axe, given by an enemy disguised in the dress and accoutrements of a deserter; and dying, like his uncle, without issue, Miltiades, the celebrated Athenian General, became entitled to the throne and property of his brother. He was a favourite at this time with Pisistratus, the Sovereign of Athens; and that Prince, ever the friend of monarchy, assisted him with a small army to support his title. With one ship only he sailed to take possession of his new government; and, perceiving the necessity of stratagem, on his arrival in the Chersonesus he absented himself from the public shows, and affected a particular seclusion, pretending grief for the death of Stesagoras, and a desire to do honour to his memory. By this artifice he collected, to console with him, all the principal persons from the neighbouring cities; an event for which Miltiades had duly prepared. The murder of his father Cimon is said to have been contrived, or perpetrated, at Athens, by the very persons whom he now found in his power; they were, therefore, seized and imprisoned by order of Miltiades, and his path to the throne was secured from danger; but what, if any, further punishment was inflicted on them, is nowhere recorded. Miltiades now found himself the undisputed master of Chersonesus. He immediately formed a body-guard of five hundred auxiliaries; and allied himself, by marriage, with Olorus, King of Thrace, by whose daughter, Hegesippa, he was presented with a son Cimon, afterwards so celebrated in Grecian History. The new monarch was not, however, destined long to enjoy his dominions in tranquillity: he was to descend from this petty throne to lead the way to an imperishable renown; and the same causes that compelled the one event, so humbling to his early ambition, were the means of shedding greater lustre on his name than any contemporary sovereignty could have bestowed. In the third year of his government, Darius, in resentment of certain alleged injuries he had received from the Athenians, made retaliation on all Greece and the neighbouring Countries; when

Miltiades.

A. M.
3514.—
B. C.
490.Originally
King of the
Dolones.Causes of
his settle-
ment at
Athens.

Biography. the Scythian Nomades, or wandering tribes, either irritated by some injuries they had received from the Persian expedition, or taking advantage of the general state of confusion and alarm which it occasioned, assembled in great numbers on the borders of Chersonesus, and desolated the country around indiscriminately, whether under the Persian dominion or in alliance with the Greeks. This was a force which Miltiades found himself unable to withstand, and he prudently retired until the storm should blow over. According to the customary mode of warfare with the Scythians, they plundered the Chersonesus, without attempting to maintain it, but soon snuffed it in revert to its former Prince; and Miltiades was reinstated in his power by the Dolonces. A short interval of Peace succeeded; but in the third year after his restoration, Darius, provoked, perhaps, by the known attachment of Miltiades to the Athenians, sent a powerful army of the Phœnicians against him; and the hero, surrounding himself with his friends, and collecting all his riches, finally abandoned his dominions, and set sail, with a fleet of five ships, for Athens.

Finally
abandons
his throne.

The Athenians had been prepared to receive the royal fugitive with honour. He had never, in the course of his sovereignty over Chersonesus, forgotten his connections with his native soil; and, on one occasion, had rendered Athens a considerable service. The inhabitants of the island of Lemnos, having been admonished by the Delphian Oracle to compose their differences with the Athenians by an absolute submission, the Lemnian ambassadors are said to have answered contemptuously, and, as it was then deemed, impudently, that "they would comply when a ship from the Athenian dominions should be blown into their harbour by a North wind;" confident, in the then imperfect state of the Art of navigation, that, as the haven of Lemnos was situated to the North of Attica, they were perfectly secure from such an event. Miltiades, however, being possessed of the Chersonesus, easily sailed from a port in the Hellespont, and won the harbour of Lemnos, driven thither by a strong North wind; when, aware alike of the Oracle and of the positive answer of the Lemnites, he instantly demanded a fulfilment of both, by their submission to him as representative of the Athenians. This requisition was immediately complied with; partly, perhaps, through their superstitious reverence of the Oracle, and partly in deference to their own honour.

His former
services to
Athens.

But neither these services nor the known friendship of Miltiades to the Athenian State could screen him from censure, on account of that which was, in the eyes of the Athenians, a serious crime. He had, from an Athenian citizen, become a monarch; and, in their inveterate hatred to Kingly government, these arbitrary Republicans actually formed an accusation against him on this account, and he was regularly tried for the offence, of which, however, he was as strangely acquitted. His talents, reputation, and riches, now soon elevated him to the highest offices of public trust and honour, when the ambassadors of Darius came to Athens, demanding *earth and water* from the citizens, in token of their submission to the Persians. To the eloquence and exertions of Miltiades Athens owed the glory of her decisive conduct. He induced his Countrymen to throw those emissaries of the Tyrant into a pit, as a signal of defiance to their master, pro-

claiming to them aloud, that in that place they would find the objects of their requisition, earth and water, sufficient for their purpose, and as much as the Athenian honour could grant them. After this hostile menace, when war was on both sides preparing with the utmost activity, Miltiades was appointed one of the ten Generals to command the Athenian army, and we have already seen in how vigorous and able a manner he conducted those troops to immortal honour in the field of Marathon; and how vigilant a part he acted immediately afterwards, when he marched from Marathon, and saved Athens from being attacked and plundered by those fugitives whom he had already beaten. See PISTRATICH, p. 290.

Miltiades,
A. M.
3514.

A. C.
490.
Commander
at Marathon.

On his return to Athens from the splendid victory of Marathon, Miltiades was treated with increased respect. He was represented in the Picture, painted by order of the Athenians in the Poecilian porico, foremost amongst his contemporaries and coadjutors, the ten Captains, animating his soldiers to the charge. But this appears to have been his only reward. In the height of his popularity, the Athenians rejected his demand of an olive crown, and severely rebuked the hero for presuming to claim it. Soon afterwards, in an assembly of the people, he proposed that they should make a descent upon the island of Paros, to retaliate upon the inhabitants of that place the offence which they had committed in rendering assistance to Darius. In his late expedition to Marathon. Some Historians affirm that the real motive which influenced the Athenian General in this proposal was a private quarrel betwixt him and one Lysagoras, a Parian chieftain. Unfortunately, both for his own fate and the fortunes of the Athenians, Miltiades, now a leading man in their assemblies, succeeded without difficulty in persuading them to adopt his scheme; and they entrusted him with a fleet of seventy ships, well manned, and proportionally appointed. With this force Miltiades sailed from Athens in high hopes of conquest, and promising to return with great riches and other advantages, the fruits of his anticipated victory. Arrived at the island of Paros, he landed without opposition, and sent heralds to the city demanding the sum of one hundred talents to be immediately paid him as a ransom for their Country, which, in case of refusal, he threatened to give up to the violence and plunder of his irritated army. The Parians, unmoved by these menaces, and confident of their own strength, refused even to deliberate on his proposals, sent back to Miltiades an unqualified defiance, and vigorously prepared for resistance. The Athenian army then invested the city, and, for a time, carried on the siege with considerable zeal, and with some prospect of ultimate success; when, by either treason or accident, an event befell their General which proved fatal to all their anticipations. One Timon, a Parian Priestess, came secretly to Miltiades, promising that she would disclose to him a method by which he might take the city with the utmost ease, and the Athenian General listened to her scheme with too eager a credulity. In consequence of her advice, he repaired in secret and alone to the temple of Ceres the law-giver, expecting to find its gates readily opened for his reception. In this he was disappointed, and by no violence was he able to force them. He, therefore, climbed to the top of the wall, and thence leaped down into the area of the temple, still encouraging the

Expedition
to Paros.

Miltiades
at Paros.

Biography. hope that he should meet his supposed confederates.

A. M.

3514.

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B. C.

490.

Finding in this place no one ready to assist him, or seized, as Herodotus says, with a sudden horror at his own impiety, he determined to attempt his return. With this view he hastily re-ascended the wall, when his foot slipped, and he broke his thigh in falling, or, according to other accounts, dislocated his knee-pan. In what manner he reached his camp we are not told, but his arrival there, in this deplorable condition, might well be supposed to spread consternation and panic throughout the army; in consequence of it the siege was raised, and the expedition re-embarked, baffled and defeated in its purpose.

His unfavourable reception at Athens.

The short season of the glory of Miltiades, the victor of Marathon, had now passed away. The slightest misfortune was at all times sufficient to change the aspect of the Athenian favour; and in proportion as their expectations had been raised by success, so were their vexation and anger vented upon a reverse. With an army diminished in numbers and broken in spirit, the helpless Miltiades returned mortally wounded to Athens, and found that the general disaffection was increasing. The circumstance of his personal quarrel with Lyngoras, the Parian Chief, was alleged as an argument to prove his motive for the recent expedition to have been self-interest alone; and Xanthippus, the father of the famous Pericles, boldly came forward to the general assembly, and accused their formerly victorious and highly-favoured General of having designedly misled the people into the war. This construction of his conduct was instantly adopted, and the popular voice ever ready to throw additional weight on the descending scale of the fluctuating balance of fortune now loudly demanded a sentence of death on the unfortunate Miltiades, as an expiation of his crime. The situation of the accused was the more distressing, as it was utterly impossible, from his wounds, that he could appear and enter on his own defence. His known eloquence, and even his personal appearance, might not have been without their due influence on the multitude; but he was obliged, however unwillingly, to trust his defence to Tisagoras, his brother, who, indeed, used his most strenuous and affectionate exertions on his behalf. Some writers state that he was brought into the assembly on a couch, while his cause was pleaded by his friends. Tisagoras represented to the Athenians, that, although Miltiades had failed in this last expedition, it was yet to him that they were indebted for that victory at Marathon, which had effected the preservation of Athens from the cruelties threatened by the Persian monarchs: he therefore entreated them to forgive his present error in consideration of his past services, and in regard, at least, with commiseration, him to whom they were indebted for the power of that deliberation which they now exercised, and those laws which he had protected from dissolution by the Persian King. These arguments, and this joint appeal to their justice as well as to their pity, were not without their effect. On a

solemn hearing, the assembled Athenian people acquitted Miltiades of any crime deserving death, but, at the same time, they sentenced him to pay a fine of fifty talents, the amount of the late unfortunate Parian expedition. This was a payment too large for the fortune of Miltiades to sustain; and, maimed and disabled as he was, the Athenians dragged him to prison, condemning him to suffer in person for that which he was unable to pay in money.

If the Marathonian hero had not already received his death-wounds at Pans, the ingratitudes and cruelty of the Athenians would, in all probability, have exacerbated those wounds, however slight, so as to have produced an event equally fatal. It is, indeed, by no means clear that this was not actually the case; a broken thigh, or a dislocated knee-pan, could scarcely be supposed, however immature the Art of surgery, to have produced death without accelerating or assisting causes; and where can we seek for those causes so successfully as in the wounded mind of the hero? Whatever were the immediate causes, however, this celebrated General died in prison from the mortification of his wounded limb, soon after his trial and subsequent condemnation. The cruelty of the Athenians did not end with the death of their victim: they denied the rites of burial until the fine imposed upon him was discharged; and Cimon, the son of Miltiades, offered his own person to redeem the body of his parent from further indignity. This noble son of so ignoble a father was now, in his turn, sent to prison to enforce the payment of the fine; nor was he released till, the sum being discharged by one Callias, the hard law, and the harder hearts of the Athenian democracy, were satisfied. This was at the expense of a further sacrifice made by Cimon for the redemption of his father's honour. According to the barbarous laws and customs of those days, he had married a sister by his father's side, whose name was Elpinice, and who was admired by Callias, a person of low birth, and the same who paid the fine for the liberation of Cimon; which, however, he only consented to do on Cimon's giving up Elpinice to him as his wife. Both Cimon and Elpinice were unwilling to separate; but a cause common to both, the family honour, at length prevailed, and it is recorded, as a peculiar instance of magnanimity in Elpinice, that she gave herself up to Callias, on his payment of the fine for Cimon, with the declaration that, " whilst in her power to prevent it, she would not suffer any of the family of Miltiades to remain in prison or in distress." Thus perished Miltiades, the victor of Marathon, and one of the first of those heroes who afterwards rendered Athens so famous on the pages of history. The love of power—a temptation scarcely resistible by human nature—was the principal failing of his character; but, after he had attained this power, his native generosity of heart forbade him to use it with injustice or cruelty. During the time of his magistracy, he was moderate, humble, and universally beloved; nor in the days of his adversity does the slightest spot of malignity cloud his reputation.

Miltiades.

A. M.

3514.

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B. C.

490.

Condemned to suffer in a severe fine.

Dies in prison.

ARISTIDES AND THEMISTOCLES.

FLOURISHED FROM A. M. 3515. B. C. 489. TO A. M. 3555. B. C. 449.

Biography.

From
A. M.
3515.
—
B. C.
489.
to
A. M.
3555.
—
B. C.
449.

THE names of the two illustrious Athenians, whose lives we are now about to relate, are so closely interwoven throughout the most interesting events in which they appeared, and the character of each is so constantly illustrating that of the other, either by contrast, when they appear as rivals, or by the variety and suitability of their assistance to each other when confidants and friends, that they cannot well be disjoined. Scarcely a circumstance of importance to their Country occurred during the period in which they lived, but we find both these patriots shared in its glory and its advantages, or endured the mortification, if not the blame, of its failure; and, when the name of one of them alone stands eminent on the page of History, we generally find his compatriot in close connection with the causes or with the consequences of the event related. For these reasons, and because their united fates will serve to illustrate the same points and views in the manners, laws, and government of Athens, we shall not now disjoint what has often been considered together.

Aristides was the son of Lysimachus, of the tribe of Antiochia, and residing in the village of Allopece, in Attica. Themistocles was, on the maternal side, a foreigner, and of disputed extraction. Some writers speak of his mother under the name of Euterpe, others under that of Abrotonum; and whether she was a native of Halicarnassus, of Thrace, or of Acarnania, is uncertain; his father was named Neocles, of the tribe of Leontes. Both these great men were comparatively of mean families, and there seem to have been no particular advantages of their youth to which they were indebted for their future renown: unless, indeed, their constant companionship may be so regarded; for they appear to have been brought up from the age of boyhood together, and to have developed in their juvenile sports much of that spirit of personal rivalry which afterwards appeared in their history, and prompted them to such important actions. In boyhood, too, the different dispositions of the future Patriots were equally remarkable with their mutual jealousy. Themistocles was bold, impetuous, and ambitious, little careful of the means by which his ambition was gratified. Subtle and courteous when overawed by superior virtue or attainments; haughty and resolute on other occasions, as the object which he had in view dictated his conduct. At a very early age he is said to have cultivated the Art of Oratory, and to have exhibited unusual powers in conducting the real or imaginary accusations and defences of his schoolfellows, which attracted the decided admiration of his superiors. "Dey," said his tutor, on one of these occasions, with much more discrimination than discretion, "thou wilt become, at some future time, either a mighty curse or a mighty blessing to thy Country; thou wilt never prove an ordinary man." Aristides, on the other hand, was early designated by the firmness of

his resolutions, and the justice and equity of his general conduct. The objects he proposed to himself were moral and honourable, and the means which he used to attain them candid and honest.

As the youth grew up to manhood, their contrariety of disposition generated contrary habits of life and modes of thinking. The integrity and pride of Aristides naturally led him to the study of the Spartan Philosophy of Lycurgus. He disdained to flatter so unsteady and unwisdom popular; and, although an advocate for the cause of Republicanism, he became a supporter of the Aristocracy, and indulged perhaps an extreme contempt for the people. Truth, however, was his great object, and justice was his path—that path which, regardless of the scorn of the weak or the outcries of the wicked, he trod through life with a remarkable steadiness. Themistocles, whose motives were those of Ambition alone, chose, as might have been foreseen, the readiest way to accomplish his object, by becoming an excessive favourer of the power of the Democracy; a flatterer of their persons and their vilest passions. To this side he was also inclined by his ripening jealousy of Aristides, whose reputation and whose projects he hoped to subvert by the use of those very means which his rival despised. The rise of this aversion between these two eminent men, or rather of the unworthy jealousy of Themistocles against Aristides, is most important to trace, in forming a just estimate of their actions, as it became the source of great disturbances in the Athenian State, and shook at times the Constitution of their Country to the centre. Nevertheless, when that Country was in danger from foreign tyranny, the talents of both were united with equal warmth in protecting it.

The first, and perhaps the most eminent, occasion which presented itself in illustration of their devoted Patriotism, was that invasion of Attica, by the Persians, which was defeated with so much glory in the Battle of Marathon. Both Aristides and Themistocles were, on that occasion, amongst the ten Generals who commanded the Athenian army, under Callimachus the Polemarch; and both signalized their courage and capacity before and after that celebrated conflict; the details of which will be found in our account of the PERSIANS.

When Miltiades marched to repel the plundering fugitives of the Persian army, who had fled from the field of battle with the purpose of surprising Athens itself, Aristides was left in the chief command of those Grecians at Marathon who guarded the prisoners and the spoil. The vast treasures of the enemy now lay at his complete disposal: he was young as a Commander, and well acquainted with the tempting power of gold; but his personal disinterestedness and the severity of his public justice were alike conspicuous on the occasion. Not only was the minutest part of the conquered treasure appropriated to his own use, but he exerted

Aristides
and Themistocles.

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B. C.
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Aristides' early virtues.

Aristides
and Themistocles
educated
together.

In joint
command
at Marathon.

Themistocles' early
courage.

Biography.

From
A. M.
3515.

—
e. C.
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to
A. M.
3555.
—
e. C.
449.

Discusses
respecting
these Chiefs
at Athens.

Aristides'
distinguishing
eye-belt
of the Juno.

every nerve to restrain the private plunder of others, considering the whole spoil as the property of the State. He conducted it with scrupulous care to the Capital, and, amidst the plaudits of his Countrymen, resigned his important command.

The Athenians were no sooner released from the danger of that invasion, than their private dissensions rose to as high and dangerous excesses as before. The Aristocracy of the city now began to consider Aristides as their wisest adviser and firm support; whilst the popular outcry was in favour of the more ostentatious merits of Themistocles. The Athenian Constitution permitted every citizen in his turn to preside in the Courts of justice; and we shall here see the difference of principle upon which these celebrated chiefs then thought proper to direct their public conduct. "The gods forbid," said Themistocles, "that I should ever preside at a tribunal where my friends shall not find more favour than strangers." Aristides, on the contrary, held, that on a seat of justice, the inflexible rule of right should alone be his guide, unbias'd by fear, by anger, or by favour. On one occasion of this sort, a plaintiff urged in favour of his suit, and in illustration of the evil dispositions of the accused, the wrongs which the defendant had committed against Aristides himself, who instantly interrupted his plea, and exclaimed, "Mention your own cause, and the injuries you yourself have received; for I sit here as judge, and not as accuser; the suit is yours, and not mine." This rigid and unbending honesty soon procured to him a title perhaps the most illustrious of all antiquity: the name of Aristides is handed down to us in History, almost everywhere accompanied by the high and expressive surname of "the Just." Historians record another circumstance singularly illustrative of the general esteem of the Athenians for Aristides. On the representation in the public Theatre of one of the Tragedies of Æschylus, a passage strongly descriptive of a high state of moral excellence was recited, and the eyes of all the audience were instantly, and almost instinctively, turned on Aristides, considering him as a living instance of that character which the Poet had only imagined.

Themistocles, in the mean time, was reaping his peculiar honours; his popularity largely increased, and his power and his ambition grew proportionably great and insatiable. His repined not at the reputation of his rival, which he regarded as empty and unavailing, if not dangerous to its owner; for he was aware that, in proportion to the well-earned fame of Aristides, he would but afford a surer mark for the malevolence of that fierce Democracy of which he should soon become the sole director. With a base and secret satisfaction, therefore, he seems to have encouraged the general admiration of Aristides, whilst he steadily mediated his destruction; and the tremendous democratical power afforded by the trial of ostracism was fixed upon as the means of ultimately accomplishing it. This summary mode of popular justice derived its name from ostracism, a tile, the votes of the citizens being at first collected by each one writing on a tile, or shell, the name of the person he wished to condemn to banishment. Every Athenian citizen possessed this extravagant power of voting for the condemnation of an individual, without any assigned reason: and, if the name of any person was found to be written on six thousand tiles or shells, the sentence was confirmed by the judges, and the

victim of private or public pique was expelled the Commonwealth for ten years. The author of this law, which tended finally to give so much undue power to the people, is not known. Some have ascribed it to the Pinaristide, and others have pretended to trace it to so high an antiquity as the time of Theseus. If of such early institution, the power thus vested in the people was not in its origin so excessive; for the number of condemning shells not being fixed in any proportion to the population of the city, but stated at a certain given quantum, where this number embraced the majority of its inhabitants, it might be no unfair method of expressing their minds; but it is obvious that, as the citizens increased in multitude, the power became more formidable; and, in a populous city containing many tens of thousands, it could never have been difficult for a favourite demagogue to procure six thousand persons to join him in his objects of proscription. The free citizens of Athens were at this time reckoned to amount to about twenty thousand; many of them almost wholly without employment, and ever on the watch for the excitement afforded them in the oratorical talents of their leaders, the influence of whose eloquence was now at its greatest height.

The chief accusation brought forward, at the instigation of Themistocles, to remove his rival from Athens, was that very reputation for justice and honour which Aristides had so nobly acquired. "Aristides," said the agents of Themistocles, "has insensibly created himself a monarch, although without pomp or guards. From his great reputation for justice, he acts every day as umpire between contending parties; and what constitutes a Tyrant but the giving of laws?" Persuaded by this sophistry to apprehend danger to the State from the very means of its preservation, or, as their leaders would argue, from the pre-eminence of any individual in it, the giddy people condemned one man for the true greatness of his rigid virtue; insensitive to the dangers arising from the ambition of another, who must thus necessarily become the greater, in virtue of his being the more unjust. When the sentence was announced to him by the magistrates, Aristides, animated with as warm a love for his Country, and sustaining the same equanimity of mind as when the citizens had showered honours and rewards upon him, exclaimed, with uplifted eyes and hands, "I beseech the gods that the Athenians may never see the day which shall force them to remember Aristides!" Ten days (the usual time in this case) was allotted to him for his preparation to quit the territories of Athens, and the usual exile of ten years was pronounced as the period of banishment. Upon the occasion of this trial, a story is recorded of Aristides most strongly exemplifying his philosophy, and his proud sense of internal rectitude. A clown from a village in Attica, who could neither read nor write, dazzled by the eloquence of Themistocles, advanced, during the trial, toward Aristides himself, (with whose person he was unacquainted,) and requested that he would mark for him the name of the accused upon his shell. Aristides, in surprise, asked the peasant of what crime that Athenian citizen had been guilty? or, "Has he done you any personal injury?" said this illustrious Patriot. "Me injury?" replied the peasant, "no, he has neither done me any injury, nor do I know any public harm of him; but I am quite weary with hearing every body

Aristides
and Themistocles.

From
A. M.
3515

—
e. C.
489.
to
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3555.
—
e. C.
449.

Accused at
the instance
of Themistocles.

Banished
for ten
years.

His trial by
ostracism.

Biography. call him the just." Aristides smiled, took the shell from the man, and wrote upon it, as required, his own name for condemnation. His banishment took place B. C. 484.

From A. M. 3515. — B. C. 489. — A. M. 3555. — B. C. 449.

Themistocles advises the building of an Athenian navy.

During these transactions at Athens, and, indeed, immediately after the Battle of Marathon, the war with the inhabitants of Ægina, which had begun prior to the late Persian invasion of Attica, was revived with mutual rancour and with varied success. The Athenians, conducted by Themistocles, had proved victorious in several expeditions; but the Æginetane had avenged themselves on the Attic territories, which they invaded at will, by means of their powerful armaments at sea. This advantage did not escape the observation of Themistocles, and he had, at length, the boldness to propose to the Athenians, that the profits arising from the silver-mines, which had been hitherto regularly divided amongst the citizens, should now be solely appropriated to the building of a navy. In support of this measure, he not only urged the advantages gained by their present enemy the Ægiotians, but he bade them remember that the ambition of the Persian monarch was yet unextinguished, and admonished them to prepare for another and a stronger contest with that Power. Darius, their first enemy, was, he remarked, indeed, dead; but his son Xerxes inherited both his father's power, his aversion to the Greeks, and his thirst of general conquest; that monarch was then only tranquil to prepare a steadier blow against their prosperity, and in order that he might refresh himself for new exertions in the former cause. These arguments prevailed, and the Athenians, turning their attention almost exclusively to maritime affairs, immediately built a hundred ships of considerable size, which quickly gave them the superiority at sea over the Æginetane and all the other States of Greece; as it also proved, eventually, the most efficient means of preserving their own liberties and those of their confederates from the tremendous power of the Persian King.

Xerxes' message to the Athenians.

It was about three years after the banishment of Aristides, and very shortly after these predictions and spirited precautions of Themistocles, that Xerxes, the son of Darius, sent ambassadors, attended by a Greek interpreter, to all the principal States of Greece, demanding, as usual, earth and water, as tokens of their submission to Persia. Themistocles made it his first business to pledge his Country to resistance beyond the hope of compromise. He exhorted the Athenians to put immediately to death the person who acted as interpreter to the ambassadors, and who had dared to publish in the Grecian language proposals so insulting as those of Xerxes to Grecian independence. Another act of defiance followed this. One Ariminius, a citizen of Zele, a town of Thracia, who had settled in Athens and been honoured with a kind of citizenship in that city, was detected in endeavouring to corrupt the Athenians to the Persian cause, and proved to have received bribes to this purpose from Xerxes. This man Themistocles caused to be immediately banished from the Athenian territories. His sentence was proclaimed throughout the Country by sound of trumpet, and his family declared infamous. All hope of accommodation being thus at an end, the next care of this able General was to engage the several States and cities of the Grecians to forget their minor differences in the common danger, and to unite hand and heart in one grand

effort to repel the threatened invasion. This, too, was happily accomplished. In his private character, also, Themistocles now laboured nobly for the public good. Epieydes, a powerful Orator, but deficient in every other requisite of a military leader, had induced the Athenians to appoint him to the supreme command of their army. Themistocles, aware of his incapacity for the office, applied temptations to his avarice, that he might subdue his ambition, and, improving his own fortune to raise the money, fairly bought off Epieydes from the proposed command. It is by no means improbable, however, that Themistocles had other motives besides the danger of his Country for procuring the resignation of Epieydes. The way to the supreme power in Athens was thus left completely unobstructed for himself, and to the entire command of all its military resources he was immediately elected.

The report of the invasion soon arrived; the army of Xerxes' Persians, in immense force, led by Xerxes himself as their General, was transported from their native Country by sea, and was preparing to pour down upon Greece by the memorable straits of Thermopylae. Themistocles, on learning this, strongly urged the propriety of all the disposable force of Athens quitting the city in a body, and embarking on board their fleet; thus, he said, they would be enabled to meet the invaders half way, and perhaps prevent the possibility of their landing in Greece. But the unwillingness of many of the Athenians to leave their homes completely frustrated this design, and his proposal was rejected. The Persian, therefore, made good their landing unopposed, whilst Themistocles was leading the Athenian army to join that of the Loerdæmonians. The allied forces had nearly reached Tempe, in Thessaly, when the news arrived that the straits of Thermopylae, the keys of Greece, had been forced, and that not only Thessaly but Bœotia had been overrun by the invaders; tidings which determined the troops both of Sparta and Athens to retreat to their respective cities without delay.

The Athenians were now reduced to considerable perplexity and distress. To attempt to cope with the immense force of the Persians by land, and on an equal footing, was little less than madness. The only spot whereon they could have engaged so superior a power with any prospect of success, the tardy movements of their army had not suffered them to reach. Athens was undefended by walls or any kind of fortifications, and its confined étendue was protected only by a wooden palisade. Themistocles appears to have formed an early opinion respecting the conduct now best to be adopted; and only to have refrained from declaring it until the most favourable opportunity should be afforded. In all cases of emergency the Athenians hastened to consult the Delphian Oracle for advice, which now pronounced, in two separate answers, "that Athens was destined to destruction," but "that the Athenians might yet be safe within wooden walls." It is impossible to repress the conjecture that Themistocles expected, and had, perhaps, occasioned this answer, so confirmative of his previous counsels. He did not fail to give it immediately the obvious interpretation—that the Athenians should repair to their fleet, within whose walls of wood they might yet seek safety and independence. There was not, however, wanting a party who now strongly

Bold advice of Themistocles.

Aristides and Themistocles.

From A. M. 3515. — B. C. 489. — A. M. 3555. — B. C. 449.

Perplexity of the Athenians.

Biography.

From
A. M.
3515.

B. C.
459.
to
A. M.
3555.
—
B. C.
449.

His schemes
to obtain
the public
consent to
it.

opposed this advice, and endeavoured to interpret the Oracle (expressed as it was with the usual ambiguity) either in absolute favour of their own scheme, or so as to make it equally plausible with the project of Themistocles. This party insisted that the palanquin by which the citadel was surrounded were clearly the wooden walls to which the Oracle referred; and, either convinced by these arguments, or unwilling to abandon their house, the tombs of their ancestors, their temples, and their gods themselves, to the ravages of a merciless and exasperated enemy, a large majority of the Athenians determined to defend their city to the utmost. Baffled, but not defeated, in his darling project, the wisdom of which was fully shown in the event, Themistocles and his adherents relaxed not their efforts to convince the citizens of their error. The juncture was most critical, and, finding arguments unavailing, the Chief did not hesitate to employ those sinister and questionable means which superstition has, in all ages, afforded to State policy. He gained over to his project the Priests who officiated at the Temple of Minerva, and these venerated impostors, in furtherance of his counsels, publicly reported many direful omens. They declared that the sacred dragon refused to eat his consecrated cakes; that all food and offerings set before him remained untouched; and, finally, as most explicit augury of ill, that this adored monster, the favour of their tutelary goddess Minerva, had quitted the temple and the city, making its way directly to the sea. Worthy interpreters of this unworthy tale, they announced this circumstance as denoting that the goddess herself was no longer to be considered as residing at Athens, but as having directed the Athenians to repair to the sea to seek her future protection.

So well timed were these artifices, and otherwise so skillfully conducted, that, by degrees, the opponents of Themistocles were entirely silenced, and the populace became as eager for the adoption of his measures as before they were urgent against them. Salamis had been doubtfully mentioned by the Oracle as the place which should "lose her sons," and although this had before been interpreted to mean that the Athenians should be defeated on that spot, these fickle people were now almost universal in their belief that at Salamis was the destined destruction of the Persians to be accomplished. Another this clause in favour of a measure which had before been rejected by so large a majority, one Cynillus, an Orator, vehemently opposed the decree in question, and, either corrupted by the gold of Xerxes, or through absolute pusillanimity of spirit, proposed submission to the Persian monarch. This so enraged the citizens, that, in the midst of his Oration, they stung the speaker to death; and the women of Athens are said to have inflicted the like punishment upon his innocent wife. Once convinced, or rather determined, the citizens were quickly in full preparation for the extraordinary mode of warfare recommended. Every thing was conveyed on board the fleet, while their liberty and the name of Athenian citizens were now declared to be all that was worth their anxiety. Money, however, being wanted for their final outfit, the solemn Council of the Areopagus was called, to raise the necessary supplies; and, by means which the records of history do not explain, so large a sum was collected, that eight drachms was given to every man as he went on board the fleet. But Themistocles did not deem this

The Athenians embark on board their fleet.

sufficient for the expedition, and again resorted to one of those expedients which his mind was ever fruitful in producing. Under cover of the authority of the Priests, he asserted, that the shield of Minerva, on which the snake head of Medusa was sculptured, had been stolen, and a warrant was granted to him to search the recesses of the temple, that he might regain it. Under this pretence he took away all the money he discovered in his search, and made amends for his deceit by distributing it freely and equally amongst the citizens, to accomplish their necessary appointments.

An act of justice, too, with regard to Aristides, was one of the best features of this state of the public mind. Themistocles himself proposed a decree to recall all those citizens who had been banished from their Country, which was readily confirmed by the Athenians. This was understood to be directed immediately to the case of Aristides, whose means of becoming a powerful foe to Greece were now justly feared by those who had treated him with so much indignity. In virtue of the decree now issued, Aristides rejoined his Countrymen in their exigency, (A. C. 479.) Themistocles hailed his return with warm protestations of attachment and esteem, and every heart glowed with emulation to the common cause of liberty.

Thus nobly freighted, the Athenian fleet, under Themistocles' leadership, to join that of the Spartans, commanded by Eurýbiades; and made sail with them immediately for the Eubœan shore, with the hope of impeding the passage of the Persian fleet through the neighbouring straits. Here the conduct of the Athenian leader was characterized by the adroitness which had previously distinguished him. Eurýbiades, the Spartan Admiral, in contradiction to the proposed plan, had refused to remain longer on this station; and the Eubœans, fearful of being given up to the ravages of the Persian army, applied next to Themistocles, and presented him with thirty talents, as a reward for his interference on their behalf. Themistocles hesitated not to accept the money. Five talents he gave Eurýbiades, and thereby induced him to pursue his first plan. With the sum of three talents he bribed Adiamanthus, the Corinthian Commander, who, under strong suspicions of having been influenced by treasonable motives, was the only officer who now insisted on weighing anchor. By these expedients, Themistocles was at once enabled honestly to perform what he had undertaken on behalf of the Eubœans, and to devote the remaining sum of twenty-two talents to the general interests of the expedition. Indeed, during the whole period of their stay on this coast, Themistocles distinguished himself in all the arrangements of his squadron; and, in several slight engagements with the hostile fleet, which lay near Artemisium, his prudence and bravery were the admiration of all the allies. On leaving this station, Themistocles recommended an artifice which was readily adopted, and proved of no little service to the common cause. Certain stones were set up on the coast of Ionia, with inscriptions, entreating the Ionians, on the remembrance of their Grecian origin, to desert from the Persian Tyrant, and join those who might be considered as their brethren, and who were then actually fighting for the common property, liberty, and political existence of the Grecians; or, if they could not accomplish this, they were implored to baffle the plans of Xerxes by their coldness and tardiness in his cause.

Aristides and Themistocles.

From
A. M.
3515.

B. C.
459.
to
A. M.
3555.
—
B. C.
449.

Aristides recalled.

Once conducted by Themistocles at Artemisium.

Biography.

From
A. M.
3515.B. C.
449.to
A. M.
3555.B. C.
449.Debate of
the allies
respecting
their course.

The address concluded by reminding these people, that the Athenians, by protecting the revolt of Ionia against Darius, first brought the resentment of the Persian monarchy upon themselves. This was a stratagem directed not so much to the actual object of obtaining either of the requests thus made to the Ionians, as to the excitement of distrust in the minds of the Persians against them—an effect which, in the end, it fully accomplished.

On leaving Artemisium, another and a stronger diversity of opinion prevailed among the Commanders respecting their future course. Eurybiades the Spartan had been made Chief of the combined fleet; for, although the Athenian ships were superior in number to those of the Spartans, yet, the long-acknowledged superiority of the latter nation had always obtained from their confederates the supreme command of an allied force. But Eurybiades soon evinced himself unequal to this important trust, and appears to have been alike deficient in skill and in courage. On the approach of the Persian fleet, he recommended that the allies should retreat towards Corinth and join the land-forces there, a proposition in which he was supported by many others of the Grecians, who, provoked by the ravages which the army of Xerxes was committing on their dearest possessions at home, deemed it unadvisable, and indeed useless, to risk their combined strength in attacking the maritime forces of Persia. Although there might be, they admitted, a greater probability of success at sea, yet how little would it avail them, compared with their daily losses by land? On a debate concerning the conduct to be adopted, Themistocles recommended an immediate action at sea, when Eurybiades, in relation to the supposed imprudence and impetuosity of our hero, observed, that "such as rise up before the rest to start at the Olympic Games are generally lashed for their temerity." To which Themistocles quickly answered, "True; but let us recollect, Eurybiades, that those who are left behind in the race are never crowned with victory." The Spartan, provoked at the freedom of this reply, is said to have lifted up his staff, and to have prepared to strike the speaker; when Themistocles, with the utmost calmness, exclaimed, "Strike, but hear." This mixture of calmness and earnestness in his cause produced the desired effect, and Eurybiades gave instant and serious attention to the arguments of his competitor. But although their Chief could thus subdue the characteristic pride of his Country, of which, notwithstanding his pusillanimity, he possessed his full share, Admyantis, another of the Lacedæmonians, at last roused the indignation of Themistocles, by observing, "that it did not become those who had neither home nor Country themselves, and therefore nothing to lose, to control others, by their advice and their conduct, from returning to their habitations." "We have, indeed, base men," replied Themistocles, "abandoned, in this exigency, our houses and our walls, because Athenians would not become slaves for the sake of those things which possess neither life nor soul; yet know that our city is the greatest of all Greece. Behold it in the number of our ships!—all of which are here ready to defend you, if you yourselves please to assist in the war; but if you shun the fight, and leave the Athenians to themselves, you will soon discover that we can find as large

and as free a city as that which we have left." At length the party of the Athenians pressed so many just arguments upon their confederates, that the most judicious of the leaders were brought over to their opinion. Yet the Greeks in general were so alarmed at the destruction of the city of Athens, which had now taken place, and at the ravages committed upon the Athenian territories, that a bold and final stratagem of Themistocles alone kept their naval force together. By means of a Persian prisoner in the Grecian fleet, named Sicinus, who was an admirer of Themistocles, and protected by him, he ventured to open a communication with the camp of the enemy, and sent a private message to the Persian monarch, importing that he preferred his favour to the command of the Grecians; and had sent to inform him that the allied fleet were about to disperse and to seek their safety in flight. This he advised the King not to permit, but to take advantage of their present confusion, and attack them forthwith in the bay of Salamis. Xerxes, completely duped by this message, which he received with the greatest marks of satisfaction, immediately sent two hundred of his ships to block up the Straits of Salamis, and thus at once compelled the Grecian fleet to unanimity, and to the adoption of that bold measure which ensured, eventually, the safety and success of the allied cause. On the arrival of the news of the Persian position at Salamis, every heart beat in unison with the plan of this sagacious leader; the determination to conquer or die was universal; and Themistocles had the honour of receiving, with the general plaudits of his Countrymen, the approbation of Aristides, to whom alone he had communicated his daring plan on this occasion.

Both sides now prepared themselves for the memorable battle that ensued. The confederated Greeks were animated by the speeches of their leaders, amongst whom Themistocles appeared, with all the acquirements of his youth, matured and sobered by his long experience. He argued alternately as the soldier and the citizen, the commander and the commanded; he represented to them that they were about to fight for all that was dear to parents, to husbands, to men; that the present liberties of all the States of Greece were suspended on the issue, with the happiness of their remotest posterity. Xerxes, on the contrary, who, in the exultation of his heart, had assured himself of the destruction of the Grecians, erected a high throne on the shore near Salamis, and commended the attendance of Secretaries to record the events of his triumph as they successively occurred. The battle was begun by the Grecians, who sailed from their anchorage early in the day, and attacked the Persian line of blockade. Archbishop Usher fixes the date of the battle in the first year of the seventy-fifth Olympiad, or a. c. 480, Oct. 20. The advantage of the Persians consisted in the immense number of their ships, according to Herodotus, upwards of 1000 sail; and that of the Grecians, who mustered but about three hundred and eighty vessels, in their superior knowledge of maritime affairs, (for which they were greatly indebted to the judicious advice and indefatigable exertion of Themistocles,) their courage, and the skill of their Commanders. If a Persian galley were sunk, the warriors which it contained were utterly lost; on the contrary, if the like misfortune happened to any of the Grecian ships, the crew plunged into the

Aristides
and Themistocles.From
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(ingra) by sea, and swam with ease either to the shore or to another ship. The event was such as might have been expected, and proved decisive in favour of the allies. The Persians lost about two hundred galleys, which were sunk, and an immense number which were taken; the loss of the allied Grecians amounted only to about forty ships. On the side of the Persians the slaughter was immense, while the Greeks lost but few men, for the majority of the crews of those ships which were destroyed effected their escape to their companions in arms, as before stated. In this contest, sustained with great glory by the Grecians, the Athenians were allowed to bear the most distinguished part: and it is not a little remarkable, that the Æginetans, almost the open enemies of Athens, alone emulated them, on this occasion, in their efforts to repel the common enemy, and won the second honours of the day. After the battle was decided, the Athenian fleet maintained a vigorous pursuit of the flying Persians towards the coast of Attica, and there destroyed their scattered ships almost at will. The Æginetans were also very serviceable in this chase; for their ships being lighter, and of swifter sail than those of the other States of Greece, they ran out to sea, and, gaining the wind of the Persians, suok or took the vessels which attempted to leave the coast, and thus to escape the heavier galleys of the Athenians. Never was a victory more complete with means so disproportionate; because, perhaps, a reverse could never have been more desperate in its consequences to the weaker side. The confederacy was now strengthened and felt in all its value; the "Great King" of the Persians, disappointed in his most confident anticipations, was obliged to solace himself with the reflection that his army was yet unbroken; and that that fleet was not altogether annihilated which had so lately rode the sea triumphant, and struck a terror throughout all Greece.

It was now proposed by Themistocles, that the allied fleet should make for the Hellespont, and destroy the famous bridge, nearly a mile in length, which Xerxes had thrown across the sea at that place. The effect of this measure would have been to have cut off all communication of the Persians with Asia, and to have enclosed their army in Greece itself, so that it might afterwards have been destroyed as time and circumstances should dictate. Some Historians say that this plan being communicated to Aristides, that Patriot opposed it, although his reasons are not mentioned. Others, with more probability, attribute this opposition to the Spartan Eurybiades, from a wish not to drive the enemy to desperation, and thus to reserve some honours for himself. But the motives of Themistocles himself appear, on this point, very dubious. He soon perceived that the proposal he had made was more acceptable to the Greeks than he wished it to be. He either became fearful of the consequence of thus enclosing the enemy in the heart of Greece, or, as others suppose, he now wished to secure to himself the friendship of the Persian monarch as likely to afford him an asylum in times of adversity and disgrace, of which he could not but foresee the probability, from his knowledge of the glibly and ungrateful temper of the Athenian people. At this distance of time, however, we may look in vain for any correct views of his object; but his conduct is recorded. He again ventured to communicate with Xerxes on the operations of the combined forces, and sent a specific account of their intention to

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break down his bridge and cut off his retreat. He also said once more to have offered his advice to the King respecting the Persian policy, and to have prescribed his immediate return into Asia, whilst he promised to amuse his Countrymen with various projects, and to delay their purposed destruction of the bridge as long as possible. In what manner Themistocles, after his recent conduct, could have obtained credit with the Persian monarch for any thing but his bravery does not appear; but Xerxes did not fail immediately to follow his advice, and hastily withdrew his army. Thus ended the second Persian expedition into Greece. Some writers allege that all the exertions of Xerxes to reach the Straits in time to prevent the breaking of his bridge proved vain; that he himself was obliged to recross the Hellespont in the boat of a common fisherman; and that his army, diminished and scattered by pestilence, famine, and the harassing pursuit of the Greeks, reached Asia in small and detached parties, and by such methods as chance and the kindness or good fortune of individuals presented. But at this time, it is certain, Themistocles not only threw every obstacle in the way of the proposed destruction of the bridge, but afterwards advised the Athenians to discontinue the pursuit of the Persians, and to return home and rebuild their city; a proposal too grateful to their feelings to be rejected—too important to the interests of all Greece to be opposed by the other States of the confederacy.

Relieved from the immediate presence of the invasion, Themistocles and the Athenian fleet levied contributions on all the islands around that had taken part with the Persians, and then returned to Salamis, the scene of victory, there finally to meet their confederates, and to share with them the spoils of the expedition. It was afterwards resolved that a general meeting of the Greeks should be held on the isthmus, at the Temple of Neptune, where, in a solemn assembly of the different chieftains, this important question was proposed, *Who best was deserving of the merit of valour?* Each General, in turn, was requested to write down the name of him whom he deemed most worthy; and, as every man first wrote down his own name, and afterwards inscribed that of Themistocles, the result was, that the Athenian leader numbered the decided suffrages of almost all Greece. Of Aristides we find nothing particular recorded during this war, but are told that his general behaviour was wise and brave, and that he was ever ready to assist Themistocles by his councils. Thus deservedly clothed with the chief honours of the war, Themistocles now visited Lacedæmon, where additional applause awaited him. The pride of the Spartan people, indeed, would not suffer them to assign in public the first place of honour to any one but their own Chief, Eurybiades; but it was evident that they privately regarded Themistocles as his superior; and, while the prize of valour was awarded with great pomp to Eurybiades, that of prudence was given, with distinguished ceremonies, to Themistocles. The Spartans crowned him with a wreath of olive; they presented him with the most magnificent chariot in Sparta; and, finally, escorted him home to Athens by a chosen troop of five hundred horsemen—an honour never before or afterwards bestowed upon a foreigner.

The Athenians, now repossessed of their Country, Athens applied themselves to erecting another city on the ruins rebuilt, of that which had been destroyed by the late invasion.

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 Aristides
and Themistocles.

 From
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A. C.
469.
to
A. M.
3555.

 A. C.
449.
Again in-
fluences the
Persian
movements.

 Public
honours
decreed to
him.

Biog. Hy. No sooner, however, did they find themselves at rest from foreign annoyance, than the same spirit, which prompted their gallant defence against the Persians, began, as formerly, to show itself in discontents and tumults within themselves. They now discovered that their hero Themistocles had become too great a favourite, and had submitted to bear too much honour, from their rivals the Lacedæmonians. In his defence, the Athenian Chief took occasion to represent to his fellow-citizens the necessity of union between the different States of Greece, and the importance of the assistance of the Lacedæmonians to the general cause; "for the war," he observed, "was not at an end, whilst the mighty power of the Persian King remained with little perceptible diminution." Nor was it long before the foresight of Themistocles was again called into practical exercise. Mardonius, the Persian General, was still at the head of a powerful army amounting, as some say, to 800,000 men, chiefly composed of those who had escaped the ravages of the last campaign, and were therefore inured to hardships, and more serviceable for future war. With this immense force Mardonius rested on the frontiers of Thessaly, and still threatened the Grecian States. Perceiving, however, the magnitude of the enterprise contemplated by his master, and the great proportion which the State of Athens bore to the whole power of the Grecian confederacy, he determined to endeavour to detach that State from the general cause. With this view the Persian General employed Alexander, King of Macedon, (who, although a tributary to Xerxes, was a great favourite with the Athenian people,) as an ambassador to Athens, in the name of Xerxes himself. On the arrival of the Macedonian Prince, he was received with great state by the Athenians, and with all the hospitality due to a decided friend; but on their learning that he was intrusted with an embassy of importance from the Persian monarch, they delayed to give him audience until Deputies from the Lacedæmonians could attend the opening of his commission. Meanwhile the embassy and its purpose was rumoured abroad throughout Greece, and the Lacedæmonians, not a little alarmed at the danger of losing the Athenians as allies, hastened their representatives to Athens. The Athenian people were at length assembled, and the ambassadors on both sides attended, prepared to explain and to urge their different wishes. Alexander the Macedonian was permitted first to speak; and he promised, in the name of Xerxes, "the Great King," that, if the Athenians would consent to abandon the cause of the Grecians, his master would remit every past offence, rebuild their houses and temples at his own expense, enlarge the boundaries of their Country, and hold their liberties and their accustomed laws and privileges untouched and sacred. On the contrary, if they rejected this offer and refused his alliance, he represented to them that, even although the army then under the command of Mardonius should fail of attaining its object, other armies and fleets could easily be raised and equipped, and that, in the extensive dominions of the Persian King, the losses that had already taken place, or that their most sanguine hopes might yet contemplate as possible to happen, would scarcely be felt, while it would not be possible for the Grecians long to withstand the overwhelming forces ready to pour upon them. Alexander concluded his speech by a strong

recommendation to the Athenians from himself, in personal friendship, to comply with the offers of Xerxes, as the only method by which they could save themselves from destruction. The Spartan ambassadors now rose, and endeavoured to show, in the first place, how unjust a thing it would be if the Athenians, who had been the authors and the cause of the war with Persia, should now forsake the common interest; they reminded their allies of the fame of their ancestors, who had not only been renowned as defenders of their own liberty, but had been ever ready to uphold the liberties of others; they assured the Athenians of their sympathy for the loss of their city; offered in future to protect their wives and children, and such of their citizens as could not march to the war, and to maintain them safely in Sparta; and concluded by expressing their confident hopes that the Athenians, a free nation themselves, would never degrade themselves by becoming at once the slaves of a Tyrant, and consenting to become the means by which their allies might be enslaved. The answers to these different speeches were such as might be anticipated from a people enthusiastic as were the Athenians in the cause of liberty. To Alexander, the Athenians, in the name of his Countrymen, replied, also, that so long as the eternal sun should hold his course they would never enter into alliance with Xerxes, but resist his forces by every effort of their own; and they desired Alexander himself, whom they respected as a friend, to become the bearer of no more such messages, for they would not assure him of safety who could submit to bear such insults to an indignant and an angry people. Turning then to the Spartan Deputies, he assured them they would never enter into the Persian, nor abandon the Grecian confederacy; and that they were even sorry the Spartans could for a moment admit the fear of their no doing: they thanked their friends for the offer concerning their wives and children, but hoped they should not have cause to trouble them with such a burden; he then begged them to hasten their supplies to the threatened war, for they believed the Barbarian Persians to be on the alert, and ready to begin the attack as soon as they should have received the present answer to their embassy; and only requested, in return, that the Spartans, and their other confederates, would consent to meet the Persian troops in Bœotia, rather than suffer them again to ravage the city and territory of Attica.

Mardonius was no sooner made acquainted with the failure of this embassy than, pursuant to his orders, he marched from Thessaly direct upon Thebes. The inhabitants of that city strongly advised him to desist from his enterprise, and represented the difficulty, if not the impossibility, of subduing, by force, a people who would abandon their houses and the temples of their gods to destruction, rather than submit to a power which they could not resist. They sarcastically, or seriously, recommended a system of bribery to be adopted; and told him that, when he had detached from the common cause the principal citizens of each of the most powerful Grecian States, the armies of each might be led into false movements, and be overcome with comparative ease. But Mardonius was too much exasperated at the late contemptuous refusal of his offers to listen to this advice; he prosecuted his march, and, by signals of fire, lighted on the islands as he

Aristides and Themistocles.

From A. W. 3515. — N. C. 459. to A. W. 3555. — N. C. 419.

The Persians again appear in great force.

Embassy of Alexander the Macedonian.

The Persians advance into Greece.

Biography. advanced, he gave Xerxes, who was now lying at Sardis, to understand his movements. As he entered Attica, he wasted the country around with tenfold fury, leveling with the ground every stone which he found standing upon another, whether of the most venerable erections of antiquity, or the recent buildings of the Athenian citizens. In this manner he approached rapidly to Athens itself; and the Spartans were so slow in sending their succours, that the Athenians were forced to retreat to Salamis, and again left their city a prey to the Persians. Here they formed an army of their citizens, already assembled in considerable force under Aristides; and they received another messenger from Mardonius, who repeated the offers which had been before made to them by Alexander. It was hoped that the extremities which the Athenians had now suffered would have softened that spirit of pride and independence which dictated their former answer, but the Persian embassy found them rather exasperated than subdued; and they did not hesitate to stone to death one Lycidas, a Senator, for basely proposing that the message of Mardonius should be taken into consideration; whilst his wife and children (as in the case of Cysitius) suffered the same death from the women. The Spartans were, in the mean time, so dilatory in their movements, that it was judged necessary to send ambassadors to urge their appearance in the field, and to assure them that, unless the succours they promised should soon arrive, the Athenians would think of themselves alone. On their arrival at Sparta, the Athenian Deputies were astonished at the selfishness of their allies; they found no symptoms of the intended succours to the common cause; but the Spartans had been evidently employing the previous time of this delay in throwing up walls and fortifications athwart the Peloponnesian Isthmus to protect their own district, whilst that of Athens was already destroyed, its inhabitants driven from the country, and pursued from place to place by the victorious and revengeful Persians. At length, however, the Spartan army, consisting of about 10,000 men, about half of them from the city, and the rest from the adjacent country, together with about 7000 Helots, or slaves, put themselves in march toward the Persians, and halted at the Isthmus. Thither also came the Athenian army from Salamis, and all the confederate force of the Greeks, making together about 100,000 men.

The Greeks now compel the Persians to retire. Mardonius learning the approach of this force, and having now lost all hope of detaching the Athenians from the general cause, thought it most prudent to quit Attica; which, from the inequality of the ground, formed strong obstacles to the evolutions of the cavalry and light troops, in which the great strength of his army consisted. And, although the Persians outnumbered the confederate Greeks in the proportion of three to one, (some writers, indeed, say five to one,) Mardonius retired as they advanced, until both armies reached the Cithæron mountains in Boeotia, where they halted for some time in presence of each other. Sparta being still considered as the superior power amongst the Greeks, Pausanias, their General, was Commander-in-chief of the allies, and he soon found that in Mardonius he had to contend, not only with an enterprising warrior, but with a man well skilled in the use of the peculiar resources at his command, and especially in the influence of superior riches. The gold of Mardonius

was daily producing desertions from the Grecian camp, and furnished every way a strong motive to the allies for immediate combat. On the other hand, they were deterred from it by the intelligence which they had obtained of the Persians being much straitened for provisions. The deliberations occasioned by this dilemma were interrupted by Mardonius despatching a party of horse to surprise the Grecians in a council, and some skirmishes ensued, wherein the Megarens of the confederate army were deeply engaged, but were brought off by a select party of three hundred Athenians, and the officer, Masistrus, who commanded the Persian horse, was slain. A sharp contest now took place around the body of the chieftain, both parties being equally eager to obtain this trophy of early success. New succours of the Persian horse came gradually forward into the engagement, and almost all the Grecian forces, until the latter were ultimately successful, and bore the body of the slain in triumph around their camp. Immediately after this affair, the confederates, however, retreated from the spot, and at length pitched their camp upon the territories of Platæa, the Persians steadily following them, and the cavalry of Mardonius continually harassing their rear. A Council of war is now said to have been held by Mardonius, which resulted in the celebrated and decisive Battle of Platæa. For although Artabazus, a Persian Commander of high rank, insisted strongly on the prudence of not engaging the Grecians, and proposed that the army should retire to Thebes, while the power of the Persian gulf, already so successful, should be still tried, rather than that of the sword, upon the heterogeneous forces of the Greeks, Mardonius, tired of the desultory warfare which had been so long pursued, and anxious to strike a blow which might redeem his reputation, determined to risk the engagement. It was resolved, therefore, that the Persians should commence the attack immediately, a determination that was quickly known in the Grecian camp. The Athenians, in the present position of the confederated army, stood opposed to the Boeotian and Thessalian allies of the Persians, but they requested that the Spartans would exchange situations with them, by which the Athenian force would stand confronted with the Persians themselves, and the Spartans with the Thessalians and Boeotians—enemies with which, respectively, they were most accustomed, and so best enabled to engage. The bribes of the Persians, however, soon brought this intended movement to the ears of Mardonius, and he instantly took measures to render it of no avail. These and other skillful and harassing movements of the Persians compelled the Greeks again to strike their camp, and to retreat to the neighbourhood of the Temple of Ceres, on the river Moloë, still followed by the Persian horse. On the ensuing day the famous Battle of Platæa took place. Mardonius, encouraging his men, by representing the Greeks as flying before them, pressed forward with his cavalry upon the Spartans and Tegeans near the Temple of Ceres, where the Spartans turned furiously upon their enemy. The Athenians and other Greeks brought the allies of the Persians to action, and the fight became general and severe. Ever in the heat of the battle, Mardonius was mounted on a white charger, surrounded by his choicest troops, and becoming thus an object of peculiar note, was slain in a charge made

Aristides and Themistocles.
From A. M. 3515.
— B. C. 489.
to A. M. 3555.
— B. C. 449.

Biography. upon him by the Tegerana. On the death of their General, universal disorder and a total rout took place amongst the Persian horse, a small remnant of whom alone escaped, under the conduct of Artabazes, and found refuge from the revenge of the Greeks in a strong position near the Hellespont. On the other side of the field, too, the Persians had been beaten, but had made good their retreat to their fortified camp. Here the Corinthians, the Megareans, and the rest of the Greeks, animated by the success of their friends, furiously attacked them, and the Spartans shortly afterwards came up to their assistance; but the enemy defended themselves with resolution and success, until the appearance of the Athenians decided the fate of the day. Accustomed to the tactics of the enemy, they broke into the entrenched camp in various places, and a tremendous slaughter of the invaders followed on every side. The sumptuous pavilion of the fallen General was amongst the spoils of the enemy; and it is computed that (excepting that body of horse which fled under the conduct of the prudent Artabazes) out of the 300,000 men, which composed the army of Mardonius, not 3000 remained alive. Of the loss of the Grecians, the best authorities give us various and incredible accounts: Herodotus mentions it at only about 100; Plutarch at nearly 1300; and Diodorus at the number of 10,000 men. Certain it is, however, that the loss of the confederates was small in proportion to that of their enemy, and that the battle proved as destructive to the Persian power as any that had yet been achieved. Two nations of the confederated Greeks, the Mantinians and the Eleans, had the misfortune to arrive on the field after the close of the action; and, as they returned in their home parkers neither of the spoil nor the glory, they are said to have banished their leaders from the soil, as the authors of their disgrace. Both Aristides and Themistocles were sharers in this noble achievement; for, although the former was engaged (as we shall see afterwards) in an eminent command elsewhere, both he and his compatriot Themistocles were active in those councils which produced these events, and which proved of so much importance to the safety and the welfare of their Country. This great victory was obtained on the 22d of September, *a. c.* 479.

Battle of Mycale.

It is remarkable that, on the very day of the victory of Platea, another defeat of the Persians took place, equally important in its consequences, and in the bravery with which it was accomplished, the naval battle of Mycale, near Samos. This was chiefly won by the valour of the Spartans, instigated by the example of Themistocles at the Straits of Salamis, and supported by the great personal services of Aristides. The Persian fleet had been drawn together under the promontory of Mycale, very near to the temple of the goddess Ceres, and had strongly secured themselves on the side of the sea by a kind of mole, composed of great stones, trunks of trees, and such other materials as could be procured. Leuctychides, the Spartan King, at this time Admiral of the combined Grecian fleet, aware of what had been done, and that it had rendered the enemy inaccessible by shipping, determined to attack them on the land. He, therefore, disembarked his forces, and proclaimed aloud, by his herald, an invitation to the Ionians to join the Greeks, or, at least, to withdraw themselves from supporting the Persians, as Themistocles had done before at the Battle of Sala-

mis. This being the evening of the day on which the Battle of Platea had already been gained, the report of that important victory had now, it is said, reached the Grecian army; but, considering the distance between Platea and Mycale, it is a more probable opinion that this event was, by a bold and fortunate conjecture, anticipated by the Grecian Generals, for the purpose of producing enthusiasm amongst their troops. It is also remarkable, that the victory of Platea had been achieved near the Temple of Ceres in Bœotia, and, it is added, that the report of this circumstance also not a little augmented the spirit of the Grecians, who were superstitiously taught to believe that the same goddess was alike to behold, and was expected to be alike propitious, to another and a similar combat at Mycale, in Samos. Thus encouraged, the confederates advanced towards the Persians on the plain by the sea-shore, and charged them so desperately, that they were soon obliged to retreat to their camp. Nor were they here protected from the impetuosity of the assailants, who rushed through the fortifications, and soon proved victorious on all sides. They penetrated to the fleet and destroyed it, whilst the army of the Persians, and Tigranes, their General, with an immense body of their troops, were slaughtered, either in the camp or on board their ships.

By this conquest, the Ionians were enabled to declare themselves in favour of their ancient allies the Greeks, a circumstance which gave occasion to some disputes between the Athenians and the Spartans. The latter, according to the general severity of their disposition, insisted on punishing the Ionians for their revolt, either by refusing all offers of their alliance, and giving them up to the mercy of the Persians, or, at least, by transporting them from their own Country and landing them on those shores, the inhabitants of which had taken part against the Greeks, and which were now considered as forfeited to the conquerors. The Athenians were inimical to both these proposals. They could not forget that Ionia had been formerly a colony belonging to their own State, and both the schemes of the Spartans respecting it were equally destructive of the advantages which had formerly been derived by Athens from the Ionians, and might again be reaped. They were, besides, jealous of the interference of the Spartans, who properly were an inland Power, in the affairs of the colonies. So urgent, therefore, were their arguments against the Spartan propositions, and so necessary was their co-operation considered against the common enemy, that the cause of the Ionians prevailed; they were received into the confederacy, and promised such assistance from time to time as should effectually secure their territories and their Independence. On the settlement of these affairs, the Lacedæmonians retired to Laconia; but the Athenians, under the command of Xanthippus, and, as some say, by the advice of Themistocles, determined to push their fortunes further. Partly instigated by the hopes of plunder, and partly by the desire of revenge, they crossed over to the Chersonesus, and invested the island of Samos, which had taken part with the Persian invaders. The siege proved long and laborious; but at length the resolution and the skill of the Athenians prevailed; they sacked the island and took its Chiefs, Oebazus and Ariyetes, prisoners. Here they reaped immense spoil, and returned home laden with every variety of treasure.

Aristides and Themistocles.

From A. M. 3515. *a. c.* 489, to A. M. 3555. *a. c.* 449.

Ionia declares for the allies.

Biography. From these transactions, in which Aristides and Themistocles acted only general parts, as members, although ever leading members of the whole Commonwealth, we again revert to those no less interesting events in which their particular and individual actions were more prominent, and that develop more characteristically their respective dispositions.

The freedom of Greece appeared now to be established on a firm foundation. The splendid and decisive victories of Plataea and Myræa had not only weakened the power of Persia and elevated the confidence of the Greeks, but had likewise impressed upon their enemies an idea of their strength, their courage, and their skill, which confounded and almost destroyed the future hopes of every invader. Although a desultory war was still continued, the Greeks now became in turn the aggressors, and were left in comparative peace. After having brought home their wives and children, the Athenians began to rebuild their city, now twice destroyed, and twice triumphant.

By the advice of Themistocles, they accomplished this object with a degree of magnificence hitherto unknown, and, whilst their walls were rising in strength and elegance, neither the people nor their leaders were negligent of their laws and Constitution. Themistocles still aided every project which would throw additional power into the hands of the people, and Aristides himself now accommodated his principles to circumstances. Although generally attached to the Aristocracy, yet, from the full experience he had obtained of the genius of his Countrymen, and from the difficulty he had found in convincing them of what he yet thought to be truth, this great and honourable man coincided with most of the practical schemes of his rival; he proposed, that in the Athenian government every citizen should in future hold a full share, and that the high magistracy of the Archons should be henceforth chosen, without preference of persons or distinction of rank, from amongst the body of the people. Thus another important concession was made to the power of the Democracy, whilst the higher ranks, awed and excited by the example of Aristides, the man whom, of all others, they most venerated, either freely complied with his counsels, or found it prudent to suppress their complaints.

But the restless spirit of Themistocles now became directed to another object. He chose this moment of repose and concord to suggest a resolution that the city should be immediately fortified, and, concealing the whole of his motives, alleged that it might prevent the destruction of Athens in case of any future invasion. Unaware of the full importance of the measure, and of any of its attendant disadvantages, the people were sufficiently influenced by the motives assigned to adopt the proposal, and they eagerly began the fortifications. But their former rivals, the Lacedæmonians, were more quick-sighted. When the report of the intended scheme reached Sparta, they anticipated in its accomplishment not only the future safety of Athens from the attacks of an external enemy, but her gradual independence of Lacedæmonian aid; and that she would soon become the principal city of Greece, a rank which was now undisputedly given to Sparta. Stimulated by these envious forebodings, the Lacedæmonians immediately despatched ambassadors to divert the Athenians from their purpose. These Deputies opened their business with professions of disinterested zeal for the

general welfare of Greece as the only motive of the Spartans in their especial objections to the projected fortification of Athens. They represented this measure as pregnant with danger to the confederated States; for their common enemy, the Persians, who were now only inactive for the purpose of husbanding their strength, would, on any future invasion of Greece, gain possession, as heretofore, of Attica, and, throwing a strong garrison into any fortified town of that district, keep an effectual check upon the entire Country. But the Athenians, with Aristides and Themistocles within their walls, were not to be convinced by these arguments; and the Spartan Deputies, observing that the work proceeded with increased rapidity, had no resource left in the exertion of that long-acknowledged authority which had been hitherto accorded to their Countrymen by all of the States of Greece. They absolutely and peremptorily forbade the work to be continued; an interference which occasioned considerable confusion and tumult amongst the people. Themistocles took the lead on this occasion with his usual address; he recommended to the citizens to temporize with Sparta; and, as they were not yet in a condition to carry on a war and to erect a fortress at the same time, to complicit their rivals with a temporary submission; observing, that when their walls were once erected they would be enabled to defy the encroachments of that Power with which they might now reason in vain. He proposed to satisfy the Lacedæmonian ambassadors with promises, and thus dismiss them from the situation of honourable spies, which they now filled in Athens. The Athenians readily followed this ignoble policy, and the ambassadors returned to Sparta with a solemn assurance that the proposed work should not proceed, until, by a counter-embassy, which the Athenians would hereafter commission, full reasons should be given for the adoption of the proposed fortifications, and a general conviction of their propriety should prevail amongst their allies.

Themistocles, the adviser of the promised embassy, was the first to offer his services on the occasion, and to be nominated by the people to this duty. He immediately left Athens for Sparta, but recommended to his Countrymen to delay sending off the rest of the ambassadors, whilst he should divert the attention of the Spartans from the business of the fortifications, which, notwithstanding their former engagement, he urged the Athenians forthwith to finish. These disavowable suggestions were not lost upon his Countrymen. To complete their walls, neither houses, sepulchres, nor temples were spared; almost every building of stone was put in requisition for materials, to expedite the work; the labour was continued night and day, and the citizens, on this occasion, mingled their exertions with those of their slaves and strangers; while even the women and children were compelled to assist in the business. Under these extraordinary exertions, the work was soon so far accomplished, that, in a few months, Athens presented remains of superior strength, and was enabled to bid defiance to all external tyranny. The citizens now sent off the remaining ambassadors to Themistocles, in expectation of whose arrival that politic Statesman had, from time to time, delayed the proposed assuasive with the Lacedæmonian government. But tidings of the Athenian breach of faith had reached Sparta before them, although the

Aristides and Themistocles

From A. M. 3515. — B. C. 469. — A. M. 3555. — B. C. 469.

Opposition to the Spartans.

Athenians from ruin to prosperity and great strength.

Happy union of her chiefs.

Themistocles proposes to fortify the city.

Themistocles takes an embassy to Sparta.

Biography.

From
A. M.
3515.B. C.
489.
to
A. M.
3555.
—
B. C.
449.His crushed
and dis-
graceful
policy.

completion of the walls was not known; and the ambassadors were soon summoned before the Ephori, the highest and most powerful magistracy in the Spartan State. Themistocles and his colleagues were here warmly upbraided with the treachery of their Countrymen, to which they replied by a bold denial of the alleged facts; Themistocles enforcing this additional violation of truth by appealing to his compere, so recently arrived from Athens. This positive and joint asseveration produced the desired effect upon the Lacedæmonian government. For a time they fully credited these solemn pledges—indeed, until Themistocles had been assured of the full accomplishment of his projects at home. It then became his object to provide for the safe return of his compere and of himself. To effect this, he again resorted to that sinister policy for which he was distinguished as a Statesman, (taishel, however, with a magnanimity and a carelessness of his own safety that cannot but be admired. To the Ephori he loudly declaimed against the folly of listening to the flying and unauthenticated rumours which were abroad, and he advised them to send certain Lacedæmonian Deputies back to Athens, together with the Athenian ambassadors, his colleagues, whom he doubted not but that they would be undeceived with regard to the reports so injurious to the good faith of their allies the Athenians. So firmly did he appear assured of this, that he offered himself to stay at Sparta as a hostage for the truth of his assertions. Themistocles then privately instructed his companions, that when, upon their return to Athens with the Lacedæmonian Deputies, the deceit could no longer be concealed, they should boldly detain the latter until the Lacedæmonian Government should give him up, who was to remain as a hostage for their faith—a faith which would then be known to have been broken. His advice was exactly pursued; and, when the Athenian leader received the tidings of the arrival of his colleagues, he demanded an audience of the magistrates of Lacedæmon, and at once avowed and justified the conduct of his Countrymen. "By my advice it was," said he, "that the Athenians acted, when, conformably to the general law of nature and of nations, they secured their public and private property within a wall; nor can this be a disadvantage, but rather a benefit to the other States of Greece, for Athens is their bulwark and defence." As to the falsehood which he had practised, he replied by the declaration, "that for our Country all things were lawful;" and concluded by advising them to send him home in peace, if they wished the safe return of these Deputies who had just been sent to Athens. Not less vexed at their own credulity, than irritated at the duplicity of their rivals, the Spartans could yet find no remedy from the consequences, and were reluctantly obliged to comply with this insulting advice.

He returns to
Athens.

Themistocles returned in triumph to Athens; he had placed his Country in security from any foreign attack by land, and seems to have matured in his absence a variety of other plans for her aggrandizement, which he now represented as ripe for disclosure. Adimantus was Archon; and it was in the seventy-fifth Olympiad, when, in a public assembly, this able Statesman made a long Oration to the people, and proposed that series of measures, which, in its consequences, rendered Athens the mistress of the Grecian States.

He alleged to the assembled citizens, that it would be imprudent to make public the whole of the projects he had formed for their prosperity; and appealed to late experience to show the danger of it. He entreated them, therefore, to select two persons of eminence and shrewdness to whom he might impart his plans; and contented himself by simply impressing upon the citizens that trade produced wealth, and that wealth was the sure source of power. Their port, called Phalerum, he observed, was very narrow and inconvenient for trade; and he advised that the Piræum port should be made the principal one of Athens. The assembly now immediately named Aristides and Xanthippus as his coadjutors, and to them Themistocles freely communicated his mind. He told them that he proposed to widen the Piræum port into a capacious harbour for vessels of burden, and then to join it to the city by strong and extensive walls; considering it preferable for this purpose to the other port, as being already larger, as well as further from the city; a circumstance important to the morals and subordination of the people. He pressed upon his coadjutors the necessity of increasing the Athenian navy, if they wished to retain the freedom, or continue any protection to the Ionians, (originally sprung from the same ancestry as themselves,) or to obtain any decided influence in the islands of Greece, which could only be annoyed or defended by those who were masters of the sea; and exhorted them to look to that element alone as affording the greatest facilities for Athens to become hereafter the first and most powerful of the Grecian States. These suggestions he satrated the delegates, Aristides and Xanthippus, (whatever might at first be their opinions,) to keep entirely secret, for he was convinced that if the Spartans once discovered his plans, all their efforts would be exerted to crush and frustrate them.

Aristides* and Xanthippus, equally zealous for the Athenian glory, listened with eager admiration to the schemes of Themistocles, and in their turn assured the people that his projects might at once be executed with the greatest facility, and would prove eventually of the greatest consequence to the State. But the jealous Democracy were not so easily satisfied; their suspicions of an ambitious combination in these chiefs were suddenly roused, and they declared that Themistocles should be provided with the necessities for completing his designs, only upon their being approved by the Senate of Five Hundred. In consequence of this resolve, Themistocles now addressed himself to the Senate; and so convincing were his arguments, that that venerable body came also immediately into his views, and recommended them to the citizens with considerable warmth; when Themistocles was enabled, by public decree, to provide every thing for the execution of his extensive plans. The improvement of the port was first undertaken, and a concil-

Aristides
and Them-
istocles.From
A. M.
3515.
—
B. C.
489.
to
A. M.
3555.
—
B. C.
449.Is associated with
Aristides
and Xan-
thippus in
his public
plans.

* Ptolemy relates, that in this conference Themistocles communicated to Aristides a plan for burning the fleet of the confederates as they lay at anchor in the bay of Pagus, in Macedonia, and thereby to render the Athenian the only naval Power in Greece. Aristides, says this Historian, in reference to this proposal, answered to the assembly, that, in his opinion, nothing could be more advantageous to the people than to pursue the advice of Themistocles, but nothing more wicked; and the scheme was therefore abandoned. As this story is not corroborated by any other ancient Historian, and is generally disbelieved, we have thought proper to omit it in the text, preserving it only in annotation.

Biography. Estory embassy despatched to the Lacedæmonians, to urge the advantages likely to result from the Greeks possessing a large and commodious sea-port, in case of a future inroad of the Persians; while, in times of temporary inactivity, it would always be useful as a place of security for the allied fleets, from which the operations of the common enemy might be accurately observed. The Lacedæmonians seem to have been silenced by these arguments, and, before the extent of the work was thoroughly known at Sparta, the harbour of Pyraeum, by the uncommon exertions of Themistocles, was enlarged, fortified, and finished; and the foundation laid in Athens of that supremacy amongst the States of Greece, which it was reserved for his rival and compeer Aristides to carry forward and sustain.

Council of
the Amphic-
tyons.

About this time was held a Council of the Amphiclyons, the general and sovereign assembly of all the States of Greece, wherein it was proposed that all the cities which had not resisted the Persian invasion should be, in future, deprived of their right of sending Deputies to the Council. This measure Themistocles decidedly opposed, as tending entirely to frustrate all his own plans for Athens; for if Argos, Thebes, and other cities, devoted to the cause of his Country, but which had been inactive in the late contest, should now lose their voice in the Council, it was clear that the Lacedæmonians would rule the whole. He represented to the Deputies, that out of the multitude of Grecian nations there were but thirty-one States that had yet joined in the Persian war, and that, if those only were to send Deputies to the Grand Council, its numbers would be so reduced as to render it altogether insignificant in itself and dishonourable to Greece; whilst the measure would, at the same time, be detrimental to their general interests, for by its means two or three great cities only would be left to form the Amphiclyons, and to govern the confederates without control. Convinced by these arguments the assembly rejected the decree; and Themistocles thus furnished another proof, that, however devious his general principle of policy, he never yet lost sight of one great object—the welfare of his Country.

But the Greeks, although so much occupied with these important transactions amongst themselves, found time and means to continue the war with Persia. The defeat of Platæa and Mycænæ had disabled the enemy from again invading Greece, and it was now the fortune of the confederates, in their turn, to become the assailants. The Grecian fleet, consisting of thirty galleys of Attica, and twenty belonging to Sparta and the other Peloponnesian States, was commanded by Pausanias, the Lacedæmonian chieftain, who had distinguished himself at Platæa. Aristides (in conjunction with Cimón, the son of Miltiades) commanded the Athenian fleet under him: with this force the confederates invaded Cyzicus, where they took and destroyed many towns; and then proceeded to ravage Byzantium, another colony belonging to the Persians. This haughty and imprudent conduct of the Lacedæmonian leader, on this expedition, contributed of itself, in a great measure, to ripen the schemes of Themistocles; while the equity, the moderation, and the wisdom of Aristides irresistibly commanded the admiration of the fleet, and were highly calculated to promote the designs of the Athenian leaders. Pausa-

Aristides in
command
of the Athe-
nian fleet.

nia suffered no one to participate in his authority or to share in his plans. He scarcely deigned to converse with any other of the Greek commanders; and from this, as well as other causes, was strongly suspected of secret intentions in favour of the enemy. He insisted, at the same time, upon maintaining the rigid Spartan discipline throughout the whole fleet; and allowed no man of the confederates to receive his pay, or his rations of provisions, until every Spartan had first been served. The authority of such a chieftain could not but prove highly irksome to the minor States of Greece, whilst the character of Aristides shone in full contrast before them; and, independently of their wishes to obey the Athenian rather than the Spartan Chief, they now began to see clearly that Athens was the more powerful State by sea, while her late fortifications would enable her also to cope with Sparta by land, should a struggle become necessary. Impelled by these motives, the leaders of the colonists solicited Aristides to interpose his mediation, if not his authority, with Pausanias; or to request of the Spartan a decided change of conduct; and with that part of their requisition which implied the use of gentle means he undertook to comply. An interview between the Spartan and the Athenian Chiefs, however, ended only in a direct insult to Aristides, from all of whose remonstrances Pausanias turned abruptly and haughtily away. Irritated by this behaviour, the colonists no longer hesitated to seek a milder way. Uliades, the Samian Chief, and Antigonos of Chios, leading the way, all the Captains of the minor States applied directly to Aristides, entreating him to receive their submission on the part of his Country, and offering, if he would uphold them in their resolves, thenceforth to acknowledge Athens as the principal city of Greece. Aristides, in the first instance, declined their request; yet with such reasons, and holding out such prospects, as still further fomented their discontents and strengthened their resolutions. He replied, that he saw clearly not only the fitness but the absolute necessity of their proposition; for that the general cause of Greece could never prosper under a discipline so tyrannical as that of the Spartans. He alleged, however, that his duty forbade him to hazard the safety and the honour of Athens by attempting that in which he had no positive assurance of support, and in which success must therefore be doubtful. "Perform," continued he, "some public and decided act, by which you may demonstrate your sincerity; and such as may irrevocably fix your future conduct beyond the possibility of recalling it. Do this, and the protection that can be afforded by the Athenian arms is yours." To the discontented Grecians this declaration was rather an additional encouragement than a refusal. Uliades and Antigonos seized an immediate occasion to run their ships against the galley of Pausanias, as she rode in the station of honour at the head of the fleet, off Byzantium. Pausanias, in return, threatened to punish them severely, for this act of insolence and rebellion to himself and to his Country; but these leaders undauntedly replied, that he had better be silent with regard to them, and thank Fortune for her favours at Platæa; for to her, rather than to his own talents, was even that victory owing. The remembrance of that great action only, they now declared, restrained the confederated Grecians from avenging his past tyranny; and thence-

Aristides
and Them-
istocles.

From
A. M.
3515.
—
B. C.
489.
to
A. M.
3555.
—
B. C.
449.

He receives
offers of
submission
from the mi-
nor States.

Biography. forth they renounced all obedience or submission to him. Pausanias, astonished at this unexpected boldness, had scarcely time to pursue his inquiries respecting it, when the declaration was confirmed by all the colonists, who now ranged themselves under the command of Aristides, and left the Spartan no other resource than to complain to his Country of his supposed wrongs. So imprudent, however, had been the conduct of this leader, that the Lacedæmonians themselves could not resent the insult, nor regain what he had lost for them. Ashamed to vindicate his conduct, they were not sufficiently powerful to revenge the disgrace which his folly and pride had brought upon his Country; and the magnificent designs of Themistocles were thus daily hastening to their accomplishment, while his compeer Aristides aided them forward with the whole weight of his character, and essentially contributed to the raising of Athens to the supremacy of all Greece.

Aristides' plans of finance.

Aristides, on his return to the Capital, found himself at the very summit of popularity. The Athenians had almost forgotten the share of Themistocles in the late successful projects, and looked only to him who carried them into final effect; but Aristides too well knew the precarious tenure of these favours to regard them in any other light than as the means of further service to his Country. This great man foresaw that the war with Persia was likely to be of long duration, and that all the skill and resources of Athens would be required, on various grounds, to maintain it. She had now a peculiar interest in the war, and a double honour to support—her own supremacy amongst the confederates, and her safety from the common enemy, to whom the Athenian territories were particularly exposed, as they formed the frontier of all Greece towards Persia. For this war Aristides foresaw a speedy and extensive want of money. This had been hitherto raised as immediate occasion required, in too large a proportion from Attica itself, and out by any settled and permanent system. The necessity of a regulated scheme of finance throughout the different States of Greece was therefore evident; but the difficulty of accomplishing it amongst nations of interests so various, and who were agreed in no one point lung together, was also sufficiently clear. Aristides was determined, however, to devote himself to this purpose, while his popularity was as high amongst his Countrymen as his general reputation throughout Greece. His arguments for a regular system of finance were no sooner advanced than their truth, and the character of the party proposing them, carried conviction to all parties amongst the confederates; and the different assessments of the several cities were left unreservedly to Aristides himself. The almost unlimited trust thus conferred on one man by so many different nations, all of whom concurred in rendering him the absolute disposer of their treasures, is a circumstance perhaps unparalleled in History. Nor did Aristides show himself unworthy of the power with which he had been honoured. He so completely satisfied all Greece with the equity of his conduct in this affair, that his taxation was emphatically named "the happy lot of Greece," although it amounted in the gross to the heavy sum of four hundred and sixty talents. His influence, indeed, was rather increased than diminished by this exercise of it: he persuaded the States, to conclusion of this business,

to a solemn oath of confederation and alliance, which they readily took. Aristides himself personating his Countrymen, and throwing wedges of red-hot iron into the sea, while he denounced curses from all the Elements against those who should violate one article of the confederation.

The fame of Aristides was now complete. To the applauses of the populace he added the esteem of his wise and prudent throughout Greece; his conduct had not only been the source of astonishing success and ascendancy to his Countrymen in war, but he had originated permanent provisions for their unity, security, and peace. Themistocles, however, could not endure the settled fame of a rival. Although, in the adversity of Aristides or of his Country, he could overlook all jealousies, and had nobly extended his hand to his competitor, he was one of those friends whom prosperity rather tries than multiplies. Envy was his weak side, as a crooked policy was his strong one. Now, too, he could not but feel that the origin of the popularity of Aristides was the effect of his good fortune in executing designs which had cost himself all the pain of conception and the hazard of first development. In a general assembly of the people, we find him venturing this remark with all the point and sarcasm of an eloquent jealousy. "Aristides," he exclaimed, alluding to the circumstance of his having kept secret the designs communicated to him by Themistocles, "possesses the merits, not of a man, but of a money-chest, which only preserves safely what must first be deposited." On another occasion, he remarked to Aristides publicly, "that it was the first excellence in a General to be able to penetrate the designs of an enemy;" to which Aristides replied, that "this was indeed a most necessary qualification, but there appeared to him to be another of equal importance—to have clean hands, and not to be a slave to money;" a reflection which is said to have touched Themistocles to the quick, as he began now to be suspected of intrigues with the rich and powerful enemy of the Greeks, the King of Persia.

Amidst these accustomed dissensions and tumults, the Athenians were nevertheless careful to maintain their newly-acquired supremacy over the Spartans, who, although they could no longer openly contest the prize of superiority, were imprudent enough to indulge in menaces which were sufficient to alarm, but failed of terrifying, their rivals; and several stout galleys were built in consequence. Some time after this, the Spartans, professing to be animated by the common cause of Greece against Persia, accused Themistocles of being concerned with their own King, Pausanias, in a treasonable correspondence with Xerxes. For this offence Themistocles, whose popularity had been some time declining, was tried, and, in the agitation of the question, some transactions were brought to light, which proved clearly that, at least, the guilt of Pausanias, had been known to Themistocles, who never appears, however, to have partaken or encouraged the treason. On the contrary, he had strongly urged upon Pausanias the enormity of his crime, and the necessity of his discontinuing the traitorous correspondence. Of the principal accusation, therefore, he was acquitted; but the suspicion of the people having been once aroused, and Themistocles having ventured to tamper with the highest crime of which a citizen can be guilty,

Aristides and Themistocles.

From A. M. 3515, — 0. O. 459, to A. M. 3555, — a. c. 449. Summary of his fame.

Themistocles accused by Xerxes.

Biography. a taint remained on his character which was never afterwards effaced. From this period his enemies rapidly increased, his friends diminished, and Cimon, who now began to be distinguished as a Patriot, took an active part against the fallen favourite of the people. The Lacedæmonians, who found sufficient cause for their aversion to this great man in the part he had taken in the recent loss of their rank amongst the nations of the confederacy, thought this a happy time to inflame the general animosity which existed against Themistocles. Nor were the jealousies against this great Athenian confined either to Sparta or to the democracy of his own Country. Timocreon, the Comic Poet of Rhodes, found him a popular butt for satire, which many instances of his own imprudent vanity continually fed, and hastened on his ruin. Themistocles, in the pride of his heart, had built a temple in the immediate vicinity of his own house, which he dedicated to Diana, to whom he openly gave the title of "the giver of the best counsel," a circumstance which was interpreted as indicating his complete satisfaction with himself, and his utter contempt of the opinion of the people. The powerful engine of the ostracism, by which Aristides, through his means, had suffered, was not forgotten at this juncture, and Themistocles was banished from Athens, never more to return.

Generosity of Aristides towards him. The last public act of Aristides is found in his generous conduct towards his great rival in his misfortunes. He not only expressed his decided aversion from the conduct of his persecutors, Cimon and Alcmaeon, who used their utmost exertions to bring Themistocles to capital punishment, but was now observed, on all occasions, to speak of Themistocles with more respect than he had ever before avowed for him.

Aware of the danger which might arise to his Country from the perversion of his great talents, and the dastardly means employed by Themistocles to accomplish his purposes, Aristides was an enemy to his principles and his policy; but, the Statesman being banished, Aristides was too great a friend to Virtue to continue his enmity to the man; and it was probably through his determined opposition to the efforts of his accusers, that Themistocles was permitted to leave Athens in safety. About four years after this event Aristides died in peace and in glory in that Country to which he had devoted his whole life, and which, at length, repaid his sufferings and his exertions with its full confidence, and with almost unlimited power. The last honourable testimony to his virtues is found in the recorded fact that, although he was at his decease at the summit of his prosperity, he died poor; the expenses of his funeral were defrayed by the State, and suitable portions were awarded to his son Lyimachus and his two daughters. Some years afterwards a grandson of Aristides was reduced to obtaining a livelihood by explaining divinations and dreams in the public streets.

Enmity of the Lacedæmonians to Themistocles. The enmity of the Lacedæmonians against Themistocles did not end with his banishment. To justify their persecution of him at that period, they pretended that new facts relative to his connection with Panisias had been discovered; and the effects of their aversion were felt by the fallen Statesman whenever he sought refuge. After being driven from one Grecian colony to another, he found a temporary

asylum at the Court of Admetus, King of the Molossians. But here, too, the malignity of the Spartans pursued him. They sent ambassadors to Admetus, denouncing Themistocles as a traitor, and threatening the Molossians with the resentment of the whole Grecian confederacy should they continue to harbour their common enemy; threats too serious to be trifled with, although the monarch entertained much personal respect for Themistocles. Unwillingly he dismissed his friend from his Court; and was only able by private means to assist him with money for his escape. Themistocles was now driven to seek shelter where he had least expectation of finding it, and in a quarter which he had hitherto avoided with considerable anxiety—the Persian Court. Xerxes was dead, but his son and successor was sufficiently aware of the situation of this noble Grecian, and of the importance of having such a man in his power. The active persecutions of the Lacedæmonians followed him, however, in this design. In consequence of their representations, Artaxerxes, having learned the intention of the rejected fugitive to hide himself in Persia, issued a proclamation, offering two hundred talents for his head. Themistocles now saw that a personal interview with the monarch was his only chance of escape. He hastened to seek the Court; and his dangers in travelling towards and through Persia, until he reached it, were numerous and imminent. It is said, that at last he owed his safety to the expedient of being enclosed in a litter, and being conveyed to Persepolis by one Niogenes, an Æolian, as a lady of Ionia, belonging to a Nobleman who attended the king's person. Arrived in safety at the Persian Court, Themistocles had yet another difficulty to overcome, and one that required all his talents and all his courage. The well-founded anger of Artaxerxes was to be subdued, and his favour to be propitiated, should he reach the royal presence; but the minions of a Court were more than likely to anticipate their master's mind, on discovering who he was, and to cut off the last chance of success which he could now hope for. Themistocles presented himself to Artabanns, a Nobleman of the Court in attendance, and solicited an audience of the "Great King." This officer requested to know by what name he should announce the unknown Grecian, observing "that he appeared to be an ordinary person." Themistocles answered with promptitude, "No man must know my name before the King himself;" a confidence of manner which procured him instant admission to Artaxerxes, when the following characteristic speech is attributed to the banished hero. Some writers, indeed, assert that this address to the Persian King was originally contained in a letter sent to Xerxes, whom they state to have been living at the banishment of Themistocles; the former is, however, the more probable account. "I am," said he, undauntedly, "Themistocles the Athenian, banished by my Country, and persecuted by ungrateful Greece! To thee, mighty monarch, I fly for refuge in my misfortunes; and the evils I have committed on the Persians ought to be forgiven, in consideration of the many benefits I have conferred upon them. It was I who hindered the Grecians, after the fatal Battles of Platæa and Salamis, from pursuing the full advantages of their victories, and from following your scattered armies to their utter ruin. After having freed my

Aristides and Themistocles.

From A. M. 3515.

B. C. 499.

A. M. 3555.

B. C. 449.

He seeks shelter at the Persian Court.

Difficulties overcome.

Biography: Country from danger, and found my own highest ambition in making her great amongst her confederates—after being successful in all my designs for the good of Athens. I have been disgraced and banished. Remember, O King, that these very designs have likewise been the means of averting the Athenian arms from Persia, and have enabled me to perform services which must have been highly useful to you, the greatest King on Earth. Since the accomplishment of these actions, all things have conspired to produce and augment my present calamities. Sensible of my distressed situation, I come hither to accept mercy from a great and generous enemy, who hath laid aside his anger, and disdains to remember evils which are past. I implore you, therefore, that (taking the Greeks themselves as witnesses of the services I have done for Persia) you will use this occasion to exhibit to the world the nobleness of your virtue, rather than the greatness of your revenge. By this conduct you will preserve to yourself an humble suppliant; by my destruction you will only shorten the days of a man devoted henceforth to the cause of Persia, and a decided enemy to the Greeks." The immediate reply of the King to this unexpected address is not recorded, but it may be judged to have been favourable from the treatment which the fugitive experienced. In the night following this interview, Artaxerxes is said to have betrayed his joy even in his sleep, by exclaiming thrice, in a voice of exultation, "I have, at length, Themistocles the Athenian in my power." On the next day, the King sent to invite him into his presence, and, with a liberality equal to the boldness and address of his prisoner, he presented him with the exact sum which he offered for his apprehension. "So much," said he, handing him the two hundred talents, "did I promise the man who should bring Themistocles to me; and so much am I in debt to Themistocles himself." The monarch now assured him, by his interpreter, of his future favour; and, with many great promises, desired that he would freely impart to him his sentiments respecting the affairs of Greece, which he was ready to receive through the same channel. This intercourse, however, through a medium which neither party could fully rely upon, the wary Athenian prudently declined, and, by a courtly reply convinced Artaxerxes himself of the impropriety of what he had requested. "Discourse," said Themistocles, "is like a Persian carpet; it never appears to advantage, or is thoroughly seen, except when it is altogether unfitted to the eye: when wrapped up and concealed in the piece, it is not at all to be apprehended." The orator, relying on his own application, and his future powers of eloquence in the language, requested that he might be allowed a year, in which he might employ himself on the Persian Tongue, at the expiration of which time he engaged freely to disclose to the monarch his opinions by his own mouth. This request was readily granted; Themistocles appeared at Court at the appointed time, and then, as well as frequently afterwards, communicated his whole ideas to Artaxerxes concerning the nature of the various governments and nations of the Greeks, their respective characters, resources, and dispositions. So great at length was his influence with the monarch, that his name became proverbial amongst the Persians, as designating a peculiar favourite; and the Kings of Persia, when, in future times, they attempted by promises to

attach any Grecian to their cause, were accustomed to Aristides and Themistocles, and did with Artaxerxes."

The tempting honours of a Court, however, even in his peculiar circumstances, do not appear to have excited Themistocles to any overt act of hostility against his Country. He embraced the worship of the Persians, and submitted to be instructed in the mysteries of their Religion by the Magi, or Priests; and obtained the favour of the Queen-mother as decidedly as that of the King. Riches were profusely showered down upon him from the Throne; and all the secrets and resources of the realm appear to have been confided to him. Three rich cities of the Empire, Magnesia, Myon, and Lampus, were emphatically assigned to him by the King "to furnish him meat, bread, and wine," in reference to the different productions of each. At Magnesia, which brought in yearly a revenue of fifty talents, Themistocles chose to fix his principal residence, and there, in the comfort and gratitude of his heart to his royal patron, living in all the luxury of a Persian Satrap of the first rank, he was said to have frequently exclaimed to his children, "We had been indeed ruined, my little ones, had we not been undone."

Thus splendidly provided for, he died amidst the His death. greatest peace he had ever known, at about the 65th year of his age. Much uncertainty, however, occurs concerning the manner of his death. Ptolemy relates it; thus, and his authority, in this instance, has been generally followed. Artaxerxes, having long planned an expedition against the Grecians, intimated his desire for his friend Themistocles to undertake the supreme command of it; a request which was considered as a positive injunction by Themistocles, who prepared accordingly to assume this important post. But he felt all its awful difficulties. On the one side was a debt of gratitude, which he was now partly required to acknowledge, and which made it impossible for him to refuse to perform this service; on the other, were the recollections of his still-beloved country, against which he was determined never to lift his hand. He therefore made a grand festival, to which he purposely summoned all his friends, when, suddenly, amidst the solemnities of the sacrifice and the accustomed hospitalities to his guests, he is said to have poisoned himself, by swallowing a large vessel of bullock's blood, and thus to have expired, guiltless as to his Country, and (as it was in those barbarous times esteemed) magnanimously and gloriously for himself. Thucydides, who may almost be called a contemporary with Themistocles, speaks doubtfully, however, of the above fact, and says that he died of a distemper, "although," he adds, "some say of poison, voluntarily, aware of his being unable to accomplish what was required of him by the King." At Magnesia, the city wherein he lived, a splendid tomb was erected to his memory; but his remains were conveyed to Athens, by his own express desire; and it must be recorded, as illustrative of his own honour, as well as of that of his Country, that, at his death, the Athenians, forgetting his faults, and mindful of his services alone, erected a magnificent sepulchre over his remains.

The antithesis of character, in the lives of the two great men whose history we have been pursuing, is remarkable, as being exhibited not only in the same general sphere of action, and almost always with the

Aristides and Themistocles.

From A. M. 3915.

B. C. 469. to A. M. 3555. B. C. 449.

Reception of Themistocles by Artaxerxes.

Biography. same final object in view, but also in their different modes of conduct, under the very same circumstances. In the banishment of Aristides, we find his mind undisturbed, his virtue unbending, and his patriotism untainted; whilst we see Themistocles, under the like circumstances, acting indeed with a bold, but not with a direct course, his fortitude subdued by the splendour of a Court, and his patriotism itself becoming as dubious as his policy had formerly been. In prosperity, Themistocles gave a loose to the feelings of personal animosity, and by means of his artifices brought a temporary disgrace upon his rival; whilst Aristides, in the height of his popularity, used his power as a shield to his competitor, never deigned to resent his own individual injuries, but looked still directly forward to the

good of his Country alone. Themistocles was bold and enterprising, but restless and vain glorious; Aristides was rather persevering and cautious in action than ready in invention; perfectly indifferent to all personal vanity, and purely and disinterestedly patriotic. Their different characters were formed on totally different principles; but it must not be forgotten, that the right path pursued by Aristides proved, even in the most miserably scene in which he was destined to act amidst the giddy Athenians, his just and final reward; whilst the devious cunning of Themistocles, though deemed expedient by the justice of its object, led to his own disgrace, and the disappointment of that passion of vain glory which appeared to be nearest his heart.

Aristides
and Themistocles.

From
A. M.
3513.
—
B. C.
489.
to
A. M.
3555.
—
B. C.
449.

C I M O N.

BORN A. M. 3504. B. C. 500. DIED A. M. 3555. B. C. 449.

Biography. THE virtues of Cimón, the son of Miltiades, the Marathonian conqueror, brought him into notice at an earlier age than any other of the Athenian Chiefs of this period. In his youth he was addicted to intemperate and riotous pleasure; but the distresses of his father struck home upon the heart of the son, and awakened that energy of spirit and comprehensiveness of mind for which he was afterwards so eminent amongst his Countrymen. He may be said to have been of royal extraction, for his father Miltiades had been the Sovereign of the Delonæ, and his mother was Hegesippa, the daughter of Olorus, King of Thrace. Although we first hear of him at the period when the ungrateful and unjust Athenians suffered him to remain in prison for his father's debt, being freed by the magnanimity and affection of his half-sister and wife Elpinice, he quickly showed that his patriotism was not deterred by the injustice of his Country. On the second Persian invasion, while the principal citizens of Athens remained yet unmoved by the arguments and remonstrances of Themistocles, who urged them to repair to their fleet as the only means of preserving their liberty, Cimón, then a very young man, convinced of the wisdom of the measure, repaired to the temple, and offered a bribe on the altar of the tutelary goddess of Athens, Minerva, to profess his belief that horses and horsemen were no longer of service in her cause. He then proceeded to remove the portable goods of his family on board the fleet, and induced many of the Athenians to follow his example, until, at length, they all preferred a boundless liberty to a contemptible, though tranquil, slavery under the Persians. It was from the energy he first displayed in this circumstance that Cimón attracted the attention of Aristides. The spirited wisdom and patriotism of so young a man pleased and surprised the philosophic Statesman, and henceforth Aristides took the son of Miltiades under his own immediate tuition and protection. He appears to have discovered in him the early traces of that candour and honesty which he hoped might one day prove a

useful counterbalance against the crafty and devious courses of Themistocles, whose popularity now threatened serious mischief to the State. The hopes and foresight of Aristides were justified in the life and services of Cimón:—even when he became the object of jealousy to the turbulent and envious amongst the Athenians and their demagogues, his integrity was unimpeached by the noblest and wisest of the citizens, and his courage and his talents were held in as high estimation as his honour.

As this noble youth had been bred up in the army, under the experienced eye of his father, he was known to be possessed of considerable military skill, and in the Athenian fleet which achieved the victory of Salamis he sustained a considerable command. We next find his name associated with that of his distinguished friend Aristides in the direction of that important expedition of the confederated Greeks against the Persians, in which the Lacedæmonians lost their ascendancy among the allied forces, and the Athenians obtained it. We have, under the life of Aristides, shown in what manner the virtues of that Statesman contributed to win this honour for his Countrymen, and we must not here forget that Cimón in no small degree aided the plans of his contemporary, by his candour, his generosity, and his courage. Although Aristides, as the older officer and Commander-in-chief of the Athenian force, was the person to whom the irritated and discontented Greeks first officially addressed themselves, it is clear that they considered Cimón, the second in command, as of no little consequence in the furtherance of their object, and Aristides himself was content to share the honour with so noble an assistant in arms and in policy. Returning home in triumph to Athens, the discontent and intrigues of Themistocles against his rival Aristides disturbed the peace of the city, and ended in his own banishment. In this affair the whole influence of Cimón, which now began to be considerable, was exerted in the cause of his friend, believing it to be that of his Country; he equally condemned the mere popular cry, and the sinister means by which Themistocles had so often attained the popular

Cimón.

From
A. M.
3301.
—
B. C.
500.
to
A. M.
3555.
—
B. C.
449.
Taken part
in the victory
of Salamis.

An antagonist
of Themistocles.

His first
public act.

Biography. favour. With these views, Cimon was the person who, of all others, most steadily required that the whole force of the law should be exerted against his selfish policy; the treachery of Themistocles to Athenians he considered to be clearly proved, and his connection with Pausanias he deemed worthy of death.

On the decision of this case, Athens was left comparatively in peace. She had attained a rank amongst the confederate States, to which she was doubtless entitled by the superior talents of the chiefs whom she had sent to the common war, by the magnitude of the force she had risked, and by the greater severity of her sufferings. It now became the chief duty of her Chiefs to support her liberties and her supremacy from encroachment at home, no less than to defend her territories from outrage or insult abroad. Themistocles was an outlaw, and Aristides, oppressed with a long life of toil, chose rather to promote the increasing power of Cimon, his friend and disciple, than, by again wielding it himself, to risk the well-earned but precarious honours he had acquired. Thus every thing seemed to prepare the path of Cimon to the highest distinction; and, soon after the banishment of Themistocles, we find him in a most important command. At this time the Athenians judged it prudent to fit out an expedition for the relief of those Grecian colonies in Asia which were still under the dominion of their great enemy the Persian King. Such was the ostensible object of their hostile preparations, but it has been justly thought that the real motive was, that they might, under cover of this expedition, still keep on foot a powerful navy, and obtain the immense riches which they were well aware the skill of their officers and the bravery of their troops would win from those Countries upon which they had their eye. Without, therefore, being suspected of any other views than those publicly avowed, the Athenians were, by these means, sustaining their internal power and annoying the common enemy to the partial advantage of all Greece, although they resped in their own State the immediate and most important benefits. As none of the Athenian Commanders was now more eminent than Cimon, and none so active in the equipment of the fleet, to him was given the supreme direction of it; the first uncontrolled military power he ever possessed. He now sailed to Eion, a town of much commercial importance, in the mouth of the river Strymon, where he defeated a considerable body of Thracians, but was disappointed in his hopes of plunder; for the Persian Commander, dreading the revenge of the Athenians for their own burned towns and pillaged Country, set fire to the city, and himself, his garrison, and the principal property of the place, were consumed to ashes, or otherwise destroyed. Cimon, however, made every possible advantage of a devastated country, and rescued not a little spoil from the general destruction. He then attacked and reduced the island of Scyros in the *Ægean sea*, and is said to have brought with great care, from this place, the bones of Theseus, the companion of Hercules and the founder of the Athenian monarchy. On his return to Athens, he caused them to be interred with considerable magnificence, attended by all the public authorities. In these expeditions, as a whole, he must have gained considerable spoil; for, notwithstanding the burning of Eion, and the unimportance and barrenness of the

island of Scyros, he found means, shortly after his return, to increase the number of his fleet to three hundred ships. With this force he sailed direct for Caria, conquering wherever he came, and obtained immense riches. But his attention became attracted by the report that a considerable Persian fleet had been collected by Artaserzes off the Pamphylian coast, and an army on the adjacent shore. So much, however, was the power of the Persian monarch reduced by the late defeats, that this armament seems to have been entirely designed to act on the defensive, and not to have undertaken any active operations against the Greeks; at this time it was understood to be waiting the reinforcement of eighty Phœnician galleys. Cimon immediately determined to attack the enemy in this state of weakness. Upon his appearance on the coast, the Persians at first boldly advanced to meet him; but the renown of the Athenian General, and the remembrance of their own repeated defeats, struck a sudden panic throughout their crews. They hastily retreated towards the shore, abandoned their ships to the mercy of the Greeks, and sought protection amongst the army. Cimon, having first directed his men to take possession of the vessels, now landed in his turn, and attacked the Persians on shore. An obstinate contest ensued; but victory was at length declared in favour of the Greeks; and thus Cimon achieved the singular distinction of having accomplished two victories in one day.

These battles are considered by Historians to have been equal to those of Plataea and Salamis, in the skill and courage displayed on the part of the Athenians, and in the loss and disgrace sustained by the enemy; but it is much to be regretted that every detailed account of them has perished with their authors. Plutarch mentions that, after these signal instances of his good fortune and courage, Cimon captured the eighty Phœnician vessels in a port of Cyprus, remarkably well calculated for their defence, and conducted back to his Country two hundred ships laden with the spoil of his numerous victories.

Immensely enriched by this booty, the Athenians now undertook several Works of public importance, which stood for Ages the monuments of Cimon's valour; while his own share of the spoil enabled this noble chief to give the reins to his unrivalled generosity and magnificence. With the general appropriated spoil of the enemy, the South wall of the city was built, and ample foundations laid for the walls which afterwards vaulted the port to the city. The ground being marshy whereon these latter Works were intended to be erected, immense stones and fragments of rock were sunk to a considerable depth; the expense of these laborious efforts increased as they proceeded, and, had not the public treasury been at this time so unusually supplied, every idea of completing them must have been relinquished. Cimon is said to have undertaken, from his own individual share of the spoil, many other Works for the improvement of Athens. He beautified that part of the citadel which looked towards the South; he adorned the Agora with plantations of palm-trees; and surrounded the schools with various pleasant and sumptuous parades and plantations. To him also was Athens indebted for the first of those buildings known by the name of "porticos," which afterwards contri-

Cimon.
From
A. M.
3504.
—
B. C.
500,
to
A. M.
3555.
—
B. C.
449.

Victory
over the
Persians off
Pamphylia.

A. M.
3534.
—
B. C.
470.

Gradually
rises to
supreme
power.

Commands
the fleet.

Biography. buted so greatly to the ornament of the city, and the amusement of the citizens. Several of them were constructed, under his direction, in the highest style of Architecture; and, in the general encouragement of this as well as other branches of the Fine Arts, he demonstrated the elegance of his taste, no less than the generosity of his disposition.

In private life this illustrious Athenian is said also to have been distinguished for his liberality. The citizens were reminded of the magnificence of Pisistratus in his manner of living, although his motives were universally allowed to be free from the ambitious views of that Tyrant. He dismissed the keepers, threw

down the walls, and levelled the enclosures of his parks and gardens, permitting every citizen of Athens indiscriminately to partake of their productions. His noble table was open even to the poorest classes; for it was a constant custom with Cimon to invite all those citizens to his supper whom he saw at the Agors unbidden to any other. In his walks through the city he is said to have been attended by young men bearing purses of money for the relief of the indigent; and who were themselves constantly well dressed, for the purpose of changing their clothes with the destitute: sometimes he was even known to give away his own mantle on the spot to particular objects of charity. These generousies were administered with a delicacy that always adapted them to the occasion: he would often take an opportunity to convey money privately into the pockets of individuals, or exchange his own robe, by way of friendship, with that of another. It has been well remarked, that by this conduct he at once evinced that he gained his money well, as he knew how to use it well; and that he so used it, in fact, as to acquire the power of gaining more.

His popularity does not appear, however, to have diminished his independence in point of principle; brought up in the school of Aristocracy, he rigidly adhered to his first principles as a Statesman, now convinced by more experience of their truth; and, amidst all his kindness and profusion to the people, he disdained to flatter their vices, and was ever foremost to repress their power. He thought the Democracy of the Athenian Constitution already far too powerful, and was ever on the watch lest, in still further encroaching on the privileges of the Nobles, it should finally overwhelm the real liberties of his Country. Disciples of the same school, the conduct and characters of Aristides and Cimon were a similar rigidity on these points, although the circumstances under which they enforced them were widely different. The elder Statesman, by his voluntary poverty, showed a haughty superiority over money, and Cimon, in the midst of unbounded riches, at once preserved his integrity, and exhibited his contempt for them from an opposite pole.

It was at this time, and by these means, that Cimon attained the summit of power in Athens. His last expedition had brought so great a mass of wealth into the city, that all the corruptions of indolence and luxury followed, and he himself, of all the Athenians, appeared the only exception to their influence. With luxury, however, came power, which the people now felt so conscious of possessing, that they suffered no indignity from other States to pass unnoted for or unrevenged. No sooner, therefore, was it known at Athens that the Per-

sians had again invaded the Chersonesus, and, by the help of the Thracians, had completely overrun the Country, than Cimon was immediately sent thither to expel them. This expedition he undertook with only four ships, over which the Persians anticipated an easy triumph. But the Athenian leader supplied in skill, and his troops in courage, what they wanted in actual force. He attacked the enemy suddenly, took thirteen of their ships in a few hours, with a trifling loss, and proceeded to the reduction of the Chersonesus. Another contest and another triumph now presented themselves to his arms. The people of Thasos, a small but fertile island in the Ægean sea, had revolted from the dominion of the Athenians, and, in the heat of the Persian war, had seized on the gold-mines which lay between the rivers Strymon and Nyssus, on the boundaries of Macedonia and Thrace.

In preparation for a war against this people, Cimon availed himself extensively of an expedition, with regard to the naval forces of the Greeks, which had already, with little expense, considerably increased the power and influence of Athens. According to the system of alliance perfected by Aristides, the different proportions and number of ships to be furnished for the general defence, by each separate State of the Confederacy, was distinctly mentioned. Now, however, that the Greeks felt themselves free from the immediate pressure of external danger, their exertions to provide against it began to slacken; and, on their contribution to the general force being required, many States were found to offer a sum of money to the Athenians, whom they solicited to furnish the necessary quota in their stead. Cimon was too wise a Statesman to neglect this opportunity of strengthening the naval power of his Country. He generally took the money and built the vessels, dispensing also with the personal services of those of the confederates who were willing to pay for substitutes to the war, whom he gladly enlisted from amongst his own citizens. Thus were his Countrymen inured to hardships and to warfare; and the fleet of Athens, for a considerable time, made superior to that of any other Power in the world. It was thus, as it were, single-handed, that the Athenians now appeared before Thasos, and the revolt of the inhabitants was immediately quelled. Cimon then not only possessed himself of the gold-mines which the Thasians had seized, but planted a large colony of Athenians in the conquered Country, and built a city there which he called Amphipolis, diffusing the fame, and extending the influence and the power of the Athenians even to the borders of Macedon itself. He finally retired from this war laden with considerable spoils, and was hailed by Athens as the most fortunate of her successful Chiefs.

Shortly after his return to Athens, an opportunity occurred to Cimon which enabled him to show at once his generosity to a rival Power, and to demonstrate publicly his own principles of government. The Helots, or slaves of the Spartans, had rebelled against their lordly masters, and had raised a tumult in the State dangerous to its very existence. In this distress the Lacedæmonians applied to Athens for assistance in reducing the revolvers to obedience, a request which occasioned great disputes in the city. The popular party, through their favourite Orator Ephialtes, utterly opposed the grant of assistance. They urged that Sparta had always been, and, from the aristocratic nature of her principles and Constitution, must ever continue to be,

Cimon.

From
A. M.
3504.
—
B. C.
500.
to
A. M.
3555.
—
B. C.
449.

Plans for
the aggrava-
tion of
his Coun-
try.

Expedition
to Thasos.

At the sum-
mit of his
power.

Biography. the rival and enemy of Athens; and that the pride and insolent cruelty of her people had driven their slaves into a rebellion which it was neither for the interest nor the honour of a free nation to assist in quelling. On the other side, Cimon, excited by gratitude to the Spartans, who had given him so decided a support in his contention with Themistocles, and his own sense of the true policy of Athens, earnestly pressed upon his Countryman to succour their confederates, designating Sparta as "the other eye of the noble Grecian head." He extolled the virtue and magnanimity of the action, in the present situation of Athens, and so fully convinced the Athenians of the propriety of his views, that they sent the Orator himself, at the head of a powerful army, to yield the Spartans the required succour. This service Cimon performed with his accustomed prudence and success, and returned from the expedition with the applauses of all Greece. A circumstance happened, not long afterwards, which aggravated the dormant spirit of rivalry between Sparta and Athens, and in which Cimon himself did not escape without a considerable share of blame. The Lacedæmonians had engaged in the siege of Ithome, which holding out with unexpected obstinacy, they again solicited assistance from the Athenians, and were successful in their request. Cimon and a numerous body of troops were once more marched off to their assistance. In the mean time, however, and before the Athenian army arrived at the scene of action, the other confederates of Sparta had joined the troops before the town, and the siege was soon brought to a successful termination. The Lacedæmonians, ever proud, and particularly jealous of Athens since her late attainment of ascendancy, dismissed the General and his army without any tokens of respect or gratitude; an affront which struck deep into the minds of the Athenians, and contributed in no small degree to that inveterate hatred which afterwards arose between the two Countries.

Intigues against him. The Athenians now carried on war in two different places, and with two different nations. The contest with Ægina, a powerful State, which ill brooked the new domination of the Athenians, was renewed; and the war with Persia continued with unabated rancour in Egypt, which had revolted from the Persian yoke, and solicited help from Athens. These important affairs abroad did not, however, so completely occupy their attention, but that their domestic disputes ran occasionally as high as ever. Cimon, succeeding to the honours and to the duties of Aristides, was the leader of the Aristocracy of Athens, and ever gloried in their cause; whilst Pericles and Ephialtes, both men of powerful talents, were, at the head of the Democratic party, continually endeavouring to thwart his plans and to increase their own power. The leaders of this party saw at last no expedient so desirable as that of disheartening themselves altogether of him whose virtues, no less than his political sentiments, were the most formidable barriers to their schemes. To the ultimate baseness therefore of Cimon every effort was directed. A specious charge was devised against him, and the desperate and heedless judgment of the ostracism was again resorted to to expel her noblest son from Athens. He was accused of treason to the State, in having received money or presents from the Macedonians, in consequence of which he had declined to push his success so far as he might otherwise have done, after

his obtaining possession of the gold-mines of Thasos in Thrace. The defence of Cimon was noble and simple. He alleged that he had at all times prosecuted the war in Thrace to the utmost of his power, and on all other occasions where he had been honoured by a command; but frankly acknowledged that he had not made inroads into Macedonia, which he could not consider as the enemy of Athens, merely because it was the neutral ally of Persia, unless he had acted as the public enemy of mankind. He avowed, too, that he regarded the Macedonians, as a people, with considerable respect; they were civilized and modest in their manners, rigidly just in their dealings, and strictly honourable in all their past transactions with the Athenians. "If," concluded our noble-minded Orator, "the Athenian people regard this conduct as criminal, I am ready to submit to the punishment they choose to inflict; but their judgment can never alter my conviction of right and wrong." In this trial Ephialtes, the generous rival of the accused, warmly engaged; and condescended to solicit, amongst other of the leading citizens, even Pericles himself on his behalf. But every effort was unavailing with an Athenian populace. The open and candid mind of Cimon had prompted him to avow, on various occasions, his partiality for the Aristocratic principles of Sparta, and her Peloponnesian dependencies; he had even named his eldest son Lacedæmonius, and his two others, Thessalus and Eleia. These circumstances arguing some indiscretion, perhaps, and certainly no illiberal patriotism, contributed to increase the clamour against him. A faint remembrance of former services alone seems to have saved the hero from capital punishment, but he was sentenced to be banished for the usual term of ten years; and the Democracy and their leaders were thus gratified in their envy and released from their fears. Cimon, on his part, retired to a lordship which he possessed in the Chersonesus, a barbarous Country, where he lived perfectly free of access, but keeping up an armed and vigilant household; still also regarding that Country with an anxious eye which was destined to become the scene of his final glory.

The exile of Cimon was the signal long expected by Ephialtes and the Democracy to begin their meditated attack upon the High Court of Areopagus, which, being composed of the nobler and graver citizens, had hitherto kept some check both on the manners and on the power of the people. This Court they considerably limited in its jurisdiction and privileges; and many of the causes of which it had hitherto taken cognizance were transferred to the general assembly of the citizens. But not long had these events left the Democratic party without control, before we find the smothered jealousy between Athens and Sparta once more breaking out into an open flame, which was rapidly communicated to all the surrounding States. When the sudden troops of the rival nations had assembled before Thasos, a town of Ægeia, and had disposed themselves in order of battle, Cimon, the banished Patriot, unexpectedly appeared amongst his friends, completely armed, and ready again to risk that life in the service of his Country which had been disgraced by his decree. Murmurs of discontent immediately arose; his enemies declared that, as his term of banishment was not fulfilled, it was unlawful for him to mingle with the

Cimon.

From
A. M.
3504.R. C.
509,
to
A. M.
3555,
R. C.
449.His banish-
ment.A. M.
3543.
R. C.
469.Sudden re-
appearances.

Biography.

From
A. M.
3504.
—
B. C.
500.
to
A. M.
3555.
—
B. C.
449.

defenders and champions of his Country; they accused him of a design to join the Lacedæmonians, his friends, and asserted that he came to the field with no other purpose. The prudence of Cimon, ever equal to his valour, alone prevented a complete division in his camp. Aware of the tumult likely to arise between his friends, who insisted upon his remaining amongst them, and his enemies, who execrated his presence, he removed the cause of the quarrel by voluntarily retiring, after having exhorted his immediate dependents and admirers to behave with their utmost valour in the approaching battle. Euthippus, one of his warmest friends, only requested him to confide to them his armour, to be borne before them in the field; and in the arduous contest which followed, unfortunate as the event proved to the Athenians, his renown was well sustained in their use of this trophy. The little band of Cimon's friends, commanded by the valiant and noble Euthippus, performed prodigies of valour throughout the day. They bore the armour of their leader safe, as long as they themselves possessed life, and when they fell, as at length all of them did, the sacred trust of friendship and of patriotism was surrounded with their lifeless bodies.

After this disastrous action, the war between Athens and Sparta became general, and of very fluctuating success. The Democratic leaders, by whose artifices Cimon had been banished, began to be distrustful of their own talents for subduing the storm which they had raised, and well aware of the mutual respect which subsisted between the Spartans and the exiled Patriot, they looked to him as a mediator. The common people, too, were not without remembrance of his minifcence, and the effect of his exhortation and of his gift of honour to his friends at Tanagra was recent in their remembrance. Pericles himself moved for the recall of Cimon from banishment, when only five years of his prescribed term of exile had elapsed; he was invited to his Country by an honourable deputation, and to the immediate direction of its councils.

One of the first duties to which this great man addressed himself was the establishment of Peace. Negotiations were directly opened between the Spartan and Athenian Chiefs; but so violent was the animosity excited, and so numerous were the different parties to be consulted and reconciled, that three years of predatory and intermittent war followed before the preliminaries were adjusted. At length, however, a Treaty, or rather a Truce, for five years, was formally concluded and confirmed between the contending nations. From this time to the death of Cimon the Athenian affairs may be said to be under his direction and that of his former rival Pericles conjointly, and the wisdom and steadiness of the measures pursued proved the union to be most auspicious for Athens. A third wall was added, with considerable expense and labour, to the fortifications which joined Athens to the ports, to prevent an enemy, who should penetrate to the two harbours on that side of the city, either reaching the citadel or seizing the fleet. An important addition to the military strength of his Country was accomplished also at this time, in the re-organization of the Athenian cavalry. The naval strength of Athens her leaders well knew to be her best protection from foreign power, but, in order to oppose internal struggles of influence, it was clear that a land-force also was necessary; and it is

remarkable in the life of this great Athenian, that he who began his military career anxious to devote everything to the augmentation of the navy, now as warily devoted all his energies to restore the just consideration of this her other important arm of strength. He sacrificed a bride to Minerva in youth, and she seems to have restored him one in his age.

In the midst of these exertions for his Country's good and the general progress of civilization, Cimon was destined, however, to feel daily the obloquution which arose to his plans from the re-lesse and fiercer spirits of Athens being, for the greater part, unemployed. Numbers of the citizens, who had formerly subsisted on the spoils of an enemy, were now poor and idle, yet luxurious in their habits, the corrupters of Athenian morals, and the handi of the neighbourhood. Cimon had ever viewed the internal wars of the confederates themselves as a wretched employment of their military power; he had succeeded in his project for planting a large colony of the Athenians on his own Chersonesian territories, and that measure had at once relieved the city from its excessive population in some degree and proved beneficial to his own individual interest; but the increase of the idle and dissolute was yet alarming, and the dominion which Persia, the common enemy of Greece, still exercised over many of the Grecian cities, seems to have pointed out to Cimon the only legitimate object on which to employ them. With these motives he himself raised and manned a fleet of two hundred galleys, assumed the supreme command, and despatched sixty of them, under Amyntes, Chief of the Egyptians of the marches, to enable that officer to maintain his independence against the Persian power. With the remaining part of this force he sailed to Cyprus, and laid siege to the city of Citium in that island, defeating in his way, near Salamis, a Persian squadron of Phœnician and Cilician ships that had the temerity to attack him. The life of Cimon was devoted to close before the walls of Citium, but in death he forgot not the welfare of his Country; conscious of his approaching end, and aware that a scarcity of provisions in his camp was likely to produce disorder or other fatal consequences, he issued a number of preparatory orders to avert or mitigate the calamity, as well as to facilitate the safe re-embarkation of the troops. That these directions might be the better obeyed, he gave positive injunctions that his death should be concealed awhile from the soldiers, and that everything should proceed, as usual, in his name as their General. In pursuance of these instructions, the Athenian army moved towards the sea. On their march, when attacked by the Persians, they totally routed them, and here first missing him personally, they still ascribed the victory to the excellence of the plans of Cimon and the greatness of his renown.

As Marcus Brutus is emphatically entitled in History Character. "the last of the Romans," with equal, or greater propriety may the hero of this memoir be called "the last of the Grecians." With him fell the rigid honour and disinterested patriotism of his Country. If his prototype Aristides was styled the just, Cimon scarcely deserved that epithet less than he. If Themistocles was rapid in action and prudent in design, Cimon not only rivalled him in each of these qualities. The valour of his great ancestor Miltiades was well sustained in his person, and the magnificence of Pausanias without

Cimon.
From
A. M.
3504.
—
B. C.
500.
to
A. M.
3555.
—
B. C.
449.

A. M.
3555.
—
B. C.
449.
Last expedition
to Cyprus, and

Returns to
Athens.

A. M.
3549.
—
B. C.
455.

Biography. his ambition; but in the purity and discrimination of his patriotism we find, perhaps, his highest praise. His attachment to Athens, his own particular Country, was apparent in every action; his philanthropy was not a dilution of his patriotism; it did not teach him to affect a love of all men, until he was useful to none, nor did his patriotism extinguish his philanthropy; but there was room enough in his heart for the faith and friendship which he bore to Sparta and the other

From
A. M.
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Grecian States; and the rigid justice with which the rights of all civilized and neutral nations, as in the case of Macedonia, were acknowledged and respected by him. Such was the character of this enlightened Heathen; a pattern of excellence to heroes of a better Faith. His triumphant but mournful army carried his relics to Athens, where a sumptuous monument was decreed to their honour, and long known and venerated by the almost sacred name of "Cimonæia."

Cimon.
From
A. M.
3504
—
B. C.
500,
to
A. M.
3555.
—
B. C.
449.

PERICLES.

SON A. M. 3505. B. C. 499. DIED A. M. 3575. B. C. 429.

Biography. THE life of this celebrated chieftain is connected with no small portion of the History of the Athenian State. By this splendour of his talents he raised himself to an eminence in Athens never surpassed, and at length became almost its absolute master. During his administration the Republic was rendered completely a Dictatorship; his private favourites, and particularly his mistress, Aspasia, disposed of every post of honour or emolument in the State; and the affairs of his Country became most ingloriously and disgracefully a record of his personal actions, and comprised in his life. The little that remained of an Aristocracy in their Constitution was destroyed, during this period, by the Athenians; and, dazzled by his eloquence, they plunged into that fatal war with the Peloponnesians, which, in the event, proved the ruin of their Country.

Pericles was the son of Xanthippus, (the famous Athenian who had been named with Aristides to consult with Themistocles on his secret projects, and who commanded at the Battle of Mycale,) by his wife Agarista, the niece of Clisthenes, who had been instrumental in terminating the tyranny of the Pisistratidae. He had the misfortune to resemble Pisistratus in person, and, from this cause alone, was constrained for a long time to conceal his shining talents; for so violent was the general prejudice against the memory of that Tyrant, that the abilities of Pericles would only have increased the popular jealousy which the likeness of his person to Pisistratus could not have failed to arouse. Though his extraction, therefore, was noble, his qualifications great, and his interest in the city extensive, (for many of his near relations filled the first of the magisterial offices in Athens,) Pericles was constrained to cultivate, in a long retirement, his evident talents for public life; and thus, perhaps, to ensure a more certain and more durable distinction. Meanwhile, he studied politics under Damon, whose profession was that of a Poet and Musician, but whose inclinations and researches were strongly political, and who appears to have been well acquainted with the principles and history of the Athenian government. Nor did his noble pupil omit to acquire, amidst these practical studies, those of a more elegant and engaging kind; for, under the famous Philosopher Anaxagoras, he made considerable proficiency in Astronomy and Natural History, and fully accomplished himself in the Art of Oratory. Thus prepared, an occasion was at last offered to Pericles to emerge from his

obscurity. Aristides was no more, Themistocles in banishment, and Cimon, the invigorating soul of the Republic, was abroad, when the Democratic party, which had been overawed by the authority and the unusual success of Cimon, began, in his absence, to raise disturbances against his character and government. They only wanted a leader to complete their schemes, and Pericles was but too well fitted to become the demagogue of such a people. He had carefully avoided all offices of the magistracy, and become, on that account, the more suitable assailant of the Aristocracy. The turbulent and jealous people saw a man amongst them affecting no superiority, and who had attempted no power, but whose noble birth and high accomplishments would richly have entitled him to both. His first measure, the procurement of a decree for Cimon's banishment, was decisive of his success as an Orator, and indicative of his character as a politician. The whole machinery of a well-managed intrigue was here at once brought into action, and completely over-matched the honest and candid course of Cimon. Pericles, indeed, affected, before the general assembly, to speak lightly of the accusation against his rival, while he secretly fermented and rejoiced at his condemnation; and when Elpinice, the sister of Cimon, solicited him on behalf of her accused brother, he is said to have replied, with a contemptuous lightness, "You are become, madam, a little too old to be employed on occasions such as these."

Some time before the banishment of Cimon, Ephialtes, an Orator of the Democratic party, encouraged, it is supposed, by Pericles, whose time for an attack of this kind was yet scarcely arrived, had disseminated amongst the people various calumnies against the High Court of the Areopagus, but now, on the fall of this last advocate for the Aristocracy, Pericles was determined to pursue bolder measures. The organization and authority of that Court, exercising an unrestricted jurisdiction in the punishment of many popular crimes, were such as to render it a strong check upon the people. None could be admitted a member of this august tribunal who was not universally esteemed as amongst the most noble and most worthy of the citizens; those who had discharged the high office of Archon with honour, or, at least, some other eminent magistracy of the State. Pericles, as we have seen, was of a noble family, but was not qualified to become a Judge of the Areopagus, on account of his not having

Pericles.
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—
B. C.
499.
to
A. M.
3575.
—
B. C.
429.
Occasion of his first advancement.

Singular resemblance of Pericles to Pisistratus.

Biography. been elected to any office of importance. To his envious desires for this dignity, operating against his inadmissibility to it, historians have attributed his aversion from its existence, and it is certain that this only remaining boundary to the wild tide of popular power was almost entirely beaten down by his exertions. He quickly procured, in conjunction with Ephialtes, a decree to limit the power of this Court, shortly after which the latter was assassinated, and his murder has been, by some writers, imputed to Pericles. In justice to this Chief, we must, however, observe, that historians generally ascribe his death to the revenge of the Nobles, who neglected in him the only party they could reach, and who anticipated, in this diminution of the power of the Areopagus, the total extinction of their influence in Athens.

A war now commenced between the Athenians and the Epidaurians, in which the Corinthians declared themselves in favour of the latter. In this conflict the Athenians gained two victories, and then sent a fleet against their old rivals, the Egineans, on the suspicion of their having secretly assisted the Corinthians. Here, also, the Athenian arms were successful, and their enemies purchased a Peace by an acknowledgment of Athenian supremacy. During these transactions, Pericles was the most popular man at home, commanding all the resources of his Country; and this contest, short as it was, became highly important in its consequences, as it aggravated the rising spirit of internal discord throughout Greece, and was one of the co-operating causes of the Peloponnesian War.

Athens had reached the summit of her glory, when the turbulent and giddy spirit of the people, who, by the efforts of Pericles and Ephialtes, had now become possessed of unlimited power, was no longer to be controlled by any prudence, or by any sense of honour. The supposed insults which the Lacedæmonians had offered to them, from the time of Themistocles until now, were brought before them in inflammatory harangues, and the people and their leader, Pericles, awaited, with like impatience, an opportunity of revenge. In such dispositions neither men nor States are long in finding occasion of quarrel; either the weakness or strength of a rival will furnish it. The Spartans had sent a large army against the Phocians, and being thus, in some measure, unguarded at home, the Athenians chose this as an appropriate time to commence their attack. Collecting the force of the Argives and the Thessalonians, they raised a fleet of fifty ships, sailed direct for the Peloponnesian isthmus, and there landed and encamped an army of 14,000 men, which, seizing the customary passes of the Country, made the return of the Lacedæmonian army from Phocia impossible without a combat. To the encounter, therefore, the Spartans, commanded by Nicias, and consisting of 11,000 men, advanced; but still, in their efforts to avoid an actual battle with the Athenians, they endeavoured to affect a countermarch to Tanagra, in Boeotia. Here the Spartan chief first addressed himself to the Nobles of Athens, who had altogether and from the first disapproved of this expedition of their Countrymen; but the Athenian army, on their side, suspecting such a correspondence, hastened also to Tanagra, and before the walls of that town the rival armies met. A battle now became inevitable; the first action which took place between these two

principal States of Greece, each of whom, whilst they were in alliance, had proved an essential safeguard to the liberties of the other, and those of all the surrounding nations. It was in the preparation for this battle that Pericles and the popular party prevented the noble offers of Cimon from being accepted, although the renown of that great man was increased rather than diminished in the event. It is evident, too, that the Athenian camp was much divided; the Thessalian horse deserted their cause at the commencement of the action, and, adding so much weight to the Spartan side as it took away from the Athenians, contributed, in no small degree, to render the battle long and bloody, and to give the obstinately-disputed victory at length to the Spartans. The Athenians were ultimately obliged to retreat from the Peloponnesus with considerable loss, and the Spartans were glad to return to their city, to recruit themselves after so rude an encounter.

The animosity between the rival nations was rather exacerbated than allayed by these mutual losses, and a fresh pretence for war soon afterwards arose. The Thebans, who, on account of their having allied themselves with the Persian King on his late invasion of Greece, had lost their own independency and the government of Boeotia, now applied to the Lacedæmonians to be restored to their ancient privileges, and promising faithful alliance and obedience to the Peloponnesian cause in gratitude for the favour. This, which the Spartans readily granted, the Athenians, who had been the cause of the degradation of Thebes, took upon themselves to resent. An army was sent into Boeotia, under Myronides the son of Callias; and it is evident that, respecting this second expedition against the cause of Sparta, much internal disagreement again took place in Athens. Notwithstanding the exertions of the popular party, many of those persons who had been elected to serve in the army of Myronides refused to attend; and that General, when urged to halt, in hopes of their ultimately joining him, replied, "That it became not a leader of such a people as the Athenians to wait for those who would at last come unwillingly, if they came at all; for it was to be expected that these would be as tardy in attacking the enemy as they had been in reinforcing their friends; while, with the few who were ardent in the cause, victory might surely be anticipated." Nor were his predictions falsified by the event; for, although a powerful and well-disciplined force of the Thebans sustained an obstinate and bloody combat, the victory was at last as complete on the side of the Athenians as any they had hitherto achieved. The army, though exhausted by this conflict, was still in a condition to march to Tanagra, the scene of their late disastrous contest. This place was now taken by storm, and its walls were levelled with the ground; nor did the troops of the expedition return to Athens until they had ravaged all Boeotia, as a punishment for its connection with Sparta. So great, indeed, was the emulation now excited amongst the Athenians, in the annoyance of their Lacedæmonian rivals, that their natural enemy the Persians appears to have been forgotten in the general tumult; and the success of one expedition against their former allies was only the exciting cause of another. The naval Commanders of Athens, emulating the honours of the land force, requested, through Tolomides, the Admiral, a fleet of fifty galleys, to be manied with 1000 men;

Pericles.
From
A. M.
3503.
—
n. c.
499.
to
A. M.
3575.
—
n. c.
429.

Athenian
armament
under
Myronides.

Ravages
Boeotia.

Origin of
the Peloponnesian
War.

Battle of
Tanagra.

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Dugoby

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B. C.
429.

he quickly collected, however, volunteers to the amount of 4000. With this force he sailed for the coast of Laconia, a part of the Peloponnesian territories, and nearer to Sparta itself than any other yet attempted by the Athenian arms. Here the Admiral landed his troops, and took possession of a town called Methone, which, however, he was soon obliged to relinquish on the approach of a Spartan army. He now sailed for Gythium, another sea-port belonging to the Lacedæmonians, which he took by surprise, burned the town, the shipping, and all the naval stores; and, having ravaged the adjacent country, re-embarked, and attacked Zacynthus, and several smaller towns in its neighbourhood, with similar success. In Naupactus, which capitulated to his arms, he settled a colony of Messenians, and then led back his troops, laden with treasure, to Athens, intoxicated with the triumph of their Country. In these expeditions we do not, indeed, find the name of Pericles mentioned individually, but he was certainly the most popular leader of the party which at this time ruled Athens, and directed these measures, whatever were their merits.

Pericles in-
vades the
Pelopon-
nesus.

The second invasion of the Peloponnesus was undertaken by Pericles himself. One thousand men were embarked on board a squadron of ships which lay at the Bay of Pagæ, and the command of this force was given to Pericles, with the general intention of protecting the friends of Athens by the way, and annoying her enemies in the Peloponnesus. Directing his course across the Corinthian Gulf, he immediately landed the troops on the territory of Silyon, where the inhabitants of that place, scorning the protection which their walls might have afforded, marched out at once to give him battle on behalf of their Country and themselves. The Athenian General, however, quickly routed their force, and plundered the country around. Having then recruited his army with a considerable body of Achæans, he re-embarked, and made an attempt upon Enisade, on the Acarnanian coast, in which, although he was unsuccessful, he was rewarded with a large booty, an object which was now become one of principal importance in this desultory and precarious mode of warfare.

On the return of Pericles to Athens, he found the Aristocracy of the Country regaining their influence over the citizens, and warmly advocating the necessity of Peace amongst the Grecian States. The banished Cimon was proposed by them as the only man from whose mediation with the Spartans they could hope for the accomplishment of this object; other circumstances, as we have related in the life of Cimon, contributed to swell the popular voice for his recall, and Pericles, rather, perhaps, in compliance with the wishes of a people whom he must obey if he aspired to govern, than from any conviction or inclination of his own mind, was the person foremost to propose the restoration of his illustrious rival. From the period of Cimon's return from exile in the time of his death, he shared with Pericles the general administration of affairs. The Truce with Sparta, the attack and defeat of the Persian fleet and army, the landing of the Athenians under Cimon at Cyprus, together with the internal improvements which, during that time, took place at Athens, are related under the Life of Cimon. If Pericles, as Historians suppose, had any share in accomplishing these events, although they seem rather to have been dic-

He is as-
sociated with
Cimon in
the Govern-
ment

tated by the wisdom and integrity of his coadjutor, they are strong evidences that a prudent adviser was alone wanting to this chieftain to have made him solidly useful to his Country, in her peaceful as well as in her warlike pursuits. About the time of Cimon's death Pericles was employed in restoring the common federal Government, which had subsisted amongst the several towns in the Province of Phocia over the Treasury and Oracle of Delphi. This the Lacedæmonians, had imprudently destroyed, and awarded the whole possession of the Temple and the administration of the sacred rights to the city of Delphi alone. The force, however, which marched under Pericles into Phocia soon restored the ancient domination, and happily without bloodshed either in the present arrangement or its consequences; for the Spartans, conscious, perhaps, of the wrong they had committed, suffered the Athenians to pass unmolested to their object, to which they, in their turn, strictly confined themselves.

But the death of Cimon was the signal for fresh internal disturbances in Greece, and even amongst the Athenians themselves. To that great Athenian, latterly, Pericles had been contented to assign the palm of superiority; and the good understanding which subsisted, in appearance at least, between these leaders of two opposite factions, satisfied the Nobles and overawed the Democracy. Now, however, some of the principal citizens of Cimon's party ill brooked the authority to which Pericles succeeded. Amongst others, we find Thucydides the Historian standing forward as a leader of the Aristocratical party, which assumed its old distinctiveness, until the two contending factions shook the safety of Athens to its base. Various clouds, at the same time, hung over her from abroad. Whether encouraged by these internal disturbances of their masters, or by the intrigues of the Lacedæmonians, now unwearied by the virtues of Cimon, and uninfluenced by any regard of Pericles for their interests, the Megarians were the first to raise the

sound of war. Megara being in the immediate neighbour-
hood of Attica, and lying close under the in-
spection of the Athenian Government, it argued a considerable degree of courage, and no little impenitence of her sovereignty, that this was the Country which first revolted from it. She implored, by her ambassadors, the protection of Sparta, but too late to avert the punishment of her revolt. The Athenians immediately ravaged their whole country and closely invested their Capital, the only large town they possessed. The Lacedæmonians were now roused, and they made an irruption into Attica, which dealt a corresponding mischief upon the Athenians; when Pericles marched, in person, against the invaders, with whom he determined to try the influence of gold, rather than depend upon the force of arms. Platonax, the youthful King of the Spartans, whom the Athenian chieftain bribed with a considerable sum; and the Lacedæmonian army returned home without attempting further mischief. Pericles is said to have charged ten talents of gold to the public account on this occasion, and to have designated it as expending on a proper but needless service. This account was passed without question; and he was immediately intrusted with a command

Pericles.

From
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3505.
—
B. C.
499.
to
A. M.
3573.
—
B. C.
429.

Disturb-
ances on
the death
of Cimon.

Revolt of
the Mega-
rians.

Biography.

From
A. M.
3505.

B. C.
499.

to
A. M.
3575.

B. C.
429.

Rashness
of the Admiral
Tolmides.

against Eubœa, where the Lacedæmonians had instigated other disturbances.

Whilst Pericles was preparing for this expedition, a circumstance occurred at Athens which reflected no little honour on his judgment, and still more increased his influence with the people. Tolmides, the Admiral, who had been the first to invade the Peloponnese, now persuaded the Athenians to intrust him with a small army, with which, in a very advanced season of the year, he proposed to make an incursion into Boeotia. The experience of Pericles made him clearly foresee the issue of this plan; but he opposed it, in the first instance, altogether in vain. Amongst other expressions of his disapprobation, he calmly answered to Tolmides, who resented his interference, "If you will not, sir, listen to my advice, wait at least till Time shall have given you opportunity to consult him; for let me say, that to such as you he is the best of counsellors."

The expedition sailed, and the event proved exceedingly disastrous. At first, indeed, Tolmides achieved some successes of minor importance, but at Chæronea he was attacked by a numerous host from the confederate cities around, himself slain, and his army completely routed. The Athenians were obliged to ransom their prisoners at an extravagant sum, and formally to renounce all claims of dominion over Boeotia. Nor were the misfortunes of this affair closed even here, for whilst this disgraceful Treaty was pending, time was given, and temptations afforded, for several of the minor States of Greece to revolt from the dominion of Athens.

Pericles had scarcely sailed on his intended expedition to Eubœa, when a new revolt of the Megarenses occasioned his recall. This he quickly disposed of, however, re-embarked for Eubœa, and laid siege to and reduced their principal city Hestiea; where he planted a colony of Athenians, and ejected all the ancient inhabitants. Soon after this the rest of the island of Eubœa submitted to the Athenian arms, and the Lacedæmonians themselves, weary of the war, agreed to a Peace for thirty years. By the Articles of this Treaty, Athens disclaimed any dominion over Nisæa, Acha, Pagæ, and Træzene; and it was jointly agreed between the rival States, that any Grecian city, which had not hitherto joined either party in the war, should be at liberty to offer her submission to that which she herself might choose during the Peace.

An instance of the severity of Pericles' personal administration occurred soon after this event. Corn was always such an object of importance, and frequently so scarce among the Athenian people, that many whole families, in times of dearth, were obliged to sell themselves as slaves, for the sake of their subsistence. Forty thousand bushels of this valuable commodity had been sent as a present to the Athenian citizens from Pammenicus, a King of Libya, or more probably, as some say, of Egypt. This was, by course of law, to be divided amongst the free citizens. In the height of the rivalry which had formerly subsisted between Pericles and Cimon, the former had obtained an unjust and cruel decree, levelled at the case of some children of the latter, by which persons of half Athenian blood only were disfranchised from their privilege as citizens. This law now bore severely on those who had had the inhumanity to enact it, and no less than five thousand persons, who had usually been considered as freemen of Athens, were sold as slaves through the rigid

punctuality of its execution by Pericles. We may diverge from the strict order of events to observe that Pericles himself, the arbitrary author of this decree, was constrained, in after times, to move for its repeal, all his children of the whole Athenian blood having died before him, and only one child of half-blood, a son, taking his own name, surviving to comfort his old age. For the admission of this child to the privilege of an Athenian citizen, the law in question was abrogated.

Towards the end of the eighty-fourth Olympiad, the Athenians took part in a war which had begun between the Samians and the Milesians. Many Historians attribute the interference of his Countrymen on this occasion to Pericles, who is said himself to have been influenced in this business by an obscure quarrel of his mistress, Aspasia, a celebrated courtesan, to espouse whom he had dismissed his former wife, and whose fascinating address had previously captivated Socrates. The immediate pretence of the interposition of Athens is variously related. Thucydides says that the Athenians were appealed to by both parties. Plutarch affirms (what is by no means contradictory to the Historians) that the Athenians having directed both parties to lay aside their animosities, the Samians refused, and thence came the war with that people. Diodorus Siculus differs from both these accounts, and tells us that the Samians themselves revolted from the Athenians, conceiving that their enemies had been assisted by them. From what cause soever the war originated, Pericles was evidently highly interested in the prosecution of it, and commanded in person the force employed on the occasion. He sailed with a fleet of forty sail, and subdued the Samians, who were utterly unable to withstand so great a force; established a Democracy in their city, and took fifty hostages of the Nobles of Samos as a security for their keeping the order of affairs according to his will. Plutarch says, that so strong was the determination of Pericles to establish this mode of Government, and to prosecute his ravage upon the Samians, no inducements could move him from his course. The fifty hostages offered him a talisman per bore for their liberation; and Pisistratus, the Persian Governor of Sardis, promised him ten thousand pieces of gold to desist from his scheme, for the Persians were ever averse from Democracies, and particularly from any in their own neighbourhood. But Pericles scorned even money itself on this occasion, though it was a temptation to which he was not at all times inexorable.

The force of arms to establish a Government against Pericles' the will of a people was soon, however, found to be too inefficient. No sooner did Pericles quit the island of Samos, than the inhabitants threw off the Athenian yoke, expelled, with the assistance of Pisistratus, the garrison which the Athenians had left there, and contrived means, surreptitiously, to carry off the hostages which had been taken to Lemnos. But the determined mind of Pericles was not thus to be thwarted; on his return to Athens he fitted out sixty galleys and a large land-armament to renew the war. In the mean time the Samian fleet had increased to seventy sail; and although Pericles, out of his sixty vessels, had detached sixteen in order to gain intelligence of the Phœnician fleet, and to quiver the operations of his own allies from Chios and Lesbos, he attacked the enemy with the remaining forty-four,

Pericles.

From
A. M.
3505.

B. C.
499.

to
A. M.
3575.

B. C.
429.

Athena in-
terferes in
the war
against
Samos.

True for
thirty years
with Spar-
ta

Severity of
Pericles' administration.

Athena in-
terferes in
the war
against
Samos.

Pericles' attempts to subdue it.

Biography. and utterly defeated them near the island of Tragim. A reinforcement which he received after this action, amounting to forty more ships from Athens, and the auxiliary force of twenty-five vessels, which now joined him from Chios and Lesbos, enabled him to invest Samos both by land and sea. Whilst affairs were in this situation, misled by false intelligence, and leaving the remaining part of his own fleet unsupported, Pericles was induced to sail off the coast with sixty ships, expecting to meet the Phœnician fleet. For the oversight, Plutarch and others, with more after-wisdom than justice, attribute much blame to Pericles; advantage of his absence being immediately taken by the Samians to attack and destroy the besieging squadron, commanded by Tetagoras; a victory which, for fourteen days, made them so completely masters of the sea, that they supplied themselves with provisions and all other necessities for the long protracted siege which Samos afterwards endured. Pericles, however, soon returned to his post off the island, and was shortly afterwards supported by another squadron of eighty ships from Athens. He prosecuted the siege with great vigour; although it was not until after nine months' active warfare that the final conquest of the island was accomplished. The Samians at last surrendered at discretion; but, remembering the difficulties which he had encountered, Pericles was determined to disable them for ever from again rising in arms against the Athenians. He demolished the fortifications of the island, carried off all the Samian fleet, obliged the inhabitants to deliver hostages for their future allegiance, and to engage to pay Athens the whole expenses of the war. On the return of the conqueror to that city, his deficiencies in the conduct of the war were forgotten in its final success; he pronounced one of the finest Orations now extant in the Greek language in honour of those who had fallen in the contest; and so great was the effect of his eloquence, that the ladies of Athens surrounded him with acclamations of joy, and crowned him with garlands of olive, the highest trophy of Grecian honour.

His final success.

Not long after this, and in about the second year of the eighty-fifth Olympiad, arose a second contest between the Corinthians and Athenians, which revived the Peloponnesian war; begun, as heretofore, in the spirit of wanton and restless jealousy on both sides, and terminating in the utter extinction of the political importance of Athens. A contest of little importance between the Corcyrians and the Corinthians was the origin of this disastrous quarrel. The Corcyrians, originally a colony of the Corinthians, had founded a settlement on the shores of the Adriatic, without the licence of the mother-country, which they called Epidamnium. Disputes arising at this latter place, one party applied to Corcyra for assistance and arbitration, and having their petition rejected, by direction of the Delphian Oracle, referred the settlement of affairs to Corinth, to whom they offered the sovereignty of the place; an offer which was immediately accepted, and the required assistance afforded them. The faction of the Epidamnians, thus sided by the Corinthians, now expelled the adverse party from the settlement, and these in their turn sought refuge at Corcyra, the citizens of which resolved to resent the interference of the Corinthians. A fleet was dispatched to Epidamnium to assert their rights, and an action ensued with the

small fleet of the united Epidamnian and Corinthians, in which the Corcyrians claimed the victory, and in this stage of the contest applied to Athens for assistance. At about the same period the Corinthians also sent ambassadors to Athens on the same business. This humble appeal was highly gratifying to the Athenian pride; and was regarded as an acknowledgment of that supremacy over the minor States of Greece for which she had so often contended. She is presented to us at this time as at the height of her glory and her power; and as those who guided her councils had only exercised that moderation in her prosperity which had elevated her to her present situation, doubtless she had long retained it. But the Constitution of the Attic government was totally changed; the power of the Nobles and the wealthy was extinguished; whilst the people and their demagogues wielded, with their violent but unsteady spirit, the whole of her invaluable resources.

The Athenians made a hasty defensive Treaty with the Corcyrians, which ultimately involved them in the whole issue of the war. At first they sent only ten galleys to Corcyra, under the command of Lacedæmonius, the son of Cimon; a circumstance which, together with the paucity of the force employed, is wholly attributed in the jealousy of Pericles, lest the family of his late glorious rival should be possessed of undue power. The opinion of Thucydides, however, is opposed to this construction of the fact. He says that this small armament was sent, because it was the wish of Pericles that the Athenians should rather look on whilst the contending parties were wasting each other's strength, than that they should themselves mingle in the conflict. The reinforcements, however, which afterwards sailed from Athens to this war seem to contradict this opinion; and it is by no means inconsistent with the character of this crafty Statesman, that he should have intended Lacedæmonius, with his small armament, to miscarry in his expedition; and that the after-reinforcement should arrive in time to retrieve the glory of the Athenian name, but not to prevent the first Athenian leader's disgrace.

The war soon became vigorous on both sides. The Corcyrians, with ten Athenian ships, commanded a naval force of one hundred and twenty vessels, while the Corinthian fleet, with that of their allies, amounted to one hundred and fifty sail. When the two fleets came in sight of each other, the Corcyrians complimented the Athenians with the honourable place of the right wing of the battle, and dividing their own force into three distinct squadrons, immediately sailed into action. The Athenians at first appeared to engage but coldly in the conflict, but their allies, the Corcyrians, being nearly beaten, they fell boldly on, and compelled the Corinthians, before almost masters of the day, to turn their attention entirely to their own defence. Both parties ultimately retired from the combat claiming the victory, and prepared for a fresh encounter on the following day. In the morning, accordingly, they again drew out in order of battle, when the Corinthians suddenly retired, making full sail homeward from the scene of action. Soon after, the appearance of a reinforcement of twenty sail, sent by Pericles from Athens, and which had been first discovered by the Corinthians, joined the allies, and well accounted for the flight of the enemy. In the extremely doubtful

Pericles.

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—
B. C.
459.
to
A. M.
3575.
—
B. C.
429.

Athena at
war with
Corinth.

Biography. issue of this battle it appeared that 1000 prisoners were made, and seventy ships of the enemy sunk by the Corinthians, who lost thirty vessels and very considerable spoils. This action was remarkable as the largest sea-fight that ever took place between the rival States of Greece, for no less than two hundred and seventy vessels were engaged in it.

But the evils of this imprudent interference of the Athenians began now to be seen. In consequence of the Corcyrian alliance, and about the time in which it was completed, the Athenians issued an order to Potidea, a Macedonian town acknowledging their supremacy, to demolish its walls; to send back certain officers whom they had received from Corinth, and to give hostages for their good conduct. Potidea, although an ally of Athens, had originally been a colony of Corinth, and thus arose the jealousy which occasioned these harsh and peremptory orders. Symptoms of universal hostility to Athens now appeared in the States around. The Corinthians and their allies, as may readily be supposed, were much irritated, and prepared means for revenge; the oppressed Potidea were strongly instigated to revolt; and Pericles, King of Macedonia, who had some time since been at open war with the Athenians, now gladly seized on the opportunity afforded by their rashness to distress them, by exciting and assisting the malecontents. The Potideaans, however, deputed ambassadors to Athens to deprecate the harsh orders which had been sent them; but in the mean time, and to prepare for the worst, they also sent messengers to Sparta entreating support; and there they met the Deputies from Corinth, and its ally Megara, on the like business. By these loud and general complaints Sparta was at length roused to head the conspiracy against Athens, and the universal and fatal flames of war shortly afterwards broke forth throughout Greece.

This war resulted in general hostilities in Greece.

Internal state of Athens.

In the mean time, the domestic affairs of Athens present the character of Pericles in no amiable point of view. Avowedly at the head of a violent and factious Democracy, there was yet one man, the celebrated Thucydides, who presumed to contend against his tyrannical exercise of power, and disputed both the legality and the policy of his actions. This patriotic conduct rendered the longer presence of Thucydides intolerable in Athens, and Pericles resolved to punish him by means of the ostracism. The question proposed was, whether Thucydides or Pericles were to be banished, and it was soon decided by the Democracy in favour of their darling leader. A second circumstance happened about the same time to develop and disgrace the character of Pericles. Hermiphus the Tragedian accused Aspasia, the courtesan and especial favourite of Pericles, of impiety to the gods, and of acting as a pander to the libidinous pleasures of her protector, in the seduction of many wives and daughters of the citizens. The day of trial arrived, and Pericles himself, mounting the tribune, spoke at large, and with many tears, in her defence; a circumstance never remarked of him on any other occasion. Aspasia was acquitted by his exertions, but about this time various indications of the decline of his public influence appeared. The storm was gathering over his Country from without, and, irritated and alarmed at the threatening prospect, no little discontent and dissatisfaction with their leaders appeared amongst the

people at home. Anaxagoras the Philosopher, the friend and tutor of Pericles, was the first to feel the popular displeasure. Diopithes (hitherto an obscure individual) moved for a decree to declare it criminal to conceal from the people information of any persons teaching doctrines subversive of the National Religion, under the colour of professing Natural Philosophy. The force of this decree was not designed to expend itself on the master, Anaxagoras, but was evidently levelled also at Pericles, the disciple. To quiet the public mind under these circumstances, Pericles dismissed Anaxagoras from Athens, but attended him to the gates with every mark of personal respect, and professing undiminished friendship for him. Suidas, however, states positively, that the punishment of imprisonment fell upon this Philosopher, and that Pericles pleaded his cause in vain. To this indirect disgrace of Pericles followed the motion of Dracontides, in a public assembly, that the Chief should immediately bring his accounts before the people, which he was fortunately able to do, with the utmost clearness and confidence; shortly after which he was again attacked in the person of a friend, Mecon, a superior workman employed by Phidias, whose intimacy with Pericles was well known, accused that celebrated statuary of having purloined the gold which had been consigned to him for enriching the statue of Minerva. This latter affair involved the integrity of both the friends; for the statuary had worked under the especial direction of Pericles, and had carved on the shield of the goddess the figure of the chieftain in combat with an Amazon. The issue, however, was most creditable to both; Phidias was able to take off the gold from the statue without injury to the main figure, and it proved to be of the full weight and value first delivered to him; thus justifying the selection of his patron, and exhibiting an unexpected triumph of his art.

It is generally supposed that Pericles had been successfully endeavouring to regain some portion of his usual influence over the people, while ambassadors from the different States of Greece were exciting the Lacedæmonians to retaliation and revenge for the late haughty conduct of Athens. Certain Athenian Deputies happening to be at Sparta on other affairs, the magistracy of that State professed to give a fair hearing to both parties. The result of their deliberation was a message to the Athenians, containing the following requisitions: First, that all those Athenians who had sprung from the family of Megacles, a race declared execrable by their own law, on account of the attempted usurpation of Cylon, should now be exiled from their city. This injunction was directly pointed at Pericles, who had been universally denounced as the author of the late Corinthian War, and was, on his mother's side, related to the family of Megacles. Second, that the siege of Potidea, which was now proceeding with great vigour, should be immediately raised. Third, that the Æginetians should be immediately freed from the Athenian domination. Fourth, that the ports of Attica should be open to the Megareans; and, fifth, that all the several States of Greece should be left, in future, free from any pretended subordination to Athens. On the arrival of these demands at Athens Pericles exerted all his eloquence and influence to obtain their rejection. He truly reminded the people that, whatever the Lacedæmonians might pretend respecting their sympathy for

Pericles.

From A. M. 3505. B. C. 499. to A. M. 3375. B. C. 429.

Friends of Pericles disgraced

Message from Sparta.

Biography. the discontented and complaining Greeks, it was evident that the ascendancy of Athens was coveted for Sparta, and was the true cause of their hostile message. They had, he asserted, always hated, and now sought for an opportunity to humble, her power. That it must, however, be the fault of the Athenians themselves, if these envious wishes were to succeed in their object, for that Athens was, after all, much more fertile in warlike resources than were the Peloponnesians with the whole of their allies. He urged upon them, also, to consider, that, if their rivals discovered the least symptoms of fear in their reception of the present application, their demands would, if possible, be hereafter more unreasonable than the present; but that a steady refusal now would repress every future attempt of the kind. To avoid extremities, however, and to assume some appearance of moderation, he proposed to reverse the decree against the Megareans, on condition that the Spartans would permit free ingress and egress to their city on the part of the Athenians and their allies; to release all the Grecian cities from their obedience to Athens, if the Spartans would, in a similar manner, release their dependencies; and to leave all future matters of dispute to a fair arbitration. "This," added Pericles, "is a course both just and honourable; and if, in consequence of a rejection of each term by Sparta, a war is inevitable, let the Athenians undertake it with a vigorous cheerfulness, and they will quickly find the seeming importance of their enemies vanish before them; for from the greatest extremity arises to the State and its leaders, as well as to each citizen, the greatest honour."

The reply dictated by Pericles.

Confession of his faults.

The Spartanising Platon.

Some reasons are stated by Plutarch which will sufficiently account for the peculiar earnestness in which Pericles endeavoured to excite his Countrymen to this war, besides his being almost directly proscribed by the demands of the Spartans. He had been intrusted with public money to a large amount, and had at this time, according to that Biographer, real occasion to seek the cover of warlike preparations, to conceal his profuse administration of it. A family anecdote of Pericles is here related by him, as illustrative of the fact. Alcibiades, then a boy, and the son of the sister of Pericles, inquired one day of his uncle, why he was so melancholy and thoughtful; to which Pericles replied, "Because he knew not how to give an open account of his trusts." The boy, whose naacomm ebriety of intellect, as well as want of rectitude, were, even at that tender age, remarkable, readily rejoined, "Study rather, then, how thou mayest avoid to give any account of it." This story rests upon the authority of Plutarch alone; but it is certain that the second fatal contest between Athens and Sparta was mainly attributable to the exertions of this still popular chieftain.

The first actual rupture was led on by the Thebans. Six months after the Battle at Plataea, and in the first year of the eighty-seventh Olympiad, these allies of the Spartans sent Eurymachus at the head of three hundred men to leave the town of Plataea, the inhabitants of which had been zealous in the cause of Athens. Their force being small for the attack of that place, which was considered as remarkably strong, they first endeavoured to corrupt some of the Platæan guard, who, at an appointed time, opened their gates to the assailants, and in the first confusion of the people enabled them to

seize the walls and the fortifications; but, when the smallness of their number was discovered, the inhabitants rose upon them in the night, slew half of them, and took their Chief and the rest of his force prisoners of war. Not long afterwards a second party, ignorant of the fate of the first, arrived from Thebes before the gates of Plataea, to whom the inhabitants offered to release the Theban prisoners, on condition of this new force forswearing to plunder the adjacent country. In case of their refusal of these terms they threatened to put the prisoners to instant death. Alarmed at this menace, the invading army withdrew from the country, when the faithless Thebans butchered the whole of their captives, alleging that they had never made any promise of liberating them, unless their Countrymen should have concluded a formal Treaty. The news of this attempt on Plataea soon reached Athens, where an arrest of all the Boeotians then in Attica was immediately ordered; and a large supply of provisions was forwarded to the town under a convoy, which was instructed, in case of necessity, to bring the wives and children of the Platæans to Athens; measures which were found well adapted to the prevention of future evil, although success had rendered them useless in their first direction.

A general conflict throughout Greece now approached, of the danger and importance of which every party seemed aware, while the leading States of Sparta and Athens were totally engrossed in preparations for it. Messengers were dispatched on all sides to summon the several allies of the rival; and even their common enemy, the Persian King, was now solicited by each to oppose the ambition of the other. The great majority of the Grecian cities declared in favour of the Spartans, not only because the authority of that people was the more ancient and better established, but on account of the despotism with which the Athenians had exercised their recent power. So universally was this latter argument acknowledged, that the Spartans assumed the title in this war of "the deliverers of Greece;" and amongst their allies they included all the Peloponnesians, except the Argives and part of the Achæans, who professed themselves friendly to both parties. The inhabitants of Peloponnesus, also, ranged themselves, at the beginning of this war, on the side of Sparta, and all the other Achæans joined them shortly after. Beyond the Peloponnesus they had obtained the alliance of the Megareans, the Phocians, the Locrians, the Boeotians, the Ambraciots, the Leucadian, and the Anactorians, Coriouth, Megara, Sicyonia, Peloponnesus, Elea, Leucadin, and Ambracia supplied them with ships for the war; whilst Phocia, Boeotia, and Locria furnished horsemen; and the foot-soldiers were raised from the other allied States. On the Athenian side we find the Chians, the Lesbians, and the Platæans, and those of the Messenians who inhabited Naupactus; most of the Acarnanians; the Cerycians, and the Zacynthians. To these must be added those Carians who inhabited the east-coast; the Dorians, the Ionians, and several other minor towns, particularly those of Threace: the islands lying on the East, betwixt Peloponnesus and Crete, and all the Cyclades, excepting Melus and Thera. The Chians, the Lesbians, and the Cerycians furnishing shipping; and the other States indiscriminately horse and foot-soldiers and money. It must, however, be

Pericles.
From A. M. 3505.
B. C. 499.
to A. M. 3575.
B. C. 489.

The general conduct of Pericles.

allies of Athens.

Biography.

From
A. M.
3505.
—
B. C.
499.
to
A. M.
3575.
—
B. C.
429.

noticed that, although this statement is taken from the accurate pages of Thucydides, who himself was contemporary with these events, it omits the States of Eubœa and Samos, which we shortly afterwards find in the Athenian alliance.

The Lacedæmonians were in great haste to assemble their allies on the Peloponnesian isthmus, in first force, not long after the affair at Platœa, and with the avowed intention of invading Attica. Here Archidamus, the Spartan King, and Commander-in-chief, advised the allies to proceed with great circumspection, notwithstanding their immense strength, and to send a herald to Athens, requesting to know if that city still abode by its former haughty propositions. The messenger returned without having been granted an audience, and the invading army advanced for its original purpose;—Archidamus, with the main body, into the heart of Attica, whilst the Bœotians, at the same time, invaded the territories of the Platæans.

On the other side, the Athenians collected their strength to stand on the defensive. Pericles, as he had been the principal promoter of the war, now became its chief director. He caused the inhabitants to convey all their valuables into the city, and to busy themselves, night and day, in fitting out their ships.

Resources of Athens.

He cheered the people with assurances of their resources, stating the yearly revenue of Athens to amount to six hundred talents of tribute only, besides other annual dues and imposts; six thousand talents of silver, he said, lay ready coined in the castle, and five hundred talents more in bullion and plate. Their army be reckoned at 19,000 foot and 1200 horse; 6000 foot archers, and a great number of bow-men on horseback; while their navy comprised three hundred ships ready for sea. With all this array of power, Pericles, however, thought it prudent to keep within the walls. To disarm all suspicion of himself, and fearing that, as Archidamus advanced into the country, that General would be induced, by a former friendship between them, to spare his estates, whilst he ravaged all the rest of the country, Pericles assigned all his lands to the Public, and flattered the people by advocating several extravaganzas and unjust laws in their favour. Complaints against his administration, however, silently spread; his very friends were obliged to acknowledge him the principal instigator of the war, and he was now called upon to attempt a bold effort to regain his reputation, by repelling the enemy from under their walls. But Pericles, aware of the inferiority of his strength, continued firm in his plans, alike amidst threats and entreaties: he still refused to venture a battle by land, and when pressed for his reasons, he exclaimed, "Trees when cut down may sprout out again, but men once lost cannot be recovered." This prudent Chief well knew wherein the best force of the Republic consisted: he equipped a fleet of a hundred galleys, which he despatched with others to ravage the Peloponnesian coasts as occasion offered; and, carrying on a war of retaliation, eventually distressed the enemy by his expeditions more than they could reduce the Athenians by their present mode of warfare. This fleet was shortly afterwards joined by a squadron from Corcyra; whilst another was commissioned against the Locrians. The land force from the latter armament took Theurium, and pillaged Ægina, as one of the principal causes of the war; and, thinking it a convenient station

Cautious conduct of Pericles.

for the future increase of the Athenian power in this direction, they left there a respectable colony of Athenians. Thus the Lacedæmonians, although the first to attack and to distress their rivals, had, at the end of the year, little reason to boast of their success. The immovable prudence of Pericles compelled them to retire from Attica through Bœotia, and here the invaders separated in their several cities. No sooner had this transpired, than Pericles assumed the attitude of a conqueror. Placing himself at the head of his best troops, he made a rapid incursion into Megara, which he considered as the chief fœnestake of the war, and plundered it unsparingly throughout. During the winter, the bodies of those who had been slain in the war were interred with the usual solemnities, and Pericles himself pronounced the accustomed Oratio.

The next year brought with it a renewal of hostilities The Plague between Sparta and Athens, conducted upon the same at Athens, principles as the last campaign. But a truce more direful than war now afflicted Athens. The Plague raged amongst the citizens with the most tremendous fury, sweeping off great numbers of the people daily, and at last reaching the family of Pericles. Yet was this Chief himself reserved awhile, amidst the distresses of his fellow citizens and his own, to guide the councils of his Country with his usual prudence and fortitude. When Archidamus again invaded and ravaged Attica, the Athenians were once more restrained by the influence of Pericles from venturing upon the unequal combat offered them; whilst with a hundred Athenian ships and fifty auxiliary sail, supplied from Chios and Lesbos, he embarked himself for the Peloponnesian shores, and well sustained the honour of the Athenian arms. Archidamus and his invading army, in order to repel these incursions on their own territories, were obliged at length to retreat from Attica without fighting, while Pericles and his armament withdrew as the enemy advanced, and retired unmolested in their homes. He then sent a large force under the command of Agnon and Cleopompus against Chalcis and Potidæa, the latter place having still held out against the Athenian force.

Here the Plague wasted the troops of the Republic to no great an extent, that out of 4000 men but 1500 were returned to Athens. The citizens now sent an embassy to Sparta, praying for Peace, and, being absolutely refused, oppressed with the double attack of war and pestilence, they rose in violent tumult against Pericles, as certainly the cause of the one evil which afflicted them, if not, according to their superstitious opinions, the author of both. The eloquence and the usual artifices of this experienced Statesman could not now, for the moment, avert their rage; they fined him eighty talents, and dismissed him from his offices of trust and honour. The domestic concerns of Pericles became also at this moment most afflictive. His son, Xanthippus, a profligate youth, quitted his house, and renounced his authority because he could no longer be supplied with money for his extravagancies, and gave out, to conceal the true cause of the quarrel, that he could no longer bear to see his own wife contaminated by the vices of his father. The Plague, which still raged in Athens with unremitting fury, ended this unusual dispute and the life of the thoughtless Xanthippus by the same stroke. Shortly after, and by the same disease, perished the sister and the greater part of the family of Pericles, and, lastly, his only remaining legitimate

Pericles.

From
A. M.
3505.
—
B. C.
499.
to
A. M.
3575.
—
B. C.
429.

His ravages in the camp.

And in the family of Pericles.

Biography. son, *Pericles*. The afflicted parent is said to have burst into convulsive grief on placing the accustomed chaplet of flowers on the head of the corpse, and his noble spirit seemed now utterly overwhelmed. Then it was (and the measure, perhaps, is partly accounted for by the sympathy of the citizens for the calamities of this distinguished Chief) that he was restored to the honours of which he had lately been deprived, and succeeded to more absolute power than ever. By the persuasions of Alcibiades and others of his friends, he came forth from the retirement to which he had despairingly abandoned himself, again to receive the ready acclamations of the people; and a proof of his undiminished influence is afforded by the law which was immediately passed, permitting him to register his son of half Athenian blood amongst the free citizens of Athens, in his own name, in contradiction to the decree formerly proposed by himself.

The Peloponnesian War proceeds. During these transactions in Athens, the Peloponnesians sent a fleet of one hundred galleys against the enemy, and overran the island of Zacynthus. The Lacedæmonians also deputed ambassadors to entreat assistance from the King of Persia, and to Sytales, King of Thrace. *Padocur*, the son of this latter monarch, being a citizen of Athens, ventured to break, on this occasion, what had hitherto been considered as amongst the most sacred laws of hospitality and civil polity—he seized the Spartan ambassadors, and delivered them over to the Athenians, who immediately slew them, in alleged revenge for the slaughter of some of their citizens, who had been put to death by the Lacedæmonians while pæcably employed in the Peloponnesus. During the winter of this year the Athenians sent a fleet of twenty ships, under *Melesander*, to *Caria*, *Lycia*, and some other places, to collect resources, in which expedition this officer was accidentally slain. It was about this period too that *Potides*, wearied not with famine, at length equitulated to the Athenian arms; the men of the town being allowed to leave the place with one garment each, and the women with two. The city, being emptied, was replenished with a colony from Athens, and thus closed the second year of the Peloponnesian War.

Third year of the war. The third year of this fatal conflict was consumed in the tedious and ineffectual siege of *Plataea* by the Peloponnesians. *Archidamus*, with a large army, invested the town, and laid waste the country round it. The *Plataeans*, at one time, offered to capitulate, but as they were required to abandon the city and the cause they had undertaken, and not to return to their Country until the termination of the war, they consulted their allies, the Athenians, on the subject, by whom they were strengthened in their determination to continue an obstinate defence. *Archidamus*, on the refusal of these terms, reëmboldened his efforts of attack, and succeeded in setting fire to the town, the greater part of which was burned to the ground; but the *Plataeans*, making several sallies, and having cut off many of the besieging army, *Archidamus* turned the siege into a blockade, and, leaving a sufficient number of troops to man the entrenchments, returned with the remainder of his force to Sparta.

In the latter end of this summer, the Plague which had so severely afflicted Athens proved fatal to its Ruler. *Pericles* sunk under it, in the unusual manner of a slow consumption. The affecting circumstances of his death have been carefully preserved by *Thucydides*. Some of his elder friends, the first people of Athens, attended him at its approach, and conversing him, in the last extremity, to be insensible of their conversation, talked freely with each other on his character, and mentioned several circumstances in his praise. The dying *Pericles* suddenly appeared to recover, and interrupted them, by expressing his surprise that they should insist upon those actions of his life which were rather vain-glorious than useful, and in which fortune had so large a share, whilst they had forgotten to mention the greatest feature of his administration, that no citizen of Athens ever had cause to put on a mourning garment through him. These were the last words of this great Athenian.

As a Statesman and a warrior, the talents of *Pericles* have never been questioned; as a man of learning, and a patron of the Fine Arts, he was equally eminent. Swayed principally, perhaps, by private interest, he appears to have induced his Country to begin a war fatal in its issue; but for the events which occurred after his death he cannot be thought responsible, and they only proved that the man who advised the measure was he alone who was capable of directing it. With the literature of the day he was eminently acquainted, from his early studies under *Anaxagoras*; and an anecdote has been preserved respecting his scientific knowledge, which is not without its interest. On the embarkation of a certain naval force, commanded by *Pericles*, the pilot, terrified by what he deemed the unlucky omen of an eclipse of the sun, prognosticated defeat and misfortune. The Chief, perceiving this dismay to spread, suddenly pulled off his cloak, and, muffling the pilot's face with it, asked him if that were terrible and disastrous? "No," said the seaman. "What difference then," said *Pericles*, "do you make betwixt one darkness and the other? they both proceed from a like cause; only that which shades the sun is a larger body than the cloak which covers your eyes." This plain remark aroused the spirits of the pilot, and of the crew, and the expedition proceeded without interruption. The friend and patron of *Phidias*, he won the title of *Olympius* from his magnificence and splendour in the Fine Arts. But these great and shining qualities were sullied by prominent vices. *Pericles* was sensual and dissolute in his pleasures, vain-glorious, envious, and devoid of integrity in his politics, and frequently mean and selfish in domestic life. In his prosperity he is said to have abandoned *Anaxagoras*, his tutor, until that Philosopher, in despair, took the resolution of starving himself to death. It must, however, be confessed that, although he wanted the firmer virtues of *Aristides*, and the nobler soul of *Cimon*, *Pericles* yet threw a splendour of meretricious greatness about his very vices, and exercised the power with which he was invested with moderation and with great dignity.

Peric. s.
From
A. M.
3303.
—
B. C.
499.
to
A. M.
3375.
—
B. C.
429.
Death of
Pericles.

THE EARLY SCULPTORS OF GREECE.

[illegible]

Biography.

From
A. M.
3004.
—
D. C.
1000.
to
A. M.
3604.
—
D. C.
400.
Infantry of

In presenting to our readers such details as are to be collected respecting the Sculptors and Painters of ancient Greece, we shall not enter into a scientific examination of the Arts of design, nor pursue, with antiquarian minuteness, their history. These objects will be most properly reserved for the general Essays on SCULPTURE and PAINTING, while it will be necessary here only to trace the progress of these embellishments of life, and to develop their principles so far as they have been affected by the national feelings of the people among whom they were first practised, or have influenced and moulded the character of mankind.

Although the Fine Arts are not necessarily progressive after they have attained a certain degree of excellence; and although, after they have become the modes of the development of genius, their advances are singularly rapid, we shall find their first hints and beginnings rude, and bearing scarcely any resemblance, even in kind, to that excellence to which they have afterwards given occasion. Painting and Sculpture scarcely bore any appearance of Fine Arts until long after their origin. The earliest traces we can discover of them have reference, indeed, to the purposes of Religion, to the preservation of mystic truths, or to the solemnities of burial. But although the Arts were employed on the most serious and interesting occasions, they were nevertheless, prospective of objects intrinsically trifling or gross. The first, the very simplest nature they assumed, and the direction they were intended to embody, often occasioned the completion of monstrous and unwholesome forms. So long as nations are destitute of a refined and delicate sense of the beautiful and the harmonious, the representations by

which they perpetrate or boldly forth the ideas of their Superego or Philosophy will in themselves be merely grotesque, if not harsh and revolting. Even the most elevated truths will give occasion to the most hideous images, if a previously-formed taste do not provide for them elegant and graceful memorials. Thus the Indians have employed a figure with three heads to express the three great operations which they ascribe to the Divinity—creation, preservation, and destruction. Abstract Truth, however noble, will not become visible in the form of beauty, without the aid of a plastic imagination to trace out its nice resemblance to the exquisite in the material world, and to mould images which may become its glorious vehicles. On the contrary, the imaginative faculties triumph by lending grace to the most gloomy views of humanity, making sorrow gentle, affliction serene, and death seem placid, and life itself immortal. Mortality, when personified as a beasty spectre, has been represented under the most beautiful forms—as a pale, but lovely female—as a smiling angel of deliverance—and by a Poet of the boldest and gentlest imagination, as “a shadow thrown softly and lightly from a nascent cloud.”

We find scarcely any traces of the Arts of design in the remains of the vast monarchies of Assyria and Babylon. The wonderful buildings, of the extent of which we read so much that borders on the incredible in the accounts of their Capital cities, do not appear to have been adorned with any peculiar taste, but were grand rather than from their massiveness and apparent durability than from the character of their ornaments, or the exactness of their proportions. Even amidst the luxuries of the Persian Empire, Painting and Sculpture

The early Sculptors of Greece.

From
A. M.
3004.
—
B. C.
1000.
to
A. M.
3604.
—
B. C.
400.

Arts of
design in
Assyria and
Babylon :

Biography. ture seem to have made very insignificant advances. That rich and prodigious monarchy, with all its stores of wealth, and the profusion of its barbaric magnificence, was compelled to yield to the small Republics of Greece, as truly in the production of beautiful forms of Art as in deeds of military prowess.

Far richer in the curious, at least, if not in the beautiful, are the obscure annals of Egyptian Art. The wisdom of that wonderful people who inhabited the fertile banks of the Nile—the ideas of the Divinity and of the destinies of Man, which had been gathered either by traditions from the sons of Noah or from the deep meditations of Sages—the early discoveries of the Astronomers, and the wild dreams of Magicians—and the great events of their far-reaching History, were all expressed in some strange, yet appropriate symbols, which remained the objects of mysterious wonder or of superstitious adoration when their primitive meaning was forgotten. These, as far as we can trace any vestiges of their form, had little of intrinsic beauty. The strong and vigorous imaginations of the elder time impressed the stamp of reverence on the most uncouth, and even frightful symbols, and required no grand or harmonious forms to inspire veneration. But, perhaps, the choicest and most curious of Arts in Egypt are to be found in the repositories of the dead. It seems to have been the popular belief that the spirit, when separated by death from the body, previously to its passing into other forms, hovered round its former tenement so long as it could be preserved from corruption, but quitted it as soon as it was reduced to dust. Anxious, therefore, to preserve even this frail and partial link of connection between their earthly and their spiritual nature, the Egyptians not only embalmed their dead, with a skill which is now lost amidst the ravages of time, but placed them in costly sepulchres, arrayed them in curious vestments, and exerted all the Arts of which they were possessed to adorn and dignify their last abode. Their corpses, after undergoing the process of the embalmers, were wrapped in costly coverings, on which were depicted their own portraits in the freshness of life, surrounded often with the emblems of decay, or representations of the instruments by which the mortal part was for Ages to be preserved entire. These were depicted on a chalky kind of paste, which at once served to dress and adorn the corpse, and to keep from it all influence of the air from without by which it might be affected. Above these were various ornaments and devices—ribbons and fillets, hieroglyphical representations and ancient figures of some deep meaning, with a covering of linen over the breast, in various folds, on which emblematical forms were painted. The coffin also, enclosing the whole, was curiously carved and adorned with hieroglyphical forms expressive of the course pursued by the deceased in his lifetime, of religious rites, or of philosophical mysteries. The Arts thus employed seem to have been known even before the slavery of the Hebrews. Pliny informs us that the Egyptians boasted that the Art of Painting had been practised among them for six thousand years before it engaged the attention of the Greeks; and, although this assertion was manifestly exaggerated by national pride, it may serve to show that the origin of the Art was of so high an antiquity that no vestige remained of its beginning or of its founders. The Patriarch Jacob, as we are informed in Holy Writ, was embalmed by the

physicians; and of his pious son we are more minutely told, that "they embalmed him, and he was put into a coffin in Egypt." It cannot, indeed, be hence concluded, that all the Arts of adorning, as well as preserving the dead, were then practised as in later times; but we may, at least, discover the early traces in the concise memorial of the Hebrew sojourners. We find, from Herodotus, that the ancient modes of interment, or rather of preservation, were lost at the time of the expedition of Cambyses, in the year of the world 3430, by the forcible introduction of Persian manners, and the total extirpation of the Priesthood, to whom the knowledge of the Arts of burial was sacredly confined. All the bodies, therefore, which have been discovered in modern times were deposited previously to this early period, and have, with their fantastic but significant ornaments, withstood the desolations of Time, to which the mightiest structures have yielded. It is worthy of observation, that there is a nearer approach to the beautiful in the flowers of mortality thus surrounding the dead, than in any other relic of Egyptian ingenuity and wisdom, as though the mind had been involuntarily directed to soothing and gentle fancies, by the tenderest and softening recollections which the instances of our common destiny revive within us.

In the Old Testament we find very early mention of the graven as well as molten images. Of the latter de Jova, scription, it is probable, were the gods of Laban concealed by Rachael, and the idols of Terah. We have no means, even of conjecture, as to the degree of symmetry preserved in these efforts of superstition, the nature of the moulds in which they were cast, or the instruments by which they were fashioned. The children of Israel, during their bondage in Egypt, doubtless became acquainted with the Arts then in use, which were not exclusively employed in the services of Religion or in the rites of burial. In the wilderness, their workmen were immediately inspired by God to complete the marvellous symbols of his worship, and the seat which he designed to honour with his immediate presence. The more stately and gorgeous Temple of Solomon also was built after the pattern prescribed to David by Jehovah. Thus the Arts of Architecture and of Sculpture derived, in a peculiar manner, a right to be regarded as divine; but we are not, therefore, to conclude, that the works thus directed by the finger of Heaven were, in themselves, the most exquisite productions of Art. They were designed for loftier objects than the mere exhibition of material beauty;—they referred to things unseen and eternal. Hence grace of form was regarded as subordinate to the secret meaning, or rather became totally insignificant when compared with the vast designs of Almighty wisdom, which the ceremonials were intended to prefigure. Who could think of the workmanship of the ark, or the forms of the cherubim, when the glory of God was vainly resting over them?

The Arts of design, with other ornaments of life, were doubtless introduced into Greece by the early settlers from Phœnicia and Egypt. It is perfectly manifest that Sculpture must have been practised in the Age of Homer, as we find allusions even to minute and curious workmanship in his Poems. Of this kind the most remarkable instance is the description of the shield of Achilles, which some, however, have considered as an interpolation by a more recent hand. Reference is

The early Sculptors of Greece.

From A. M. 3004, to B. C. 1000, to A. M. 3604, to B. C. 400.

Introduced from the progress of Greek Sculpture.

Biography, often made in the embroidering of figures in tapestry, and even to the representation, through this means, of a whole series of events, as the siege and destruction of Troy. Shields and bucklers, if we regard the testimony of the Poets, were constantly adorned with various figures in bas-relief, even in the Heroic Ages. Virgil represents *Æneas* as being deeply affected by observing, at Carthage, representations of the fortunes of his Country; but he would scarcely have suppressed a beautiful episode because it was inconsistent with the manners of a remote Age, after the more striking instances in which he has ventured to deviate from æsthetic History.

As the desire of bodying forth abstract ideas in symbolic forms tended to produce scarcely any images but those of deformity among the Egyptians, we may probably conjecture that the first efforts of the Greeks in Sculpture, who derived all the principles of their knowledge from Egypt, were retained by similar causes. In the poetry of *Hesiod* and *Homer*, we are started occasionally by mythical representations, in themselves, if realized, disgusting, which had reference to philosophical views of the Moral or Physical world. *Briareus*, with his hundred hands, the emblem of activity and strength,—the odious fable of *Saturn* devouring his children, by which it was intended to shadow forth the perpetual decay and renewal of the foliage and the verdure, by the constant operation of nature,—the passage in the *Iliad* where *Jupiter* refers to a chain by which the united deities could not drag him down, but by which he could raise them to *Olympus*, which has reference in the mysterious connection that links all creatures to each other, and the universe to God,—and that in which *Juno* is reminded how she was once suspended from the firmament, with hands bound and weights affixed to her feet, in which *F. Schlegel* supposes the vaulted covering of the sky to be personified, and the Poet to refer to some hieroglyphical carving in one of the Temples,—have been adduced, by the author just mentioned, to prove that symbolical images are hostile to the beauty of imitative representations.* They will also serve to show that such attempts at mere personification, with regard only to philosophical purposes, had an unfavourable influence on the plastic Arts in the earliest Ages of Greece. But the genius of that happy land soon triumphed over every obstacle. Its exquisite faculties were rapidly unfolded into the fullest and the richest bloom. The old Mythology, in so far as it was rugged and anguine, was moulded into beauty, and a soft yet rosy hue of youth diffused over it. A people who were as fitted to enjoy as they were to conquer—whose eyes were ever eager to drink in new loveliness—whose ears were open to the most delicate of creation's harmonies—whose sense of delight was ever unsated, and fresh for the reception of the keen and shivering raptures which the glorious efforts of genius were capable of imparting—would scarcely be satisfied till that poetical atmosphere was unsullied from which they imbibed earthly joys. In *Sophocles*, therefore, whose life comprised the era when Grecian freedom, literature, and Art were all in their utmost perfection, we do not find a single image which breaks the harmony, or even unduly raises a single emotion to the injury of

the general and pervading sentiment. We have seen already how Poetry became the pure and living mirror of the statuary's Art,* and the causes which thus influenced the creations of the bard even more directly incited those of the Sculptor. Indeed the triumph of the latter was more complete, because Poetry, in becoming allied to the plastic, lost in perspective, while it gained in precision; but Sculpture, confined in its very nature within exact boundaries, obtained the most splendid and undimmed victory.

The Grecian Sculptors not only derived the highest advantages from a Religion which disposed men to embody all the charms of nature in definite forms, and from a cast of mind requiring for enjoyment the distinctness of beauty rather than the visionary and the dim, but had all the benefit of studying the human frame in its most perfect freeness, elegance, and grace. Not only were the Greeks beautiful by nature, but the course of their lives, even from earliest infancy, was calculated to improve the form. The public exercises gave, in addition to the polished manner and elevated attitude of a citizen of the most glorious State on Earth, something of the wild and airy grace of an Indian bounding in the chase, or of a stag delicately pacing through his native forests. The women, although too barbarously confined to domestic employment to excel in the expression which mind alone can kindle up in the features, were of a high and pure style of beauty, noble in outline, glossy and ethereal in complexion, and perfect in the finishing. The materials for the workmanship of the artist were of the most appropriate and beautiful kind. Earth and clay, at first employed in framing statues, soon gave place to the white marble of *Paros*, and this yielded, in its turn, to that which was veined and spotted, and to jasper. According to *Pliny*, the artists had the power of even mingling different metals to produce fine and delicate shades, and thus to assist in expressing various passions and sentiments by a diversity of colours.

Admirable, however, as the models which nature afforded to the Grecian artists were, they did not rest contented with taking exact representations even of the most august or beautiful forms. Their sense of the beautiful lay too deep to allow them to be satisfied with any thing visible in the world of external nature, and they thought and brooded over the idea of perfection in shape, which they found in their own imaginations, till they were capable of presenting it palpably to "enchant the world for ever. Hence their noblest productions have given intimations of a beauty more complete than Nature herself, in the fairest of her works, has supplied. This triumph of Art is one of the most striking proofs of the natural immortality of Man—of the high origin and glorious destiny of our species. We have left us monuments that can never perish, which show that in the human soul there is a sense of loveliness, beyond even that everywhere exemplified in the wonderful embellishments of this our material abode—that, admirably as the Earth and the human frame are constructed, there is in the heart of Man a reaching forth after beauties and sublimities, still more astonishing and harmonious than are to be found in these stupendous works; and that so far is our nature

The early Sculptors of Greece.

From A. M. 3004.
—
n. c. 1000.
to
A. M. 3604.
—
n. c. 400.
Advances of Greek Sculptors.

The ideal is Greek Sculpture.

* See *Lectures on the History of Literature*, lecture ii.

* See *Homer* and *Hesiod*, p. 121; *Tragic Poets of Greece*, p. 233.

Biography. from partaking only of the qualities of matter in its grosser sense, that it has a power of forming and moulding its particles into symmetry and grace, which no individual object of nature can rival. In the highest works of Art, the goodness and the power of Him who formed the soul of the workman are, to a philosopher's contemplation, more signally displayed than in those things of which He is the more immediate author; because these are manifestations of that genius which He has breathed into the spirit, and which evinces, in all its aspirations, a constant struggle towards that state which shall reveal the eternal and un fading beauty of the soul, which, even here, entices occasional glimpses. But it is time to advert to the personal history of those artists of Greece, whose wonderful achievements have called forth the preceding reflections.

Dædalus is the first name we meet with among the Sculptors of Greece. The adventures and the works attributed to him are so marvellous, that it is exceedingly difficult to ascertain how far any statement respecting him is worthy of reliance. As he flourished in the remote period of 1000 years before the Christian era, it is probable that his inventions so astonished the ignorant spectators of their effects, that they believed him something more than mortal, and readily gave credit to every wonderful tale related concerning him. We are told that he was descended from Erectheus, King of Athens. From the intimations which can be collected respecting his works, there seems no reason to conclude that they were distinguished by peculiar symmetry or grace, or, indeed, that they were admired for any of those peculiar excellences which were so conspicuous in the later style of Grecian Statuary. He was a mechanist rather than a Sculptor—at least so far as the latter term implies a possession of the loftier inspirations of the Art. We are not told of the monuments of his skill as exquisite in beauty or as awful in grandeur, but as astonishing from the curious mechanism by which they were constructed. He was less celebrated as the framer of goddesses and of heroes, than as the contriver of moving statues, the architect of labyrinths, and the inventor of wings. He is said to have discovered the properties of the wedge, and other important instruments, to have applied glue in purposes of building, and to have given masts and sails to ships. It is, however, scarcely probable that all these great improvements in the most useful Arts were made in the space of a single life, but it is rather to be supposed that, as the Greeks are said to have attributed the sets of many ancient heroes to Hercules, so they have ascribed the inventions of a train of artists to Dædalus, especially as we find no celebrated name in the annals of the plastic Arts for Ages after him. The details given of his life are evidently, in a great measure, fabulous. He is said to have become jealous of his nephew, who seemed fast advancing to an equality with himself in ingenuity and skill, and to have been guilty of the crime of putting him to death by throwing him from a widow. For this offence he was condemned by the Court of the Areopagi, at Athens, but whether to death or only to exile authors are not agreed. In consequence of the sentence, however, he fled, with his son Icarus, to Crete, where he was hospitably entertained by Minos, the reigning Prince, and was employed in the exercise of his favourite Arts. Here he erected the celebrated Labyrinth, which afterwards became his prison;

for, in consequence of his having lent assistance to the Queen, Pasiphaë, in her scandalous amours, he was confined there, with his son, by order of the King. He is said to have effected his escape from this place by wings, made of feathers and wax, by the aid of which he, together with Icarus, took flight from his summit. The latter, soaring too near the sun, found his waxen pinions melt, and fell into the sea, which, from his death, was denominated Icarian. But Dædalus, more prudent, arrived in safety at Cumæ, where he erected a temple, and thence departed to Sicily. In this island he was courteously received by Cocalus, King of part of the Country, and repaid his hospitality by adorning the cities with his works, some of which were remaining in the time of Diodorus Siculus. Minos, in the mean time, resolved that the object of his revenge should not ultimately escape him, and, therefore, commenced warlike operations against Cocalus for having afforded him an asylum. This step succeeded; for the Sicilian King, afraid of the power of Minos, caused his guest to be murdered, in order to deliver his Kingdom from the impending danger. The false respecting the mole of the flight of Dædalus from Crete has been explained to signify, that he escaped by means of a vessel with sails, which, if misused before, might, in that Age, well be regarded as a description of wings. That part of it which relates to the death of his son is manifestly invented by the Poets.

It appears that Dædalus wrought, for the most part, in wood. He seems, however, to have occasionally made use of metals, which were employed as materials of Sculpture in very early periods. Pliny informs us that he left two brazen figures of youths drying themselves after bathing. He is said to have introduced quicksilver into the cavities of some of his images, so as to cause them to assume grotesque notions and attitudes, which would, of course, be attributed, by those who were unacquainted with the artifice, to supernatural powers. It appears that, in comparatively modern times, there were works ascribed to Dædalus in existence. A noble portico to the Temple of Vulcan at Memphis was shown as his workmanship. Pausanias affirms that nine of his pieces were remaining in Greece in his age, which were rude and destitute of grace, but had an impress of divinity upon them. The chief of these seems to have been a wooden Hercules, which is repeatedly alluded to by Pausanias. As there are several small bronzes now in existence which represent this hero, with every appearance of the rudeness of great antiquity, it is not impossible that they may be copied from this old relic of the earliest of the Grecian Sculptors. A horn, in white stone, of youth and girls dancing hand in hand, was alleged by the Gossians, who possessed it, to be his work, and the same is mentioned in the eighteenth book of the Iliad. Endeus, his pupil, made a statue of Minerva, which Pausanias saw in the Acropolis at Athens.

After Dædalus and Endeus, scarcely any celebrated name occurs in the annals of Grecian Art for a very long period. At length, **Dryander** and **Styllis**, both natives of Crete, in the year before Christ 776, are said first to have executed works in marble. Before this time, statues were, for the most part, made of clay or of wood, though it is certain that the Ancients had previously made use of more costly materials. Dædalus, we have seen, sometimes wrought in brass,

The only
Sculptors of
Greece.

From
A. M.
3004,
—
B. C.
1000,
to
A. M.
3604,
—
B. C.
400.

Dryander
and Styllis

Biography. and even in stone; and from the Odyssey it is certain, that, at least in the Age of Homer, men had begun to carve out ornaments in ivory. Up to this period, the plastic Arts seem to have made very little progress towards perfection. All the first statues had the air of savage nature: the limbs appeared muscular and turgid, the loins narrow, the lips thin, the eyes small, the chin pointed, the corners of the mouth turned upwards, and the lower limbs in an advanced position; but the whole animated with a kind of wild and rude energy, the expression of bodily power and a resolute uncultivated spirit. Many of these inclinations of the infancy of the Art seem to have marked the productions of the first artificers in marble. The figures were of the same rude cast, the draperies fell in perpendicular folds, and the whole appeared destitute of ease; but there was great nicety observed in the finishing of particular parts, especially of the curls or knots, in which it was usual to represent the hair as confined. Diponius and Seyllis went to Sicily, to exercise their Art, as that place was the great workshop of Greece. Here they were employed in framing images of the gods for the ornament of the public Temples; but, after they had made considerable progress, they disputed with the magistrates who employed them respecting the terms of their remuneration, and consequently left the statues unfinished, and repaired to Eolus. Shortly afterwards, Sicily was afflicted with famine, and the people sought advice from the Oracle of Apollo, at Delphos, as to the means they should use to avert their fate. They received for answer that Diponius and Seyllis must finish the images which had been begun, and they immediately sent entreaties to the artists for aid, offering them the most liberal remuneration if they would help them. Thus incited, they returned and completed the statues of Apollo, Diana, Hercules, and Minerva; the last of which was afterwards struck by lightning. It is said, by Piny, that the works of Diponius abounded in Ambrosia, Argos, and Cleone, "in which cities a man could not see a corner without them."

Bupalus
and
Anthemius.

At the distance of forty years from the time of Diponius and Seyllis, Bupalus and Anthemius, brothers, of the Isle of Chios, became celebrated for their workmanship in marble. They seem to have descended from a family of Sculptors, as their great-grandfather Melas, their grandfather Micules, and their father Anthemius, all practised the same Art. Of their ancestors we know nothing but the names. The brothers seem, for the most part, to have wrought in concert, and to have succeeded in framing many celebrated statues. Among their joint productions was a ludicrous representation of a contemporary Poet, Hippanax, who was greatly deformed in his person, and who is said to have revenged the insult by so bitter a satire on the caricaturists, that they put an end to their lives by hanging themselves in vexation. But the account given of these artists by Piny disproves the story of this tragical catastrophe, as he represents them as not only surviving the attack of their poetical foe, but as subsequently employed in framing several famous pieces of statuary. One of these was a figure of Diana, in the Temple of Chios, which, being placed in a very elevated position, seemed to wear a frowning aspect to those who were entering, and to smile on those who were quitting the portal. These statues appear to have formed a high estimate of their own and of their

father's skill; for they placed inscriptions on numerous pieces of their workmanship, in Delos and islands adjacent to Chios, intimating that Chios was not only remarkable for its vines, which yielded fruit of peculiar excellence, but for Anthemius and his sons who made so many beautiful and curious images. They wrought, for the most part, in Parian marble. It is said that, in cutting asunder this substance in the quarry, a perfect image, as of Sileasus, was discovered by some of the ancient workmen. Bupalus, however, framed statues in gold of the Graces, which were placed in the Temple of Nemesis, at Smyrna. At Janus, a Diana was exhibited which was the workmanship of the brothers. Some of their works were in the possession of Attalus, and others were placed at Rome, on the Palatine hill, where they adorned the Temple of Apollo.

After these Sculptors, a long and dreary interval occurs in the History of the Art. We are unable to trace its slow progress until that period when a single mighty genius not only was able infinitely to surpass all that was done before him, but to raise the Art itself to a height of which his predecessors could have entertained no conception. Indeed Phidias, of whom we are now to speak, not only by his fame eclipsed the faint glimmerings of renown which attended the names of those who preceded him, but rendered all inquiry into their exertions matter rather of antiquarian curiosity than of philosophical investigation. He was the Ezechias of the plastic Arts. Like the great Tragedian, if he did not actually invent his Art, he first discovered in it capabilities for the highest expression of mental sublimity, and made it a vehicle for the development of the noblest ideas and loftiest conceptions. His forerunners appear to have done little more than to have framed the weapons, by the aid of which he was able to manifest the most awe-breathing sublimity of thought which human skill has been able to embody in definite and circumscribed forms.

This wonderful artist flourished about 450 years before the Christian era, at Athens. Nothing authentic is related respecting his early days. We find him exerting his Art at the time when Grecian freedom was in its freshest bloom, after the overthrow of the Persian invaders. It is said that he first practised the Art of a painter, and probably derived from this circumstance that nice judgment respecting effect for which he was afterwards conspicuous. He brought indeed to his profession a knowledge of all the finer parts of Science which could tend to dignify and enhance it. With the most exquisite harmonies of Poetry, and the most gorgeous fictions of Mythology, he was no less familiar than with Geometry, Optics, and History. From Homer, whose Works he must have deeply studied, he drew those images of greatness which he afterwards moulded to earthly materials with a kindred spirit. His skill in Optics is attested by a curious circumstance in his life. It was intended to place a statue of Minerva on a column of great height; and both Phidias and a contemporary artist, named Alcamenes, were employed in framing images for the purpose, the best of which was to be chosen by the citizens. On inspection, the preference was universally given to the work of the latter, which appeared neatly and elegantly finished, while that of the former appeared rude and sketchy, with coarse and ill-proportioned features. When, however, at the

The early
Sculptors of
Greece.

From
A. M.
3004.
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1090:
to
A. M.
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B. C.
400.

Phidias
and his
School.

Genius of
Phidias.

Biography. request of Phidias, the two statues were successively exhibited on the elevation for which they were destined, all the minute beauties of his rival's work disappeared, together with the seeming defects in his own, and that image, which was before despised, seemed perfect in its proportions, and was surveyed with delight and wonder.

The genius of Phidias was highly, if not duly, appreciated by his fellow-citizens. He was employed in the delightful office of forming a statue from a block of marble found in the camp of the Persians after the Battle of Marathon, which they had brought with them as materials for a trophy of the victory they anticipated as certain. In the true spirit of a Greek, he framed hence a most animated figure of Nemesis, the goddess of vengeance, in commemoration of that disgraceful overthrow with which the impious attacks on freedom had been so gallantly visited. From the spoils taken from the same invaders, he also made a statue of Minerva for the Plataeans, the body of which was formed of gilded wood, and the face, hands, and feet of the marble dug from the Pentelic hill in the Athenian territory.

But the circumstance which, by a singular felicity not often accorded to genius, elicited the powers of Phidias, was the coincidence, in point of the time of the full maturity of his talents, with the magnificent administration of Pericles. The city of Athens having been, in a great measure, destroyed by the Persians, the opportunity was eagerly seized by this magnificent projector, of adorning it with far more splendid edifices than those which had been overthrown by the violence of the invaders. Intent on this great national design, he saw with eagerness, in the genius of Phidias, the means of giving form, shape, and completeness to the most glorious of his conceptions. He accordingly appointed this great Sculptor the general superintendent of all the public works then in progress, both of Architecture and statuary; and well, indeed, did the event sanction his choice. The buildings reared under the direction of Phidias, though finished within a short period, seemed built for Ages; and, as observed by Plutarch, had the venerable air of antiquity when overly completed, and retained all the freshness of youth after they had stood for centuries.

Of these works the most celebrated was the Temple of Minerva—the guardian deity of Athens—which was built in the Acropolis. This edifice had been previously called the Heptompedon, from the circumstance of its having measured a hundred feet square; but, after it was rebuilt, was denominated the Parthenon, being now of much larger dimensions.

Plutarch, after stating that Phidias was appointed to the general superintendence of all the public works, informs us that the Temple of the Parthenon was rebuilt by Callicrates and Ictinus. He further states, that the long wall of the city, which Socrates says he heard Pericles propose to the people, was built by the former of those Architects. It has hence been inferred by some that Phidias had no personal or immediate concern in any parts of the workmanship, but that he is excluded from a share in the work of Sculpture by the express language of Plutarch. This inference, however, seems scarcely warranted by the text, and is contrary to other evidence. It is true that the professions of statuary and Architect were frequently united in Greece, especially in the earlier times; but it is

exceedingly singular that, had this been the case with Callicrates and Ictinus, and especially had they been the authors of works so exquisite as those which adorned the Parthenon, their names should never have been mentioned by Pliny among the celebrated Sculptors of the Age of Phidias. Ictinus seems to have attained a higher eminence in his Art than Callicrates, and was employed in constructing the Temple of Phigalia while his contemporary builder was engaged in raising the wall of Athens, a work necessarily of much more massiveness than taste. The marbles of the Phigalian temple have been regarded by the most competent judges as inferior to the metopes of the Parthenon, now deposited in the British Museum, and are probably executed by a different hand. But there is no evidence that Ictinus framed even these; and, therefore, no inference can hence be drawn in favour of the hypothesis that he completed those which adorned the Temple of Minerva. It cannot, however, for a moment be supposed that all the ornaments of the latter edifice were entirely the workmanship of Phidias. It is most probable that he formed the designs for the whole: that Callicrates and Ictinus carried into effect the architectural part of them; and that Alcamenes and others, his pupils and contemporaries, executed the larger part of the Sculpture, while he occasionally touched and finished the more important figures, and overlooked the process by which his noble conceptions were embodied and rendered immortal.

All writers agree in regarding the statue of Minerva, which was erected within the Temple, as the entire production of Phidias. It was, indeed, the most celebrated of all his works, if we except the Olympian Jupiter, at Elis. Independently of the workmanship, it was of noble dimensions and of the most costly materials. It was twenty-six cubits, or thirty-nine feet in height, and formed of ivory and gold, being most probably composed originally of the former, and overlaid, at least in parts, by the latter. The goddess was represented in a noble attitude, erect, clothed in a tunic reaching to the feet. In her hand she brandished a spear, and at her feet lay her buckler and a dragon, of admirable execution, supposed to represent Erichonius. On the middle of her helmet a sphinx was carved, and on each of its sides a griffin. On the ægis were displayed a Medusa's head and a figure of Victory. This work was not only grand and striking in itself, but contained on its various parts curious specimens of minute sculpture in bas-relief, which Phidias is said to have brought to perfection. On the convex part of the shield was represented the contest of the Athenians with the Amazons—on its concave the Battle of the giants and the gods—the slippers were carved with views of the fight between the Centaurs and the Lapithæ—and on the base was figured out the fable of the birth of Pandora, with images of twenty deities. Cicero, Pliny, Plutarch, Pausanias, and other illustrious writers of antiquity, in whose times this noble piece of workmanship was in existence, speak of it with unqualified repute. After the execution of such a statue, the artist could not expect to enjoy repose at Athens. The flattering envy and hatred, which almost uniformly attended excellence in that city, speedily attended him. He was charged by Menon, one of his pupils, or workmen, with having embezzled part of the forty-four talents of gold with

The only Sculptors of Greece.

From A. M. 3604. — B. C. 1000. — A. M. 3604. — B. C. 400.

The Parthenon.

Biography. which he had been furnished to decorate the statue of Minerva in the Parthenon. But Pericles, foreseeing the danger to which his superiority would expose him, had advised him so to employ the gold, that it might readily be separated from its place; and, on its being taken down and weighed, it was found perfectly entire. (See PERICLES.) This, however, was not the only charge with which Phidias had to contend. According to Plutarch, he had engraven his name on the statue in the Parthenon; but Cicero informs us, that, not being permitted to inscribe his name upon its base, he introduced his own figure among the decorations of the shield. It appears, indeed, from Plutarch's *Life of Pericles*, that he carved his own figure and that of his munificent patron on the shield, representing the former as an old man, bald headed, lifting a stone with both his hands, and the latter fighting with an Amazon, and so raising his arm, to throw a javelin, that part of his face was hidden. This circumstance was brought forward as a serious accusation against him, and, according to Plutarch, he was, in consequence, thrown into prison, where he died, as some supposed, a natural death, but, as others conceived, by poison. At least, the latter hypothesis was supported by those who wished to throw odium on Pericles, by causing it to be suspected that this event was accomplished by his connivance. The whole story, however, appears, from the greater number of authorities, to be founded in mistake, and from these it seems that the artist withdrew, in disgust, to Elis, where he framed the Olympian Jupiter. Menon, his base accuser, was exempted from taxes by a public decree, and the Generals of the Republic were ordered to afford him their especial protection. The conduct of the Athenians on this occasion, although it admits of no excuse, may be explained, in some degree, on the supposition that their envy of surpassing genius and success was heightened by their disposition to extend to Phidias part of that odium which at one period fell on Pericles. Indeed, the artist had been previously accused of suffering his house to be made the scene of the debaucheries of his patron;—though, for the honour of genius, it is to be hoped that the charge was destitute of foundation.

Animated rather than subdued by the ingratitude of his Countrymen, Phidias laboured to surpass the greatest works with which he had adorned Athens. With this view he framed the statue of Jupiter Olympius for the Eleans, and completely succeeded even in excelling his own Minerva in the Parthenon. Lucian informs us that, in order to render this work as perfect in detail as it was noble in conception and outline, he exposed it, while in progress, to the public view, and, concealing himself near it, heard every criticism made by the spectators, and profited by every suggestion which he considered as useful. This statue was sixty feet in height, and in represented, in the enthusiastic descriptions of those who saw it, as embodying the sublime picture which Homer has given of the monarch of the heavens. It is said, indeed, that when the artist himself was asked whence he had derived the idea of this grand effort, he replied by reciting the verses of the Poet, in which he represents the Divinity as assenting to the request of Thetis:

Ἦν αὖτ' ἀνέστης ἰὸν ἰππῶν νότον Ῥαῖον.
 Ἀφ' ἑλίου δ' ἄρα κέρως τριγυρῶντα δόρυ
 Ῥαῖος ἄν' ἀνέστην πρὶν δ' ἰδὼν ἄλλοιαν.
 Iliad. A. 517.

Never was bard illustrated by so noble a commentary! Of this mighty work Pausanias has left us, fortunately, a minute description. It represented Jupiter as seated on his throne, which was made of gold and ivory; his brows surrounded with a crown of olive; his right hand holding a figure of Victory, of ivory and gold, bearing a small fire; his left wielding the sceptre, on the top of which was the golden eagle; his robe of massive gold, curiously wrought with various figures, especially of lilies; and his sandals of gold. The throne was inlaid with all kinds of precious materials—ebony, ivory, and gems, and adorned with various pieces of sculpture. In the front of the throne was a representation of the Sphinx carrying of the Theban youths; beneath these, that of the fate of Niobe and her children; and on the frame, joining the feet, the contest of Hercules with the Amazons, embracing twenty-nine figures, among which was one intended to represent Theseus. On the hinder feet of the throne were four Victories, as treading in the dance. On the back of the throne, above the head of the Divinity, were figures of the Hours and Graces; and on the seat, Theseus warning with the Amazons, and lions of gold. Its base, which was of gold, represented various groups of the Divinities, naming which were Jupiter and Juno, with the Graces leading on Mercury and Vesta; Cupid receiving Venus from the sea; Apollo with Diana; Minerva with Hercules; and, below these, Neptune, and the Moon in her chariot. The whole was encircled by a wall, on which were painted various grand and mythical pictures by Panæus, the brother of Phidias. On the base of the statue, as if in reproach of the Athenian jealousies, was the inscription—*Phidias, the Athenian, the son of Charmides, made me.* Of the whole work Quintilian observes, that it even added new feelings to the Religion of Greece: *etiam pulchritudo adjecisse aliquid etiam receptæ religioni videtur, adeo majestas operis eam æquavit.* It was confessedly without a rival in ancient times, all writers speaking of it as a work which none would dare even to imitate. The Temple prepared for its reception seems to have been not unworthy of the work. It was built in the Doric style, by Libon, an Eleian. In the front pediment was a representation of the contest in the chariot-race between Pelops and Œnomaus; on the back, the fight of the Centaurs and Lapithæ, with the suppliants of Pirithoüs; and in the interior were many works of Alcamaenes, depicting the labours of Hercules. With this, his masterpiece, the great artist finished his labours. The manner of his death, if the account of Plutarch be rejected, is altogether unknown. The place at Elis in which he had wrought was long after preserved with care, and visited by travellers with deep veneration; and the Eleans, grateful for the honour which he had conferred on their Country, gave a perpetual salary to his descendants, on condition that they should preserve the work they so highly valued from every description of injury.

Besides these most celebrated works of Phidias, several very distinguished compositions are mentioned by other ancient writers. He made a statue of Minerva, in brass, so beautiful that it was regularly named by the distinguishing epithet of *Καλλιστοφρον*. He also formed another image of the same goddess, which Æmilius Paulus dedicated in the Temple of Fortune at Rome. A figure of a key-bearer, two images in cloaks or mantles, and a naked Colossus, were also attributed

The early
Sculptors of
Greece.

From
A. M.
3004.

B. C.
1000.
to
A. M.
3604.

—
B. C.
400.

Status of
Jupiter
Olympius.

Other
statues of
Phidias.

Biography. to him. He framed likewise a figure of an Amazon, called Eucnemion, from the extreme beauty of the leg. A doubt has been raised by some whether Phidias ever wrought in marble; but there seems little reason for this surmise, for Pliny not only expressly numbers him among the gravers in marble, but represents him as having been the Sculptor of a celebrated statue of Venus, in the Forum of Octavius, at Rome. It is asserted also, by the same authority, that he was the instructor of Alcámenes, whose works in marble were exceedingly numerous at Athens, and were supposed to have been, in many instances, touched with the hand of the great master.

Phidias appears to have been the first Sculptor who raised his works to the ideal. Cicero philosophically eulogizes him for this excellence, by which, in reality, he raised Sculpture almost from a mechanical drudgery to share in the glories of the most exalted Poetry, and even to mould and influence the national imagination of Greece: *Phidias cum faceret Jovis formam aut Minervæ, non contemplabatur aliquem à quo similitudinem duceret: sed spiritus in mente insidabat speciem pulchritudinis eximia quandam, quam intus, in cæcis deflexis et illius similitudinem, artem et animam dirigebat.*—Cic. de Orat. 9. In the whole character of his works, Phidias seems to have borne a striking resemblance to Æschylus, which is observed by W. A. Schlegel. Like the boldest of the Tragic Poets, he not only formed the vastest conceptions, but chose for his groundwork the grandest materials. Like him, also, he excelled rather in the representation of gods than of men, and threw all his conceptions at a vast distance from the world of ordinary existence. The repose of his figures was that of conscious omnipotence. He aimed not at expressing the passions of humanity, or at exhibiting the charms of beauty in motion, but directed all his exertions to the embodying ideas of the sternest grandeur. His whole soul was filled with the gorgeous visions of the elder time—the dark tales of old gigantic strength—the feelings of a power and a glory departed. He caught the spirit of Ages long before his era, to transmit it to generations after him by the most durable of earthly memorials.

Alcámenes. The principal Sculptors of the Age of Phidias or rather of the earlier part of it, whom it is probable he employed in adorning the public works at Athens, were Alcámenes, Agoracritus, Critias, Nestocles, and Hegias. There are, however, occasional inconsistencies in the accounts given by Pliny respecting the precise time when some of these flourished; as, although he expressly makes Alcámenes contemporary with the earlier part of the Age of Phidias, he represents him as having been his pupil, and hence draws an inference that Phidias wrought in marble. If we suppose this to be the same Alcámenes whom Phidias overcame in the contest by his superior skill in Optics, as we have related, the circumstance will tend to shake the assertion that he was the pupil of his adversary, although made so positively by Pliny. For it seems most probable that the circumstance occurred at the commencement of the career of Phidias, before his genius had been fully developed, and certainly before he was appointed to superintend all the public works by Pericles. Hence it is scarcely to be believed that he had completed the instruction of a disciple, so as to enable him to enter into competition with himself, or that, had he done so, he would have neglected to impart to him that portion

of his knowledge which related to the alteration in the appearance of objects which distance and position produce. It appears, however, from every authority, that Alcámenes was one of the most distinguished of the contemporaries of Phidias. We have seen that part of the decorations in the Temple at Eli, so renowned as containing the Olympian Jupiter, was from the hand of this artist. His most celebrated work was a statue of Venus, called Aphrodite, which was placed without the walls of the city of Athens, to which Phidias is supposed to have given the finishing touch. Besides his works in marble, he also made a Panthelon, in brass, which was called Eucnemion. As we are told by Pliny that a great number of his works was remaining in Athens, it is very probable that he had a large share in adorning the Parthenon, under the direction of Phidias.

Agoracritus was, according to Pliny, a pupil of Phidias, and exceedingly beloved by his master, who carried his affection for him so far, as to allow some of his own pieces to be regarded as the productions of his favoured disciple. He was a Parian by birth, and wrought in the marble for which his native island was famous. He had a contest with Alcámenes, who is represented by Pliny as having been his fellow-pupil. Each of them endeavoured to produce the most excellent statue of Venus, and the latter was declared to be successful—not on account of the real superiority of his work, but because the Athenians chose to favour their own citizen rather than a native of Paros. Indignant at the result, the unsuccessful candidate is said, when he disposed of the statue made on the occasion, to have annexed to the sale the condition that it should never be placed in the city of Athens. In further revenge, he named it Nemesis, and allowed it to be placed in a village called Rhamnus, within the territory of Attica. M. Varro prefers this work to all other statues. Its Sculptor was also celebrated for an excellent image of Cybele, placed in a temple at Athens, dedicated to the mother of the Divinities.

Of Critias, Nestocles, and Hegias, little is known. The last named made statues of Minerva, of Castor and Pollux, which were placed before the Temple of Jupiter the Thunderer; and figures of youths called Celestizontes. In the latter part of the Age of Phidias, a considerable number of artists arose of great excellence, the chief of whom were Polykletus, Myron, Agelides, Callion, Gorgias, Phingmon, two Sculptors named Pythagoras, Læon, and Purlæus. Of these Polykletus appears to have been the ruling spirit.

POLYKLETUS was born at Sicyon, the great School of the plastic Arts, and flourished about four hundred and thirty years before the Christian era. As Phidias has been denominated the Æschylus, this artist may have with propriety, be regarded as the Sophocles of Sculpture. He perfected that which his great predecessor had invented. He did not possess the grandeur of imagination of Phidias, or even attempt, like him, to create the images of the most powerful deities. It seems, indeed, that he excelled less in representing the robust and manly graces of the human frame, than in the sweet, tender, and unconscious loveliness of childhood. In his works, however, he manifests an equal aspiration after ideal beauty with that of Phidias. He seems to have laboured to render his statues perfect in their kind, by the most scrupulous care in the finishing. Hence he is said to have observed, that "the work

The early Sculptors of Greece.

From A. M. 3004. — B. C. 1000. to A. M. 3604. — B. C. 400.

Polykletus.

Biography. becomes most difficult when it comes to the nail." He framed a statue of a Persian life-guard so marvellously exact to its proportions, and so exquisite in its symmetry, that it was called the *Rule*, and became the model from which artists drew their Canons of Criticism, which determined the correctness of a work. He executed also an image of a youth binding a fillet, of so perfect a beauty, that it was valued at the immense price of a hundred talents. Another of his celebrated works represented two children playing at dice, which was regarded with the highest admiration at Rome, where it was in the possession of the Emperor Titus. His Mercury belonged to Lysimachus, and his figure of Hercules lifting Anteus were placed in Rome. He also produced an image of a Voluptuary, languidly reclining on a couch, which was held in the highest esteem.

It seems that Polykleitos, during his lifetime, was preferred even to Phidias. This appears from a similar circumstance to that by which Themistocles was shown to be entitled to the highest honour among the Greeks who fought at Salamis. It was resolved to place several statues of Amazons in the Temple of Diana, at Ephesus, and all the great artists of Greece were consulted as to their opinion who among them had the highest merit. Each named himself first, and the man whom he regarded as the next in desert, second,—and he who was found to have most of these second votes was declared victorious. By this mode of ascertaining the relative degree of renown enjoyed by each, Polykleitos obtained the first place, Phidias the second, and Ctesias and Cylon the third and fourth. We can scarcely, however, regard this judgment as decisive. The Athenians were always jealous of the loftiest degrees of excellence, and it is not probable that the immediate competitors for applause in the same Art should have been impartial. If we form a judgment from the allusions by the Orators and Poets of antiquity to the works of ancient Art, we shall, undoubtedly, find that Phidias made the deepest impression on those minds which may well be supposed to have had the truest sense and feeling of beauty and grandeur.

Polykleitos himself, on one occasion, showed how little deference he felt for the fickle judgment of his fellow-citizens. Being employed in framing a statue, he freely permitted every one to inspect it, and to give advice as to the form and disposition of every part, and followed the counsels thus offered him. In the mean time he privately completed another figure on the same subject, according to his own unbiased opinion, and, when both were completed, exhibited them together, and asked which of them was the finest. All joined in approving the latter, and condemning the former, when the artist triumphantly replied, "*That which you reproach is your own work, that which you admire is mine.*"

Polykleitos is said to have carried alto-relievo, which Phidias invented, to perfection. He discovered the balancing of figures on one leg, and is said to have been so partial to this mode of representing the human form, that he almost invariably adopted it in his statues. He is accused by Varro of too great uniformity in his figures, and the constant repetition of the same idea. Nothing could exceed the exactness of symmetry with which he framed his statues, but it seems that they were destitute of passion, sentiment, and expression. It is singular that, notwithstanding the refinement, the

extreme polish, and exactness of finishing with which his works were in general elaborated, he represented the hair in knots, after the fashion of the ancient Sculptors. These defects, however, seem to have derogated but little from his fame, either in his own Age or in after times.

Myron, the pupil of Agelides, was not so remarkable for any one style of composition as his predecessors and contemporaries, but appears to have been of a lively and versatile genius. He was a native of Eleutheria, but regarded as an Athenian, because his Countrymen had sought and been allowed the protection of Athens. He wrought both in brass and marble. He seems to have been able to give to his works an air of great facility and ease; for it is said of him, by Statius Papius, that he played rather than wrought in his materials. The particular work which contributed the most to his renown, was a brazen heifer, which became the subject of numerous Greek Epigrams, some of which are preserved in the Anthology. The other statues by him, which were most celebrated, were the Discobolus, ascertained by an antique gem, and the description of Quinestian, who apologizes for its forced attitude, and of which there is an ancient copy in the British Museum; the Tomb of a grasshopper and locust, in brass, mentioned by Erinna, the Poetess; Perseus slaying Medusa; a Satyr admiring the music of the pipes; Sawyers, called *Pristis*; the figure of an old drunken woman, in marble, made for the people of Smyrna; and held in the highest estimation; a statue of Minerva; the Delphic Panthali and Pancerlaste; a Hercules, which was afterwards conveyed to Rome, and placed in the Great Circus of Pompey; and an Apollo, which Marc Antony took from Ephesus, and Augustus Caesar restored, in consequence of receiving a warning to that effect in a dream. Pythagoras of Rhetium is said to have surpassed Myron in the figure of a Pancerlaste, for the Temple of Apollo, at Delphos.

Pythagoras of Samos was another celebrated Sculptor of this period. He is said to have been originally a Painter, and hence acquired the faculty of giving accurate resemblances of individual faces, in which he was singularly successful. He made a figure of an old man, and seven naked statues of the goddesses, which have been spoken of in terms of high eulogy. Respecting the other Sculptors of this time we have scarcely any distinct information.

SCOPAS, though enumerated by Piny among those Scopas, &c. who, in the latter part of his life, were contemporary with Phidias, seems, according to the best authorities, not to have flourished till a somewhat later period. He united the professions of Architect and Statuary, and was equally eminent in each. He was a native of the Isle of Pharos, which seems to have been almost equally productive in artists as in the materials of Sculpture. It was his fortune to be employed as one of the four artists who were engaged by Artemisia, Queen of Caria, in framing that splendid monument to the memory of her husband, Mausolus, in the city of Haliarnassus, which was ranked among the seven wonders of the world. Each of the builders chose one of the sides, which he undertook to complete: Bryaxis chose the North; Timotheus, the South; Leochares, the West; and Scopas, the East. Before the work was completed, Artemisia died, but the Architects determined, for the sake of their own fame, to finish it. A fifth, indeed,

The early Sculptors of Greece.

From A. M. 3004.
—
u. c. 1000.
to
A. M. 3604
—
u. c. 400.
Myron, &c.

Biography. came, to crown the whole, with his assistance. This was Pylus, who carried up the sides in a pyramidal form, and placed at the top figures of a chariot and four horses. The circumference was, however, only a hundred and eleven feet, and the height a hundred and forty; so that it must have been the exquisite beauty of its ornaments, rather than the massiveness of its size, which rendered it an object of so high admiration. Scopas was appointed also to contribute one of the columns to the Temple of Diana, at Ephesus, and that which he framed was regarded as the most beautiful of the whole. He seems, indeed, to have been scarcely, if at all, inferior to Polyclitus or Myron. His statues were numerous; among the most remarkable of them were the images of Venus, Pythos, and Phaeton, which were held in the greatest veneration by the Samothracians. Many of his compositions were among the noblest ornaments of Rome in the days of Pliny. An Apollo of his workmanship stood on the Palatine Mount: a Vesta seated, with two female attendants sitting on the ground beside her, adorned the gardens of Servilius; and a group of the same description, as well as a virgin bearing on her head a basket of relics, were preserved in the Collections of Asinius Pollio. His statues also of Neptune, of Theseus, and Achilles, of the Nereids riding on the mightiest monsters of the deep, great fishes, tritons, and a whole train of marine creatures attending Phæneus, were highly prized, and placed in the Chapel of Cæsar Domitius, in the Flaminian Circus. A colossal image of Mars, and an exquisite statue of Venus, were also greatly admired at Rome; the latter was preferred to a similar statue by Praxiteles, which has been thought to have furnished the original idea of the Venus de Medicis. It is uncertain whether the celebrated group of the Niobe be the production of Scopas, or belong in a later Age. It is one of the sweetest manifestations of that deep and intense feeling of beauty which the Grecian artists delighted to preserve in the midst of suffering. The internal harmony of this divine work has thus been developed by a celebrated critic, who seems to have caught the true spirit of Grecian Poetry and Art.*

"In the group of Niobe there is the most perfect mixture of terror and pity. The pained looks of the mother, and the mouth half open in supplication, seem to accuse the invisible wrath of Heaven. The daughter, elating in the agonies of death to the bosom of her mother, in her infantine innocence, can have no other fear than for herself; the innate impulse of self-preservation was never represented in a manner more tender and affecting. Can there, on the other hand, be exhibited to the senses a more beautiful image of self-devoting heroic magnanimity than Niobe, as she bends her body forward, that, if possible, she may alone receive the destructive bolt? Pride and repugnance are melted down in the most ardent maternal love. The more than earthly dignity of the features are the less disfigured by pain, as from the quick repetition of the shocks, she appears, as in the fable, to have become insensible and motionless. But before this figure, twice transformed into stone, and yet so immitably animated—before this line of demarcation of all human suffering, the most callous beholder is dissolved in tears."

* Schlegel *Lectures on the Drama*, lecture iii.

The associates of Scopas, in adorning the tomb of Mausolus, were celebrated not only as Architects, but as Sculptors. Timotheus was the framer of an admirable statue of Diana, preserved in the Temple of Apollo, on Mount Palatine, the head of which had, however, in the time of Pliny, been restored by Aulianus Evander. Bryaxis was renowned chiefly for his statues of Esculapius and Seleucus. The soft and tender had now taken the place of that sublimity to which Phidias had so nobly aspired, and some relaxation may soon be observed in the severity of Sculpture. When Grecian freedom expired under Philip and Alexander, the Art lost something of the high idealism it had formerly developed, though it was advanced in all the delicacies of form by Praxiteles and Lysippos. These great artists must, however, be considered hereafter.

Happily for us, we are not left to gather all our ideas of the freeness, the grace, and the majesty of Sculpture in the vestiges of Greece from the statements of Historians. If the Jupiter Olympian and the noble statue of Minerva, in the Parthenon, are totally lost, we have, in our own Country, ample vestiges, from which we may form conceptions not altogether inadequate of the grandest of these astonishing works. We allude to the sculptured marbles brought by Lord Elgin from Athens, which were purchased by Parliament, and are now open for public inspection in the British Museum. The chief of these, consisting of a statue of Hercules, or Theseus; of an Iliac, or river god; of horses' heads; of fourteen metopes, in alto-relievo; and of the frieze, representing the grand procession for celebrating the Panathenæan festival, were taken from the ruins of the Temple of the Parthenon, with a number of less perfect fragments. These pieces have been almost universally regarded by our greatest artists and men of taste, to be of the very highest order of Art. Mr. Nollekins stated in his evidence before the Committee of the House of Commons, appointed to consider the expediency of purchasing the collection, that the marbles were "the finest things that ever came to this Country;" that the bas-reliefs were "among the first class" of that species of Sculpture; and that the Theseus was as fine a Sculpture as the Belvidere Apollo. Mr. Flaxman regarded the Theseus as somewhat inferior to the Apollo, because the latter statue partook more of ideal beauty; but expressed the most enthusiastic admiration of every part of the collection. Mr. Westmacott considered the Theseus and the river god as "infinitely superior to the Apollo Belvidere," and observed, that "the back of the Theseus was the finest thing in the world, and that the anatomical skill displayed in the front of the Iliac was not surpassed by any work of Art." Mr. Chantry, Mr. Rossi, Sir Thomas Lawrence, Mr. Day, Mr. Wilkins, Mr. West, and the Earl of Aberdeen, all speak of them as among the noblest relics of ancient genius, though differing in some minor points respecting them. It is also the opinion of these gentlemen that the works are of the Age of Phidias; though, of course, how far that great artist himself assisted personally in their execution can only be matter of reasoning and conjecture. Mr. Payne Knight, however, expressed, in some respects, a different opinion, both as to their antiquity and their value; he placed "the finest of them in the second rank," and thought that most of them were added by the Emperor Adrian, but considered the best of the

The Elgin marbles.

The early Sculptors of Greece.
From A. M. 3004.
B. C. 1000.
to A. M. 3604.
B. C. 400.

Biography. metopes no of the first class of high relief, and the frieze of the procession as of the best order of low relief, in existence. With respect to the different estimate of the highest merit of these works, as the matter entirely depends on feeling and taste, we can only state the opinions of those who may certainly be presumed competent judges. But the question of antiquity being a matter of fact, depending, in some measure, on external evidence, may be fairly made the subject of discussion. Now, the only reason offered by Mr. Knight in support of the hypothesis, that part of the works are of the Age of Alcibiades, is, that "Spon and Wheeler thought one of the heads to be of that Emperor, and later travellers having found no symbols of any deity upon it; also for the draped trunk, which seem to be of that complicated and stringy kind of work which was then in fashion." But the observations of Spon and Wheeler are admitted to be loose, if not inaccurate; and the conclusions they drew from them are, in some instances, undoubtedly erroneous. Thus these travellers, misled by a false view of the description given of the Parthenon by Pausanias, mistook the subject of the eastern, for those of the western pediment, and vice versa, and strove, with perverse ingenuity, to discover the birth of Minerva in the contest for Attica, as has been indisputably shown by the Chevalier Vissconti. Little reliance is then to be placed on their supposition, had they really advanced it. In the absence of all proof from History that the works are of later date than the Temple, their style may surely be received as evidence of their ancient origin. They are in the purest and simplest manner of Grecian Sculptures; they have nothing of the theatrical air about them which distinguishes the statues of later times; they are grander, indeed, than common nature, but their innate divinity reposes on its own powers, and does not appear to put itself forth for the admiration or reverence of spectators. Canova has passed on them the warmest eulogies, and declares that he "should feel perfectly satisfied had he come to London only to view them." Surely, then, it is no unreasonable supposition that they are part of the original decorations of the Temple where they were found, over the whole of which Pheidias presided, and that they are from his designs, if not touched by his hand.

All the eulogiums, however, which have been passed on these admirable works, and even the belief that the greatest benefit to the Arts would arise from their public exhibition in our metropolis, would not reconcile us to their removal from Athens, if the charges brought against Lord Elgin for his conduct in procuring them were well founded. Nothing could justify the measure of attempting to take them from their old position, but the certainty that they could not remain there without the utmost hazard of sustaining irreparable injuries. They can never be regarded elsewhere with that feeling with which they were surveyed at Athens. They cannot have the same atmosphere of sentiment about them. Nor, while a spark of old enthusiasm continued alive in the breasts of the Athenians for these relics of the glory of their fathers, could they in common justice be deprived of the objects of their reverence, even though, as works of Art, they could neither appreciate

nor enjoy them. But it appears that the most valuable Sculptures in Lord Elgin's collection were not removed from places in which they were open to inspection, but were found, after much toil, amidst neglected ruins. For Spon and Wheeler represent the eastern pediment of the Temple as having fallen down, and the figures which were yet visible as so far distant from any place where they could be distinctly seen, that no particular drawings were made of them. But the most important fact stated by Lord Elgin is, that when he was preparing to make an excavation in a spot where some of the principal statues had probably fallen, the Turks informed him that they had pounded all the marbles he expected to find there to mortar. Indeed, it appears that the most wanton aggressions on the marble were constantly permitted, or winked at, all travellers being ready to give some recompense for permission to remove relics, in which they frequently committed more injury than they derived advantage. A comparison of the most perfect parts of Lord Elgin's collections with the accounts and drawings of travellers in various times, will show how rapidly the Sculptures have been lessened and defaced. Between the time of Spon and Wheeler to Athens and the arrival of Lord Elgin, an old Temple on the Ilissus had disappeared, a Temple in the neighbourhood of Elia and Olympia had been taken away, and thirteen columns at Corinth had been reduced to five, as pieces were constantly broken off by travellers. According to the evidence of Mr. Wilkins, of ninety-two metopes, which must have adorned the Temple, two and thirty must have been removed, and probably destroyed, before the operations of Lord Elgin. This gentleman also observed, that "at the time that Lord Elgin was at Athens, there existed among the Turks a great desire to deface all the Sculptures within their reach;" but adds, that now a disposition is shown to preserve them, in consequence, no doubt, of the profit arising from the sale of the permission to remove them. The testimony of the Earl of Aberdeen is exceedingly explicit with respect to the danger of great part of the marbles, had they remained at Athens. It does not appear that any unpleasant sensation was created by their removal, but rather the reverse, in the minds of the natives. Some few of the articles, and these the least important, might, perhaps, from their situation and from their position, have been left with safety; and it is to be regretted that these have been taken from their places. On the whole, however, we think it is satisfactorily established, that the far greater part of the glorious works which we now possess would have perished by the hands of the ignorant, had they not been preserved by our ambassador; who, so far as pecuniary considerations are involved, paid highly for them, and who stands, we think, acquitted by the necessity of the case, on the more sentimental grounds of accusation alleged against him. We have, then, obtained them, we believe honestly, and we cannot too highly estimate the value of their possession. Not only must they form an admirable School for our artists, but diffuse among the people at large that sense of high and pure beauty, which will add to their noblest pleasures, and render even their moral feelings more gentle and more exalted.

The early Sculptors of Greece.

From
A. M.
3604.
—
B. C.
1000.
to
A. M.
3604.
—
B. C.
400.

THE EARLY PAINTERS OF GREECE.

PANENUS..... FLOURISHER ABOUT B. C. 430.
POLYDORUS B. C. 420.
APOLLODORUS B. C. 410.
ZEUXIS
PARRHASIOS } B. C. 400.
TIMANTHEA }
EUPOMPUS..
PAMPHILUS..

Biography. PLINY, in his inquiries into ancient Painting, attributes its invention to a period long after that in which Sculpture was commonly practised both among the Egyptians and the Greeks; for he asserts that it was altogether unknown until after the destruction of Troy, and that even lineary portraiture, or the drawing of the mere outline of a figure, was first practised by Ardicus of Corinth, and Thelephanes of Sicyon. But this opinion is refuted by the testimonies of other writers, who speak of the ancient practice of the Art in Egypt, and by the chests of mummies which are still in existence. Plato speaks of Painting as having been practised by the Egyptians for ten thousand years; which assertion, though manifestly extravagant, is sufficient to prove that the Art had been known by them for a long period. Probably it was neglected about the era of the Trojan war, and afterwards revived in Greece by those who are represented as its inventors. It would be strange if Sculpture had by many Ages preceded the mere marking of outlines on a flat surface, in which all testimonies agree that Painting originally consisted. In the time of Homer, it is evident that the idea, at least, of representing persons, groups, and events in colours, prevailed, because we find in his Works repeated allusions to the working in tapestry the Pictures of grand and varied transactions. It is probable, therefore, that lineary Painting must have been known in preceding Ages. The first Painters, indeed, in Greece were mere drawers, and appear not to have practised colouring. This circumstance must be attributed to that simplicity of taste which is so manifest in the ancient Sculpture, and that strong bias which existed in the national feeling to singleness of delineation arising from the tendencies of the Religion. We have already seen how they were led to cast every thing into a set and definite form, and to substitute in their Poetry beautiful human figures for the objects of inanimating nature. Hence their Painting was not only very simple in its beginnings, but even in its perfection partook of the qualities of Sculpture. Most of their Pictures were either single portraits of individuals, or historical groups consisting of a few simple figures, and rarely exhibited any attempts at perspective. Hence the deficiency of shading, which would be found needful for the accurate delineation of a single figure, was carried to a high degree of perfection, while other parts of the Art were in their rudest beginnings.

According to the testimony of Pliny, the first Painters of Greece used no other instrument than a coal to mark out their outlines. The first who made use of colour

was Clephantus of Corinth, who had no other colour than red, which he produced by grinding some kind of brick or earth to powder. Eumarus, a Painter of Athens, first distinguished the sexes in his Pictures, and gave to male and female their proper lineaments. Cimon the Cleonean, who followed Eumarus, first invented the mode of representing faces as looking on one side, and the folds of vestments and inequalities of surfaces. He seems to have excelled in the knowledge of Anatomy, representing, with accuracy never before attained, the knitting of the joints and the various grouping of the figures. The time at which these artists flourished cannot be ascertained with precision. There are manifest contradictions in the account given by Pliny. While, in one place, he ascribes Painting to have been totally unknown at the time of the Siege of Troy, in another he asserts it to have arrived at perfection in the time of Romulus, because, about that period, Candaules, King of Lydia, bought of a Painter, called Bularchus, a Picture for as much gold as it weighed, and hence infers, that "evident and apparent it is that the origin and beginning of the Art was of much higher antiquity, and those Painters who used it not but one colour lived a long time before, although it is not recorded in what Age they flourished." Candaules was a contemporary of Minos, and Minos in Greece before the Age of Phidias. Soon after this, however, the Art advanced with great rapidity, and several most distinguished artists appeared contending for the highest point of excellence.

Phidias himself, as we have seen in his life, was **Paragon** originally a Painter. After he had left this Art, for the exercise of that in which he was more renowned, his brother, **Panxrus**, continued to excel in picture. One of his most celebrated works represented the Battle of Marathon, and contained the figures of Miltiades, Callimachus, and Cynegyrus, on the Grecian side, and of Datis and Ariapernes on that of the Persians. He was employed in decorating the wall which surrounded the statue of Jupiter Olympian at Elis, and an account of the subjects of the Painting which he executed on that occasion is preserved in the ancient descriptions of the statue. These were, Atlas sustaining the heavens and the earth, with Hercules relieving him of his burthen; figures of Theseus and Pirithous; emblematic figures, representing Greece and Salamis, the latter holding a vultum; Ajax under the reproach of Cassandra; the strife of Hercules with the Nemean lion; Hyppodamia, daughter of Ceneus, with her mother; Prometheus, chained, with Hercules

The early
Painters of
Greece.

From
A. M.
3554.
—
B. C.
450.
to
A. M.
3604.
—
B. C.
400.

Biography. advancing to his assistants; Prometheus delivered by Hercules; Achilles supporting Penthesis dying; and the two Hesperides bearing golden apples. To the time of this artist, prizes were given at Corinth and Delphos for excellence in Painting; for one of which he contended with a Painter named Timagoras; but it does not appear which of them obtained the victory.

But **PALTYNORUS**, who flourished about four hundred and twenty years before the Christian era, just in the dawn of the Age of Zeuxis, Parrhesias, and Timanthes, seems to have contributed more largely to the advancement of his Art than all preceding Painters. Before his time, the countenance was represented as destitute of animation and fire, and a kind of leaden dulness pervaded its features. His triumph it was to kindle up expression in the face, and to throw feeling and intellect into the whole frame. He was the Prometheus of Painting. He also first painted the mouth open, so that the teeth were displayed, and occasion given to use that part of the face in the expression of peculiar emotions. He first clothed his figures in light, airy, and transparent draperies, which he elegantly threw about the light forms of his women. He was, in short, the author both of delicacy and expression in the Paintings of Greece; but his style is said to have been hard, and his colouring not equal to his design.

This excellent artist was the son of Aglaophon, himself a Painter, and born in Thasos, an Island of the *Ægean sea*. He followed, for some time, the Art of Sculpture, but soon devoted himself exclusively to that for which his genius was better adapted. His great works consisted of those with which he decorated the *Psekiely*, a grand Gallery and place of exercise at Athens, so denominated from the great variety of its embellishments. For this place he executed a series of paintings, representing the principal events of the Trojan War. For his labours on these works, he refused to receive any remuneration from the Public, while Mycon, a contemporary artist, who was employed in adorning another part of the same building, was liberally paid for the exertions of his genius. **Polygnotus**, however, was not without his reward. The Sacred Council of the Amphictyons, the representatives of all the States of Greece, offered him solemn expressions of gratitude on behalf of the whole Commonwealth, and decreed that wherever he should travel he should be entertained at the public expense. One of his Pictures, on a tablet, was preserved at Rome, in the Gallery of Pompey, representing a man on a scaling-ladder, with a target in his hand, so contrived that it was impossible to tell whether he was going upwards or descending. Pliny informs us that, besides the Mycon who assisted in painting the *Psekiely*, there was another Painter of the same name, whose daughter, Timonthe, excelled in the Art professed by her father.

APOLLODORUS further prepared the way for the best efforts of Painting in Greece. He was the first who carried the disposition of light and shade and chiaroscuro to any degree of perfection. His genius was calculated to astonish and to rivet the attention. Pliny informs us, that no Painter before him could succeed in holding the spectators of his works in the long contemplation of their excellence; *Neque autem eum tabula ullius extenderit que tenet oculos*. One of his most celebrated Pictures exhibited a Priest at his devotions, "breathless with adoration;" and another,

Ajax struck with fire from heaven. The latter was preserved at Pergamos. It may be observed, that the subject is more bold than any recorded to have been previously chosen by a Painter.

ZEUXIS, who, with Timanthes and Parrhesias, carried ancient Painting nearly to perfection, was born at Heraclea; but whether at the city of that name in Macedonia, or that near Crotona, in Italy, does not certainly appear. He studied either under Demophilus or Neseas, artists respecting whom nothing is known, but that one of them was his master. Soon, however, he far outstripped his instructor, as Apollodorus intimated, in verses expressive of his indignation that Zeuxis should have moulded to his own use all previous inventions, and stolen the graces of the best masters; thus paying a fine involuntary compliment to his highly-gifted rival. Apollodorus, having first practised chiaro-oscuro, could not endure that his glory should be eclipsed by a younger artist, who availed himself of his improvements to rise to a higher degree of excellence. Zeuxis seems to have rapidly arisen to the highest distinction in Greece, and to have acquired, by the exercise of his Art, not only renown but riches. Of the latter advantage he was more vain than became a man of exalted genius. He appeared at the Olympic Games attired in a mantle on which his name was embroidered in letters of gold, a piece of most absurd display in one whose name was deeply impressed on the hearts and imaginations of those by whom he was surrounded. He does not, however, seem to be chargeable with avarice, or, at least, this passion, if it existed, was subservient to his pride; for when he had attained the height of his fame, he refused any longer to receive money for his Pictures, but made presents of them, because he regarded them as above all pecuniary value. In the earlier part of his career he was accustomed, however, to exhibit his productions for money, especially his most celebrated Painting of Helen, where the figure was denominated, "Helen the courtesan." The truth seems to have been, that the ruling passion of Zeuxis was the love of pomp, an ever-restless vanity, a constant desire and craving after every kind of distinction. So far as money assisted in procuring this, he stooped to obtain it, and refused it when he could most successfully assume dignity by refusing further recompense.

Very little is known respecting the events of the life of this celebrated Painter. He was not only successful in securing wealth and the applause of the multitude, but was honoured with the friendship of Archelaus, King of Macedonia. For the Palace of this monarch he executed numerous Pictures. *Ælian* informs us that Socrates, referring to this circumstance, observed, that "Archelaus had expended large sums of money on his house, but none on himself; whence it was that numbers came from all parts of the world to see the Palace, but none its owner, unless such as were allured by his presents, who were not among the most virtuous of men." *Cicero* informs us, that the inhabitants of Crotona prevailed on Zeuxis to come to their city and to point there a number of Pictures, which were intended to adorn the Temple of Juno, for which he was to receive a large and stipulated sum. On his arrival, he informed them that he intended only to paint the Picture of Helen, with which they were satisfied, because he was regarded as peculiarly excellent in

The early Painters of Greece.

From
A. M.
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to
A. M.
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Zeuxis.

Apollodorus.
From.

Biography. embody in a single piece all the wayward and contradictory passions and feelings, the stupendous greatness and the singular weaknesses, the admirable tastes and contemptible jealousies, of that most strange, yet most interesting people. Of this great performance, Pliny says, *Pinxit et Damonas Atheniensium, argumenta quoque ingeniosa. Volabat namque varium, transivendum, injunctum, inconstanter; eundem vero errabilem, eludentem, misericordem, cavillum, gloriosum, humilem, ferocem, fugacemque et omnia periter cedere.* (lib. xxxiv. c. 10.) It seems impossible that all these varied characteristics could have been expressed by a single figure; probably a variety of groups were depicted in one large piece, to attain the object of the Painter.

Besides this grand piece, Parrhasius painted two celebrated groups on different tablets, the one containing the figures of *Aeneas, Castor, and Pollux*; the other *Telemachus, Achilles, Agamemnon, and Ulysses*. He excelled in delineations of childhood and tender youth, as, his nurse with an infant in her arms; a Priest, attended by a child with a censer; and two boys, with a peculiar expression of innocence, unconsciousness, and freedom from care in their countenances, abundantly proved. A naval captain, armed with a corselet; Bacchus, with *Virtus* standing over him; and two excellent figures, one of a man in armour, running and appearing to labour beneath its weight; and the other, of a person taking off armour, as fatigued with past exertions, were among the most famous of his productions.

His Picture of *Theseus* procured for him the freedom of the city of Athens, and was afterwards placed in the Capitol at Rome. Another of his pieces, *Arethusa*, was in the possession of the Emperor *Tiberius*, who kept it in his bedchamber, and regarded it as worth sixty thousand sesterces. A grand heroic Picture by his hand, representing *Meleager, Hercules, and Perseus*, was preserved at Rhodes, where it was regarded not only with the admiration due to its excellence, but with superstitious veneration, from a story that the tablet on which it was painted had been three times struck with lightning, but that the colours did not receive the least injury. This tale Pliny calls a miracle, and says it adds greatly to the credit of the Picture.

Parrhasius, like his rival, is accused of great ostentation and vanity. He spoke of himself as the Prince of Painters, and as having brought his Art to perfection. He added new epithets to his name to express his dignity. He even announced himself to be a lineal descendant from *Apollo*, and affirmed that his Picture of *Hercules* was an actual portrait of that Hero, who used to appear to him in visions, in order to give him the opportunity of taking an exact resemblance of his person. In public he appeared dressed in rich and costly garments of purple embroidered with gold. Worse things than these pompous follies are, however, objected to him. Pliny tells us that he was accustomed to relax his mind from his nobler pursuits by framing small Pictures of a loose and immoral character. Seneca the Rhetorician brings an atrocious charge against him. He affirms that Parrhasius, being desirous of representing the tortures of *Prometheus*, caused an Olynthian captive to be put to a lingering death by torture, while he drew from his agonies the vivid representation of his hero's sufferings. But we are happy to disbe-

lieve this story, as *Olinthus* was not taken until *Parrhasius*, if living, must have been very far advanced in years. Our readers will remember a similar tale in the annals of Italian Art.

Parrhasius, who conquered *Zeuxis*, himself was overcome by *Timanthes*; and in a fair trial of merit than that in which he obtained the victory. On this occasion, the rival artists painted pieces on the same subject—the indignation of *Ajax* on the judiciousness of *Achilles* to *Ulysses*,—and that of *Timanthes* was thought exceedingly superior. Parrhasius consoled himself by affecting to lament the fate of *Ajax*, a second time overcome by his inferior.

TIMANTHES has not been so much brought forward in the annals of Art as *Zeuxis* and *Parrhasius*; but, as far as we have means given us of judging, he was, at least, inferior to neither in genius. He seems to have thrown a large share of intellect and thought into his productions. He appears to have been unequaled both to ingenuity and feeling, of which we have some curious examples. One of these was displayed in the Picture on the noble subject of the Sacrifice of *Iphigenia*, in which he represented the tender and beautiful virgin standing before the altar awaiting her doom, and surrounded by her afflicted relatives. All these last he depicted as moved by various degrees of sorrow, and grief seemed to have reached its almost expression in the face of *Menelaus*; but that of *Agamemnon* was left—and the Painter, heightening the interest by confessing the inadequacy of his Art, covered the head of the father with his mantle, leaving his agony to the Imagination, and regarding it as too sacred for the gaze of spectators. Of this piece *Quintilian* says, *Cum in Iphigenia immolatione pinxit tristem Colcham, tristiorum Ulyssum, addidit Menelaum quem summum poterat ars efficere marorem; consumptis affectibus, non reperire quod dignè modo patris vultum posset exprimere, velavit eus caput, et suo cuique animo dedit ostendendum.* (ii. 13. 13.) On another occasion, having painted a sleeping *Cyclops* in an exceedingly small compass, yet wishing to convey the idea of his gigantic size, he introduced a group of *Satyrs*, with poles, taking the measure of his thumb. A deep meaning was to be discovered to every work of his pencil; yet the tendency to expression and significant delineation did not detract from the beauty of the forms which he created; for his figure of a Prince was so perfect in its proportion, and so majestic in its air, that it appears to have reached the utmost height of the ideal. This Picture was preserved in the Temple of Peace at Rome.

Of *Eupompos*, another Painter of this time, who acquired considerable reputation, we know even less than of *Timanthes*. Before he acquired his renown, we are informed that there were only two great styles of Painting, or rather distinctive names bestowed on the Painting of different regions—the *Heladiao* and *Asiatia*. But *Eupompos*, being a native of *Sicyon*, so exalted the fame of his Country for the Art, that the *Heladiao* was divided, and the *Sicyonian* and *Attic* became the terms for the two Schools of the artists in Europe, while that of the cities of Asia was denominated by the general term of *Ionian*. One of the most celebrated works of this Painter was the naked figure of a conqueror in the Public Games, holding in his hand the

The only Painter of Greece.

From A. M. 3554. — B. C. 450. to A. M. 3604. — B. C. 400.

Biography, branch of a date-tree. Enpompas was the master of Pamphilus, who afterwards had the honour of instructing Apelles.

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Comparis-
on of ancient
and modern
Painting.

PAMPHILUS appears to have given the deepest attention to the principles of his Art. He excelled all his contemporaries in the knowledge of general literature, and was well acquainted with mathematical lore, without which he thought that no one could become a perfect Painter. He was, therefore, peculiarly qualified to instruct others in the Art of Painting, and valued his lessons highly, since he received no pupil for a less sum than ten talents of silver, for which he gave instruction during ten years. On these terms, Melancthus and Apelles became his disciples. He was a native of Amphipolis, a city upon the borders of Macedonia and Thrace, but established his School at Sicyon. There he first procured for Painting a rank among the liberal Sciences, and caused a law to be passed, whereby all free citizens were to be taught its principles in their youth—a measure which was afterwards adopted throughout Greece. No slave was permitted to practise the Art, nor even to become an engraver; a restriction which, while it shows the high esteem in which Painting was held, evinces the haughty and exclusive spirit with which the Republicans of old strove to debase human nature and human genius, in order to render themselves the sole depositaries of virtue and of wisdom. The most celebrated of the Pictures of Pamphilus were, a Picture of a family, the battle before Philus, and the victory of the Athenians, and Ulysses on the seas in a small vessel. He was the last of that cluster of Painters who preceded the more decisive and splendid success of Protogenes and Apelles.

We have unfortunately but slender materials which can lead us to form a correct judgment of the degree of excellence in which the Grecian Painters were able to attain. Their Pictures, although painted on solid and durable substances, as larch, box-wood, or fir, the ceilings and walls of buildings, and sometimes even on marble, have almost entirely perished. This cannot excite wonder, when we remember that the use of oil in Painting was probably unknown to the Ancients, and that their varnishes, before distillation was invented, were necessarily imperfect, and could not long prevent decay. If the grandest works of Phidias, although statues of colossal size, are entirely lost, it could scarcely be expected that the Pictures of Zeuxis would survive. We can entertain, however, very little doubt that there were some excellencies in which the Grecian Painters arrived at a high degree of perfection. For if we consider the grandeur and the beauty of the works of statuary which, in their time, were placed in every Forum and Temple, it is impossible to believe that Painting could have been held almost in equal esteem with Sculpture, unless some of the noblest capabilities of the Art had been developed by its followers. The Apollo Belvidere, the Venus de Medicis, and the Laocoon, have for Ages been regarded as the highest possible models of excellence, which modern artists have been contented to admire, without hoping to rival. And even of these the two former are probably mere copies, and the latter is certainly the work of an Age when the purest severities of earlier times were no longer attained by the Sculptor. The Elgin marbles, though the works of the best Age of Grecian Art, were

only the inferior ornaments of that Temple in which the Minerva of Phidias was revered; and, astonishing as they are in easy majesty and natural grandeur, were produced by the hands of artists not, in their own days, comparable with the mighty framer of the principal statue. After the contemplation, therefore, of all these relics of ancient genius which time and the chances of the world have spared, we have doubtless a very inadequate idea of that more than earthly sublimity which the masterpieces of Greek Sculpture displayed, of the high divinity with which they were "instinct," or of the sweet graces with which every minor part was touched, softened, and perfected. Surely, then, the Art which shared the admiration of the Athenians with Sculpture, must have put forth no common or unfinished specimens.

Still there is great reason to believe, that if, in some respects, the ancient Painters attained the highest excellence, there were others in which they were far inferior to the Moderns. According to Pliny, Apelles himself, who flourished after the artists alluded to in this section had acquired great renown for their profession, used no more than four colours. Hence we may conclude that the chief excellence of the Greeks lay in the design, and in the strictly grand style of their delineations. It will be observed, that all the Pictures enumerated by Pliny consist of a single figure, or of groups of figures representing the human form, though that form is almost always of the grandest or sweetest cast, and is made to shadow forth the valour of heroes or the divinity of gods, or the loveliness of woman and the cherubic beauty of childhood; landscape was rarely, if ever painted; and it may be doubted if the first artists understood, with any degree of accuracy, the first principles of perspective. Painting, indeed, was brought as nearly as possible to Sculpture; its object and its excellencies were the same. This arose, in some degree, from the singular beauty of the forms which artists had constant opportunities of studying, but more from the general taste of the Greeks, which led them, on all occasions, to personify objects of nature, to embody the thoughts of mind, to catch the most airy and fleeting ideas of beauty and grace, and to shape out from them distinct and vivid images. They had no perspective of mind. Their Poetry was that of satisfaction, not of desire; and, for the same reason, their Painting gave no ideas of remoteness. They revelled in the present; or, if they looked backward, they saw only grander and more stately forms in the demi-gods and regal champions of the Heroic Ages.

The superstitions of Greece were, for the most part, gay and joyous; the images of its gods were models of earthly beauty; its Religion was a continued festival. As there was little of solemnity in the most elevated thoughts of its people, there was little of deep-shadowing or of awe-breathing gloom in its Paintings. A different spirit prevailed in those Ages in which the Italian masters were formed to excellence. Life had ceased to be a mere course of unthinking gladness; a soberer hue was shed over the colouring of existence. Religion, in its purity, while its light so far penetrated beyond the grave as to reveal the fact of another life, clearly displayed nothing but the mighty outlines of eternal being, leaving its solemnities covered with a

The early
Painters of
Greece.

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Biography. sacred darkness. A new and boundless expanse was opened for Imagination to soar in, but the mighty objects it contained lifted only their gigantic forms through clouds and mists, in the dimness of which their grandeur was felt rather than seen. Depths also were opened in the human soul, which Man himself could not fathom, nor look into without trembling. The feelings which arose from these new worlds of mystery, affected all kinds of imaginative productions. Even the human form was represented with a more pensive beauty; its hopes seemed to come from afar; its looks were of angels; its smiles were brought up from joys in the depths of the soul. The mind became accustomed to grasp a larger space, and the Painter strove to represent vastness and distance. At the same time the Muses, the Nymphs, the River-gods, the Cupids,—all the personifications of qualities, powers, and the works of the material creation, vanished—and Nature in her own free loveliness burst freshly in upon him. The romantic manners, too, and the gloomy superstitions of the Middle Ages, gave new subjects for the pencil, which were happily adapted to display the effects of the new, deep, and solemn emotions with which the spirit had been

awakened from its holiday dreamings. Hence the introduction of perspective, the cultivation of landscape painting, and the mingling together of divine expression with human sweetness in the Madonnas and the holy Children. Hence the heavenly sweetness of Raphael, the delicious expansion of Claude, and the wild passion and terrible sublimity of Salvator Rosa. It was as impossible, from the texture of the public mind, that the Greek Painters should have portrayed the sentiments and the feelings expressed by the Italian masters, as, from the infancy of mechanical discoveries, that they should have forestalled them in variety of colouring. In perfection of outline, purity of style, and grandeur of form, the Ancients were, doubtless, beyond imitation; but they must necessarily have been defective in variety, thought, sentiment, and destitute of the mingled charms of those divine figures, in which the Italian masters have appeared to blend the eternal with the earthly—in which the expression has been lighted up from brighter worlds, and the colours have seemed fresh from a brush dipped in the dews of heaven, and directed by the finger of an angel.

The early
Painters of
Greece.

From
A. M.
3554.

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to
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X E R X E S.

FLOWERED FROM A. M. 3519. B. C. 485. TO A. M. 3540. A. C. 464.

Biography. At the close of the life of Darius (p. 360) we related, after Herodotus, the dispute between Xerxes and Artabanus for the succession to the Throne, and the ground of their father's decision in favour of Xerxes. Of this transaction there is a different, and not uninteresting account, which rests on the authority of Plutarch and Justin, and properly belongs to the commencement of this reign. It is at the close of Plutarch's *Treatise on Brotherly Love*, and to the following purport:

The story is worthy of our attention, respecting a dispute between two brothers, not concerning a small portion of land, or the possession of a few servants or cattle, but for a prize not less than the kingdom of Persia. On the death of Darius, some claimed the succession for Ariamenes, (Artabanus, in Herodotus,) as the eldest son; others for Xerxes, the son of Darius by Atossa, the daughter of Cyrus, and born after the commencement of Darius's reign. Ariamenes went into Media, not in a hostile manner, but peaceably to await the determination of the question. There Xerxes had begun to exercise the royal authority; but, on the arrival of his brother, he put off his crown and robes of royalty, and approached him with a friendly greeting. He now sent him presents, and charged his servants with this message: "Thus your brother Xerxes honours you; and, if the Persians should declare me King, I will place you next to myself." Ariamenes replied, "I accept your gifts, but presume that I am entitled to the throne of Persia. Yet for my brothers I shall have posts of distinction, and for Xerxes the first."

Content for
the success-
ion.

On the day fixed for the determination of the right
VOL. IX.

to the Crown, the Persians appointed Artabanus, Darius's brother, to make the decision. Xerxes excepted against this appointment, and would rather have depended on the popular voice. His mother reproved him, encouraging his reliance on the justice of Artabanus, brother of Darius, whom the Persians had appointed umpire in this dispute. She is said (very probably, considering her ambitious character) to have reminded Xerxes, that, at the worst, he would still be next the Throne, and called the King of Persia's brother. Xerxes yielded to her reproof, and Artabanus, after some discussion of the opposite claims, adjudged the Kingdom to him; upon which Ariamenes rose up immediately, did homage to his brother, and placed him on the Throne. This account was received as authentic by the Emperor Julian, who remarks (*Opera. Orat. i. p. 33*) that, "after the death of Darius, there were disputes for the succession to the Crown, but those who aspired to it chose rather to decide their differences by the comparative justice of their claims, than by an appeal to arms."

However Xerxes attained the succession to the sovereign dominion over the mighty Empire of Persia, he is King, reputed, according to the most probable chronology, to have ascended the Throne in the year a. c. 485. Of the transactions which occupied his reign of twenty-one years very little is known, except what has been recorded in the three last books of Herodotus, who was born at Halicarnassus, in the second year of his reign. From those books, as containing nearly contemporary information, we shall collect our materials, unless where we refer to other authorities.

The first object of the young Monarch was to punish

Xerxes.

From
A. M.
3519.

A. C.
485.
to
A. M.
3540.
—
A. C.
464.

Biography. the revolt of the Egyptians. For this purpose he completed his father's preparations for an expedition into Egypt. He also now confirmed to the Jews the decrees and grants which Darius had made in their favour. On this occasion, Josephus (*Antiq.* b. xi. c. 5) has quoted (if he did not invent) an Epistle from Xerxes to Ezra, in which he permits the return to Jerusalem of all Jews of whatever description. They are also allowed, out of the treasury of the Empire, the cost of all the vessels of silver or gold which they desire to consecrate to the divine worship. "That God," adds the King, "may not be at all angry with me, or with my children, I grant all that is necessary for sacrifices to God, according to the law, as far as an hundred cori of wheat." In consequence of this indulgence, the Historian relates, that not only the Jews in Babylon, but those "that were in Media—many of them came with their effects to Babylon, as very desirous of going down to Jerusalem; but the body of the people of Israel," he adds, "remained in that Country." These, consisting of "the Ten Tribes, are beyond Euphrates, and are an immense multitude, not to be estimated by numbers." These Israelites have been supposed by Sir Wm. Jones to have been the ancestors of the AFRIANIANS. See our vol. xvii. p. 192.

The Ten Tribes.

Subjugation of Egypt.

Xerxes prepares to invade Greece.

Alcanda.

Paisistratides.

Xerxes consults his lords.

The preparations for the reduction of Egypt being now finished, Xerxes led thither an army, of whose operations we have no account, except that the revolt of that Country was soon overcome, and the subjugation of Egypt rendered more complete than by the conquest of Cambyses, or the political regulations of Darius. The government was now committed to the King's brother Artabanus, who was afterwards slain (under what provocation does not appear) by Isarus, a Lybian, the son of Psammetichus.

The following three years of his reign were employed in preparations for the invasion of Greece, which Xerxes regarded as an easy acquisition. "He refused," says Plutarch, (*Apophthegm.*) "to eat Attic figs that were brought for sale, waiting till they became his own, by the conquest of the Country that produced them." Mardonius, the son of Gobryas, desirous of recovering the military reputation which he had lost by his early misadventures, had urged Xerxes, immediately on his accession to the throne, to retaliate the wrongs which Persia had received from the Athenians. He also represented the beauty and fertility of Europe, which rendered it worthy to become the sole possession of the Great King, especially as it abounded in all kinds of trees, of which some parts of Persia are remarkably destitute. Messengers also arrived from the Alcanda, Princes of Thessaly, who entreated the King to march against Greece, and employed every argument in their power to persuade him. The survivors of the fallen family of the Paisistratides, who had found a refuge at Susa, joined their solicitations. To aid the same design, Oaomacritus, a famous Priest, who had been formerly banished from Athens, of which he was a citizen, recited some oracular verses. Omitting every thing unfavourable to the Persians, he selected whatever was encouraging. He particularly assured the King, speaking of his marching as army into Greece, how the Destinies had determined that a Persian should throw a bridge over the Hellespont.

This was the resolution of Xerxes excited by the entreaties of the Alcanda and the Paisistratides, and the flattering predictions of the expatriated Athenian

Priest. He now determined to pursue those designs against Greece, which he had already commenced, by recovering the dominion of some neighbouring tributary States which had revolted from the Persians, Being thus prepared to lead an army against Athens, the King summoned an assembly of the principal persons in his Court to hear their opinions and communicate his own pleasure. He professed that he designed by this war to imitate his illustrious predecessors, to punish the insolence of the Athenians in their attack upon Sardis, to revenge the disgrace incurred by the Battle of Marathon, and to gain possession of a rich and beautiful Country, not inferior to Persia; these objects he was also pursuing in compliance with the well-known purpose of his father Darius. Then, after expressing his hope to overrun all Europe, and acquire unlimited dominion, he proposed munificently to reward him who should bring to this expedition the greatest number of well-appointed troops; concluding this address to his Nobles, according to our Historian, with the following coadescending declaration: "Consider now what is proper to be done, nor think that I would consult only my own judgment. I charge you to deliberate, and let each freely declare his opinion." The close of this royal harangue, in Valerius Maximus, (*lib. ix. c. 5.*) is far more in character: *Ne viderer meo tantummodo usus consilio, eos contrari. Ceterum mementote parandum magis vobis esse, quam suadendum.* (That I might not seem to follow only my own judgment, I have called you together; but remember that you are rather to obey than to persuade.)

Mardonius, as might have been expected, was eager to second the opinions of the King, and, thus to promote his own wishes, again to engage the Greeks; these he affected to disparage, while he described the Persians as the first of men in military accomplishments. With Xerxes at their head he would not believe that the Greeks could be so audacious as to oppose them. Thus Mardonius paid his master the homage of echoing back his sentiments. A profound silence now ensued, no other appearing prepared to express approbation, and no one daring to oppose the sentiments and evident inclinations of the King.

According to *Ælian*, (*Var. Hist.* l. xii. c. 62.) there was a law in Persia, that if any one ventured to give advice in opposition to the opinion of the King, he did this standing on a golden tile. If his advice were approved, he received the tile for his reward. Yet he was beaten for presuming to contradict the King. On the present occasion, however, Xerxes had commanded the opinion of his counsellors, and at length Artabanus, son of Hyetaspes, and uncle of the King, deriving confidence from this relationship, ventured to interrupt the silence, by a harangue of some length, according to our Historian, but of which the following is the substance:

"O King! it was my advice to Darius, your father and Advice of my brother, by no means to war against the Scythians, Artabanus, a people who had no fixed habitations. He disregarded my admonitions, and returned, after having lost a large part of his army in the vain attempt. Those whom you would now invade are far superior to the Scythians, and equally prepared to combat by sea or land. You prepare to throw a bridge over the Hellespont, and thus lend your army through Europe into Greece. But our enemies are reported to be valiant, and if the Athenians, when unsupported, could rout

Xerxes.
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—
B. C. 485.
to A. M. 3540.
—
B. C. 404.

Biography. the numerous armies of Datis and Artaphernes, we cannot be considered, by sea or land, as perfectly invincible. Should they now be victorious in a naval engagement, and then, sailing to the Hellespont, destroy your bridge, the narrow consequences may be apprehended, such as were narrowly escaped in your father's Scythian expedition. Listen then to my advice; do not court unnecessary hazards. And as to you, O son of Gobryas, (addressing Mardonius,) ill does it become you to calumniate the Greeks, and thus excite your Sovereign to a war, which is your favourite project. Yea, if it must be undertaken, let the King remain in Persia, and our children be answerable for the wisdom of our counsel. If the Persians conquer, as you promise, let me perish, with my children. But should those disasters happen which I forbode, let your children be thus treated, with yourself, should you survive the expedition."

Anger of Xerxes. Xerxes soon discovered how little he had designed to encourage freedom of speech among his courtiers, and how incapable he was of improving this rare advantage of possessing a friend, disposed to inform rather than to flatter him. The King neglected Artabanus, in an angry tone, and bade him impute his escape from punishment only to his relationship to the Throne. He threatened to leave him at home in the company of the women, whilst, at the head of the Persians, he pursued his victories. Yet, at night, the representations thus freely given by Artabanus awakened in his mind some serious reflections, and he at length determined to abandon, as rash and impolitic, the projected expedition. Falling asleep, he dreamed, as the Persians reported, that a man of uncommon size and besuty stood before him, and urged him to pursue his first resolution. The King, however, disregarded this vision, and, in the morning, again convened his Council, before whom he apologized for his anger towards Artabanus, and declared himself for his opinion. The second night the vision reappeared, reproaching Xerxes for his disobedience to the former injunction. In the morning, the terrified King sent for Artabanus, and proposed that, on the next night, he should assume the throne and royal robes. To Artabanus the same vision soon appeared, severely threatening him, unless he ceased to dissuade the King from his proposed expedition. Artabanus, as might be expected, now advised the war, and presently the King saw a third vision, which, according to the interpretation of the Magi, portended for Xerxes universal Empire. He appeared to be crowned with a wreath from an olive-tree, whose branches covered the whole Earth, though presently the wreath disappeared. This interpretation of the Magi being declared, the Governors hastened to their several Provinces, to execute, with all possible despatch, the orders they had received, each hoping to gain the promised reward.

Remarks. On these pretended visionary scenes, we cannot offer any remark more amiable than the following, by the learned French translator of Herodotus: *Si j'allois révoquer en doute cette vision, ou du moins, si j'allois dire que c'étoit un tour de Mardonius ou des Pisistratides, je ne dirois sans doute rien que de juste. Mais je crois devoir laisser ces sortes de réflexions à la sagacité des lecteurs.* Larcher, v. 283. (Should I call in question these visions, or, at least, describe them as contrivances of Mardonius or the Pisistratids, I should

doubtless speak nothing but truth. Yet such reflections should rather be left to every reader's sagacity.)

While Xerxes was thus preparing for the conquest of the Greeks, he engaged the Carthaginians to attack their colonies in Italy and Sicily, as we have already related in this volume (p. 225.) He likewise drew his boats, like his father Darius, from all the nations of that vast continent which owned the Persian sway. Thus, according to the Prophet Daniel, (xi. 2.) "By his strength and his great riches he stirred up all against the realm of Greece." Our Historian says, "What nation of Asia did not Xerxes lead against Greece? What waters, except great rivers, were not exhausted by his armies? Some of the people furnished ships, (and the whole have been computed at more than three thousand,) others raised infantry, and others cavalry. Some provided transports for the horses and the troops, or long vessels to form bridges, while others even brought stores of provisions and vessels to transport them." The place of rendezvous for this naval armament was Elaeus, in the Chersonesus of Thrace. Thence, if we credit our Historian, detachments were sent to execute the prodigious labour of cutting a canal through Mount Athos, now Monte Santo, or rather through the isthmus behind it. These detachments relieved each other at regular intervals, and were urged to labour by the strokes of the whip, according to the military discipline of the Persians; on which Larcher well remarks that *un soldat ainsi traité ne peut-être sensible à l'honneur.* (A soldier thus treated must become insensible to honour.) Herodotus has minutely described the expedients employed to dig this canal, a work which he attributes to the King's vain desire of displaying his power and of leaving a monument to posterity; as with far less trouble he might have transported the vessels across the isthmus. This vanity imputed to Xerxes appears, indeed, to have been a favourite theme of Antiquity. Thus Plutarch (*de ira coh.*) imputes to the haughty Persian King the following frantic Epitaph to the mountain: "Athos, whose top now reaches to the skies, I charge thee not to interrupt my workmen with stones which cannot be cut saunder, lest I cut thee into pieces, and whelm thee in the sea."

Yet Xerxes has been vindicated from the imputation of this folly, by a very reasonable diabolical of the improbable story, and a recollection that Herodotus is not always a *Historian*, "or," as Whiston remarks, that he "sometimes prefers what is marvellous, to what is best attested as really true." Juvenal, the contemporary of Plutarch, (s. 174.) ridicules the credulity which

*Velificatus Athos, et quicquid Græciæ mœnibus
Adulet in Historiâ,*

(the voyage through Athos, and other daring fictions of the fabling Greeks) could not stagger. Modern travellers have sought in vain for any evidences of this stupendous work, which is said to have occupied, for three years, a vast multitude of labourers. M. Belon, a French traveller in the sixteenth century, who has a place in Mr. Ray's curious collection of *Travels into the Eastern Countries*, could not discover, according to Rullin, on passing near Mount Athos, any traces of this canal. Such was also the report of a later observer, our learned Countryman Pocock. But Mr. Richardson, who is among the first modern authorities on Oriental questions, concludes, from the following

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A. C.
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Extent of
the King's
prepara-
tions.

Biography. considerations, that the tale of *Athos* is incredible. "This promontory was no more than 200 miles from Athens; and yet Xerxes is said to have employed a number of men, three years before his crossing the Hellespont, to separate it from the Continent, and make a canal for his shipping. Themistocles also, who, from the time of the Battle of Marathon, had been incessantly alarming the Athenians with another Persian invasion, never endeavoured to support his opinion by any allusion to this canal, the very digging of which must have filled all Greece with astonishment, and been the subject of every public conversation." *Dianct.* p. 312.

Xerxes, having completed his preparations, began his march from Susa, with the troops which accompanied him from Persia. At Critalis, in Cappadocia, which is supposed to have been the Archelais of the Romans, and the modern Ereklis, the rest of the troops which were to compose the land army were assembled to attend the King, who now proceeded on his march to Sardis. At Celasus, the metropolis of Phrygia, Xerxes and his whole army are said to have been entertained by Pythius, who is represented to have been only second to the King in wealth, and to have lived with him in munificence; though at length his generous offers were recompensed by an extravagant cruelty. Pythius, during the march, having requested that the eldest of his five sons, who were all in the army, might be left as the support of his old age, Xerxes, as if he would imitate Darius, in the case of Cebasus, after venturing his indignation at the father, ordered this eldest son to be cut asunder, and the severed parts of his body to be placed on each side of the road through which the army was about to pass. It is remarkable that the late Mr. Beloe, in a note to his translation of Herodotus, (iii. 466,) should have taken this occasion to declare, that "no two characters could well afford a more striking contrast to each other than those of Darius and Xerxes," to the former of whom he attributes, we know not on what authority, "various instances of the tenderest humanity." We must, however, add, that the story of Pythius, though Plutarch (*de virtutibus mulierum*) has adopted and enlarged it, appears, on reflection, very improbable. What could the greatest man in Phrygia be, but the Satrap of a Province? And could such a man be suffered to amass wealth, only inferior to the royal treasures, while his name and his magnificence, as Herodotus pretends, were utterly unknown to Xerxes?

The King now proceeded through Phrygia to Colossus, and entered Lydia, at a place where Croesus had erected a pillar, to fix the boundaries of the two Countries. On his arrival at Sardis, he immediately sent heralds into Greece, with the exception of Athens and Lacedæmon, to demand the homage of earth and water; thus Xerxes occupied the winter of the fifth year of his reign. He had previously ordered, according to our Historian, vast preparations for passing the Hellespont; and upon a temporary disappointment of his scheme, discovered a childish petulance, which has made this King a theme for satire through all Ages.

He had ordered a bridge to be constructed across the Hellespont, for the passage of his army into Europe. The workmen commenced at the side next Abydos, the Phœnicians using (to connect the vessels) a cordage made of linen, and the Egyptians one made of the

bark of the hyblus. This bridge was no sooner completed at the narrowest part of the strait, which was nearly a mile over, when a violent tempest dispersed the whole. Enraged by the knowledge of the disaster, Xerxes sentenced the Hellespont to be whipped to the extent of three hundred lashes, and ordered that a pair of fetters should be thrown into the sea, which made Juvenal (x. 183) extol the King's lenity—

— *quod non est attingit dignum*

Credidit.

(that he had not branded the sea with a hot iron.) Xerxes, however, who had written to Mount Athos, now sent the following vituperatory Epistle to the Hellespont, to be delivered by the flagellators: "Thou salt and bitter water, thy master thus punishes thee, because thou hast offended him without provocation: Xerxes the King will insist on passing over thee: no one should offer thee a sacrifice, since thou art deceitful and of an unsavoury flavour." After thus punishing the sea, this *tragi-comedy* concluded by beheading those who had constructed the bridge. Another was presently undertaken, or rather two bridges were contrived, one for the soldiers, and the other for the baggage and beasts of burden. These works were at length executed in a manner which Herodotus has minutely, yet not very clearly described.

The army, which had wintered at Sardis, left that city early in the Spring, being terrified at the moment of their departure by a sudden darkness, probably an eclipse. Immediately after the baggage-train marched troops of all nations, an undistinguished multitude, comprising more than half the army; at some distance followed a thousand cavalry, selected from the whole Persian army; then a thousand chosen foot, armed with pikes trailing on the ground; after these came ten Nisamu horses superbly equipped; following these appeared the sacred car of Jupiter, drawn by eight white horses; behind these, on foot, was the charioteer holding the reins, for no mortal was permitted to mount the car; then appeared Xerxes, in a chariot drawn by Nisamu horses; by his side sat the charioteer, a Persian named Patimaphes, the son of Otanes. Thus Xerxes departed from Sardis at the head of his Persian forces.

Having proceeded along the banks of the Caicus, they at length reached the Scamander, the first river, says our Historian, which failed to supply a sufficiency of water for the troops and beasts of burden. Here Priam's Xerxes is said to have ascended the citadel of Priam to survey the plain of Ilium, and to have sacrificed a thousand oxen to the Trojan Minerva, whose Temple was in the citadel, while the Magi offered libations to the Hero-gods of the Country. How this citadel should have survived the glory of Ilium for so many centuries, or how Xerxes, under the guidance of the Persian Magi, should have honoured a Temple by a costly sacrifice, we cannot understand.

The army, however, arrived at Abydos, on the Asian shore of the Hellespont. Here Xerxes gratified his desire to survey his land and naval armament, in its prodigious extent. There was placed on an eminence a throne of white marble, from which he is said to have beheld these myriads of troops, and this multitude of vessels, at one view, and to have been further gratified by the exhibition of a naval combat, in which the Phœnicians of Sidon were the victors. The first feeling

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3540.
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B. C.
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The army
enters
Lydia.

Heralds
sent into
Greece.

Bridge over
the Helles-
pont.

March from
Sardis.

Citadel.

Arrived at
Abydos.

Biography.

From
A. M.
3319.B. C.
485.to
A. M.
3540.B. C.
464.

of the Great King was that of self-gratulation, on viewing the vast assemblage of which he was the sovereign lord. But soon, to borrow the language of Leonidas, (b. iii.)

— as down

Th' immeasurable ranks his sight was lost,
A momentary gleam o'ercast his mind,
While this reflection filled his eyes with tears:
That, soon as time a hundred years had told,
Not one of all those thousands should survive.

Yet, as Seneca well remarks, (*De Brev. Vit. c. xvii.*) "the very man who shed these tears was about to destroy quickly that multitude whose death, within a hundred years, he now professed to deplore." Artabanus, the uncle of Xerxes, appears, on this occasion, to have entertained his former apprehensions as to the event of the expedition, and to have repeated them to the King. His remonstrance was now received with extraordinary forbearance, and he was courteously dismissed to Susa, under the pretence of superintending the internal government of the Empire.

Passage of
the Helles-
pont.

After calling an assembly of the principal Persians to receive the King's last commands on passing over into Europe, the next morning, before sunrise, they burned on the bridge a profusion of perfumes, and strewed the road with branches of myrtle. At the rising of the sun, Xerxes poured a libation into the sea from a golden cup, and prayed the sun to avert every calamity which might interfere with his subjugation of Europe to the farthest limits. He then threw the cup into the Hellespont, as also a golden goblet and a Persian scymitar. "I cannot decide," says Herodotus, and his language may assist us to appreciate some marvellous passages in his History. "I cannot decide whether, in throwing these things into the sea, Xerxes designed an oblation to the sun, or if, repenting of the chastisement he had inflicted on the Hellespont, he intended to appease that sea by his offerings."

Xerxes and his army appear now to have passed the bridge, nearly in such an order as that in which they had marched out of Sardis; except that the King, as soon as he had set foot in Europe, had a view of his troops, for seven days and nights, driven over by the lashes of the whip. The army having all passed over, and, according to our Historian, been alarmed by prodigies not worthy to be here related, Xerxes directed his fleet, on sailing from the Hellespont, to coast along the shore, and to rendezvous at the promontory of Sarpedon, while the army advanced to Doriscos, a spacious plain of Thrace, where was a fortress, in which Darius, in his expedition against Scythia, had placed a Persian garrison. This being a place suited to his purpose, Xerxes here determined to arrange and number his forces. This he effected by first collecting 10,000 men, and enclosing with walls the exact space they were found to occupy. Successive bodies of 10,000 men each were then admitted into the enclosure, till the whole army was numbered.

Remarks.

The amount of the land forces, Herodotus reports to have been 1,700,000, or rather, upon the whole, 1,500,000, a statement which may justly excite no small doubts of the veracity, in this instance, at least, of the reputed *Father of History*. Mr. Richardson regards his statement as absolutely fabulous, and is led to doubt whether "the paramount Sovereign of Persia" ever undertook this expedition into Greece. He rather

concludes it may have been the project of some feudatory Prince, or Viceroy of the western districts of that Empire. M. Larcher, on the other hand, justly alleges the enlaved condition of the immense population of the Persian Empire, all, without distinction of rank or occupation, forced to become soldiers at the command of the Sovereign. To the computations of later writers, Ctesias, Diodorus, Ælian, Pliny, and Justin, who, though varying, have all greatly diminished the numbers of this army, Larcher opposes the statement of Herodotus as almost a contemporary, who, at Olympia, must have found, to listen to his recital, many Greeks who had fought against Xerxes. Yet it is obvious that the sanction of Persians to his veracity had been far more satisfactory. For what exaggeration would not the Greeks have excused, to gratify their hatred of the Persian power. Major Rennell offers what is probably the best solution of this difficulty, when he says, that "the Persians may be compared, in respect to the rest of the army of Xerxes, with the Europeans in a British army in India;" where, as at the siege of Seringapatam, 30,000 regular troops have been attended by a mixed multitude of more than 100,000. Of the military dresses and weapons of this army Herodotus has given a minute description, of which we shall here subjoin a short account.

The Persians and Medes, for the Historian sees these terms indifferently, wore on their heads woollen tiaras. Their dress was a parti-coloured tunic, adorned with plates of steel, in imitation of the scales of fishes. They bore a shield called *gerza*. Their spears were short, their bows large, with arrows made of reeds. On the right side they wore a dagger. The Assyrians had brass helmets of a barbarous form. Their arms resembled those of the Egyptians. They had also clubs pointed with iron, and linen cuirasses, (or war-jackets, as Major Rennell conjectures,) which would resist the stroke of a sabre. To omit numerous descriptions, which cannot now give any interest, we add the following.—The Arabians wore large folding vests, which they call *sira*; their bows were long, flexible, and crooked. The Ethiopians were clad in skins of panthers and lions; their bows were of palm, and not less than four cubits long. Their arrows were short, and made of reeds. Instead of iron they were pointed with a stone, with which they used to cut their seals. They had also spears armed with the limus of goats, shaped like the iron of a lance; and also knotty clubs. It is the custom of this people, when they advance to combat, to dash one-half of their bodies with gypsum, and the other with vermilion. (l. vii. c. 49.) Of the cavalry, "who formed a body of 80,000," (a most disproportionate number,) "exclusive of camels and chariots," the most remarkable appear to have been "the Sagartii, a body of 8000. These people led a pastoral life, were originally of Persian descent, and used the Persian language. They had no offensive weapons, except their daggers. Their principal dependence in battle was upon cords, made of twisted leather. These cords, having a noose at the end, they threw out, and, thus entangling their enemy, easily put him to death."

Whether the Jews were comprehended in one of the numerous divisions of this army has been a question difficult to decide. They could scarcely have escaped a general call upon the Provinces of the Empire, and Josephus

Xerxes.

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A. M.
3540.B. C.
464.Dresses and
weapons of
the troops.Jews in the
army of
Xerxes.

Biography. (*Contra Apioo*. l. i. s. 28) declares for the affirmative. He concludes that they are designed by the Poet Cherilus, a cotemporary of Xerxes, who says, that "at the last there passed over a people, wonderful to be beheld, who spake the Phœnician Tongue. They dwelt in the Solyman mountains, near a broad lake." Pridæus says, "Jerusalem having also had the name of Solyma, (by abbreviation for Hierosolyma,) and all the country therabouts being mountainous, and lying near the great lake Asphaltites, commonly called the Lake of Sodom, this description seems plainly to suit the Jews, especially since it is also mentioned that they spake the Phœnician language, the Syriac being then the vulgar language of the Jews. But Scaliger, Cunæus, and Bochartus, understand it of the Solymi, in Pisidia. However, Salmonus maintains the contrary opinion, and justifies Josephus in it; and it must be said, that it is not at all likely that, when Xerxes called all the other nations of the Persian Empire to follow him to this war, the Jews alone should be excused from it. And therefore, whether these whom Cherilus speaks of were Jews or not, it must be taken for certain that they also did hear a part in this expedition." (Pl. i. b. iv.)

Military Commanders.

To the command of this armament twelve Generals were appointed for the land forces; the first of whom was Mardonius, who now hoped to retrieve his lost military reputation; another of these leaders was Megabyzus, the son of Zopyrus; Hydarnes commanded the 10,000 Persians who were called the *immortal band*. The cavalry had separate Commanders, and four Generals were appointed for the fleet, which at first consisted of 1200 vessels of war, and the number was increased by those States in Europe which the power of Xerxes had inclined to solicit his alliance. These Commanders of the fleet are named by Herodotus, but none of them distinguished themselves except his Countrywoman Artemisia, Queen of Halicarnassus, who attended Xerxes with five ships, the best appointed of all the fleet. She is celebrated as well for her courage in battle as for her prudent counsel.

Xerxes reviews his forces.

Xerxes, having numbered his forces of every description, proceeded, according to the narration of Herodotus, to review the immense multitude which the Historian assigns to this expedition. Mounted on a car, the King passed through every rank of the different nations, proposing suitable questions to each, attended by his Secretaries, who wrote down the answers. He then seated himself on the deck of a Sidonian vessel, under a cloth of gold, and thus gratified his curiosity in passing through the fleet. The King then sent for Demaratus, the exiled Spartan Prince, who attended him in this expedition, and had probably witnessed the review. Demanding of the Spartan whether he thought the Greeks would venture to resist such a force, Demaratus prudently inquired whether his royal patrol were disposed to hear the truth, or to be flattered. Xerxes requiring his opinion without apprehension or disguise, Demaratus assured the King that the Greeks, or at least the Lacedæmonians, would resist, even though they could master only a thousand men. He then closed a conversation of some length, by a flattering wish that the expedition might succeed according to the King's desire. This success, however, he had endeavored to prevent, by the intelligence which he had communicated to the Greeks,

being, according to Justin, *amicior patriæ post fugam, quam regi, post beneficia*, (more friendly to the Country which had banished, than to the King who had entertained him.)

Xerxes now traversed the territory of Thræce, which his fleet coasted, to supply the necessary provisions for the army, except when they were furnished by the cities on his march, as at Abdera; where a citizen, according to Herodotus, proposed to thank the gods for their escape from total ruin, as Xerxes had exacted only one meal in a day. On the banks of the Strymon, as the Historian relates, the Magi, for the purpose of divination, sacrificed white horses, the appearance of whose entrails contained the happiest prognostications of a successful expedition. Of the manner of such a sacrifice, Strabo, (l. xv. p. 1063, B.), as quoted by Larcher, gives the following description:

"When the Persians arrive at a lake, river, or fountain, they dig a trench, over which they slay the victim, carefully preserving the adjacent water from being defiled by the blood. They then dispose of the flesh on branches of myrtle or laurel, to which they set fire with slender wands, frequently chanting hymns, and making libations of oil, mixed with milk and honey; but these they pour out neither on the fire nor on the water, but on the earth. In this sacrifice the Magi soon added a horrible cruelty. Having crossed the Strymon, they came into the Country of the Edonians; understanding that the district, through which they were passing, was called the Nine Ways, they seized nine boys, and as many girls, natives of the Country. These they buried alive according to the manner of the Persians; and, as Herodotus conjectures, for a sacrifice to the subterranean deity."

Xerxes proceeded on his march, receiving the submission of the Countries through which he passed, and from these he continually augmented his forces. His march was in the following order. One of the three bodies, into which the army was divided, proceeded along the shore, and was commanded by Mardonius and Masistes; another, led by Tritanactes and Gergis, marched through the interior of the Country; while the third took the midway between the other divisions. Here Xerxes commanded, and had Smerdones and Megabyzus under his immediate directions. In this order the army arrived at Therma, afterwards called Thessalonica, and now, by the Turks, Solomki, situate on the gulf which bears that name. Here Xerxes appears to have remained a considerable time, and the Historian attributes to him the project of diverting the course of the river Peneus. Here, however, he waited the return of the heralds whom he had sent to all the States of Greece, except Athens and Lacedæmon, to demand the homage of earth and water. The principal of those who submitted were the people of Thessaly and the Lœrians, both justly dreading the approach of the Persian forces.

Of the various preparations to accomplish these mighty projects of the Great King, the Greeks, and Lacedæmonians, had not been isositive observers. The talents called forth by this crisis of their affairs, and the manner in which those talents were now exerted, occur, with interesting particular, in our biographies of the great men who adorned this splendid period of

Xerxes.
From A. M. 3519.
B. C. 485.
to A. M. 3540.
B. C. 464.

Advance of the Persian army.

Persian sacrifices.

Order of march.

Arrival at Therma.

Athens and Lacedæmon.

Biography. Grecian History. A very succinct relation must here suffice to carry on the History of Xerxes.

From
A. M.
3519.
—
B. C.
485.
to
A. M.
3540.
—
B. C.
464.
Convention
of Grecian
States.

A convention of Deputies from the several States of Greece was held at the isthmus of Corinthus, to provide for the common safety. The Spartans took the further precaution of inquiring of the Oracle of Delphi, where a Priestess declared the cruel alternative, that either a King, the descendant of Hercules, must sacrifice his life, or Lacedæmon be destroyed. On this sacrifice Leonidas immediately resolved, and determined to defend the pass of Thermopylæ with only 300 Spartans. These, however, with the troops of some allied cities in Peloponnesus, and of the Thebans, Thespians, and states near Thermopylæ, composed an army of 8,000 men. There they awaited the advance of the army of Xerxes, that "world in arms," at the pass, which Raleigh describes as "a narrow passage of half an acre of ground, lying between the mountains which divide Thessaly from Greece, where, some time, the Phocians had raised a wall, with gates, which was then for the most part ruined."

Persians at
Thermo-
pylæ.

The Persians now approached the pass. "If we may believe Herodotus," says the same Historian, "the army of Xerxes, being reviewed at Thermopylæ, consisted of 5,283,290 men, besides landraces, harlots, and horses." We need not repeat the *historic doubts* which this extravagant enumeration cannot fail to excite. There can be no doubt, however, that Xerxes disdained to expect a moment's opposition when his army should appear, though he had heard while in Thessaly, that a small body of troops, commanded by Leonidas, determined to dispute the passage. He first sent a horseman to reconnoitre, who returned after having observed only the Lacedæmonians. These he found engaged, some in gymnastic sports, while others were combing their hair. The King appeared surprised that they were so much at their ease; but Demaratus assured him that when they were about to expose their lives in battle, they carefully adjusted their hair. He also ventured to repeat the unaccountable opinion, that the Lacedæmonians would resist to the last man. But the King, as might have been foreseen, was incapable of profiting by good counsel.

Battle.

After a delay of four days, during which he expected that the Greeks would fly and abandon the defence of the pass, Xerxes sent a detachment of Medes and Cissians, with orders to bring them prisoners. They, however, repulsed the invaders, who were continually reinforced, till, at length, the confession was extorted from Xerxes, that he had many men, but few soldiers. The Medes were now superseded by the immortal band of Persians, commanded by Hydarnes, who vainly advanced as to an easy victory. After a desperate struggle, in which the Lacedæmonians evinced their superior skill and bravery, the immortals were forced to retire. So arduous had been the conflict, that Xerxes, who is described as a spectator of the combat, is said to have thrice leaped from his throne, "fearing," says Raleigh, "the apprehended destruction of his army, by one handful of those men whom not long before he had utterly despised."

Treachery
of a Greek.

Treachery, however, succeeded where force had been unavailing. For, after a second engagement had proved equally unsuccessful, "a renegade Grecian," says the same Historian, "taught him a secret way, by which part of his army might ascend the ledge of mountains,

and set upon the backs of those who kept the straits. Then," he adds, "did Leonidas, with his 300 Spartans and 700 Thespians, with admirable courage, not only resist that world of men which charged them on all sides, but, issuing out of their strength, made so great a slaughter of their enemies, that they might be well called vanquishers, though all of them were slain upon the place." Such, indeed, was the glorious end of the 300 Spartans, for Leonidas had sent away his allies. According to Diodorus Siculus, who is followed by Plutarch, the Spartans demanded to be led against the Persians before those who were about to fall upon their rear could make the circuit of the mountain. Leonidas and his chosen band now attacked the Persian camp, where they made a great slaughter, penetrating even to the royal pavilion, from which Xerxes had narrowly escaped. Of that Prince, Pausanias has left the remark, that he "had never beheld Greece, or laid Athens in ashes, had not his forces under Hydarnes been conducted through a path over Oeta, and by that means encompassing the Greeks, overcame and slain Leonidas." According to Herodotus, he had lost in these combats two of his brothers and 20,000 men, whose numbers he vainly attempted to conceal, by giving the customary burial to only 1,000, and heaping the remainder in pits, which were immediately covered with grass and leaves.

Xerxes had no sooner passed Thermopylæ, than he laid waste Phocia and the adjoining States, the inhabitants flying at his approach. A detachment of his army also marched to Delphi, with a design to pillage the temple of its immense riches, of which, says Herodotus, the King had a more minute description than of the furniture of his own palaces. The storied prevention of this pillage by a dreadful tempest, while rocks, severed from the mountain, crushed the Persian troops, must be regarded as one of the ornaments of Grecian History. Another detachment of the Persian army entered Attica, and marched to Athens, which they found nearly without inhabitants; for the Athenians, by the advice of Themistocles, who had probably procured the oracle which he persuaded them to obey, had embarked on board their galleys, to meet the enemy at sea. A few indeed remained, too indigent to sustain the expenses of the embarkation, or who had literally interpreted the exhortation to trust in their wooden walls. These walls they bravely defended till all of them were slain; for Xerxes stormed the citadel and reduced it to ashes. Of his success against Athens, he immediately informed his uncle and uncourtly counsellor, Artabanus, by a courier despatched to Susa, charged also with those invaluable spoils, the Statues and Pictures of Greece.

While Xerxes had been delayed at the pass of Thermopylæ, his fleet had rendezvoused at Aphetæ, a port of Thessaly, at no great distance from Artemisium, a promontory of Eubœa, nigh which the Grecian navy waited their approach. The fleet of the Persians had suffered in a storm, yet they were able to detach two hundred ships, with orders to sail round the island of Eubœa, and encompass the Grecian fleet. These having intelligence of the design, set sail in the night, for the purpose of attacking the Persian detachment at daybreak. Missing them, they bore away to meet the main body, and brought on the obstinately disputed Battle of Artemisium, on the very day of the last desperate conflict which had opened to Xerxes the pass of Thermopylæ.

Xerxes.
From
A. M.
3519.
—
B. C.
485.
to
A. M.
3540.
—
B. C.
464.
Leonidas
attacks the
Persian
camp.

Xerxes en-
ters Attica.

Athens de-
serted.

Battle of
Artemis-
ium.

Biography. The Battle of Artemisium was by no means decisive, though the Greeks had generally the advantage: yet their ships were shattered, and to rest them they retired to the straits of Salamis, where they were reinforced till their vessels amounted to more than three hundred. Thither the Persians followed them, contrary to the opinion of Artemisia, who recommended the invasion of the Peloponnese by the land-army—a counsel as obviously prudent, as that Queen's behaviour in the naval engagement, which she would have prevented, was singularly heroic. But Xerxes was devoted to counsels more flattering to his own opinion, and encamped his army on the shore, pitching his tent on Mount Egaleus, opposite to the island of Salamis, where he might witness the conduct of his Commanders, and employ the Secretaries who attended him to record their deeds.

Battle of Salamis. The Greeks taking advantage of that narrow sea, which prevented the Persians, whose ships were more numerous, from extending their front, determined to engage them; or, according to another account, by the policy of Themistocles, they were placed in a situation where an engagement was indispensable. In this Battle of Salamis the Persians suffered a great overthrow, two hundred of their ships being destroyed, and the rest driven to the coast of Asia, from which they never ventured to return into Greece. It is well remarked by Raleigh, that "the scribes of Xerxes had a wearisome task of writing down many disasters which befall the Persian fleet; which ill acquitted itself that day, doing no one piece of service worthy the presence of their King or the registering of his notaries." Xerxes no sooner witnessed this disaster, than, fearing lest the victors should reach the Hellespont before him, he hastened the march of his army out of Europe, leaving Mardonius with 300,000 men to carry on the war. On this march, for which there had been no preparation, great hardships were endured during the forty-five days which it occupied. At length the King, impatient to escape, left his army, and hastened with a small retinue to the bridge, which he found almost destroyed by a tempest. He was thus reduced to cross the Hellespont in a skiff: *Erat res spectaculo digna, says Justin, (lib. ii. c. 13.) of estimations sortis humanæ, rerum variatæ mirandæ, in cæcis lateribus videtur navigio, quem patib antè sis æquæ omne capiebat; cærentiam omni errorum ministerio, cæcis exercitibus, propter multitudinem, terris grævas erant:* (It was a spectacle fitted to afford a just estimate of human greatness, and to discover the instability of every thing earthly, when he was stealing away in a small boat, almost destitute of attendants, whose fleets had lately covered the sea, and whose armies, by their vast multitude, had exhausted the land.) Xerxes waited for his army at Sardis, and thus ingloriously concluded the sixth year of his reign. To add to the King's disappointment, his allies, the Carthaginians, were about the same time defeated by Gelu, the King of Sicily. He slew 150,000, and sold the same number, till all Sicily was filled with Carthaginian captives. Of their fleet, only a rock-boat remained, in which a few escaped to carry the dismal news to Carthage.

Flight of Xerxes.

Mardonius passed the winter in Thessaly and Macedonia, and early in the Spring marched into Boeotia. Thence he sent Alexander, King of Macedonia, with flattering proposals of accommodation to the Athenians. He offered to reinstate whatever the Persians had destroyed on their invasion, to restore, and even to extend their possessions, to guarantee their own laws, and, in short, to render them the most favoured tributaries of the Persian Empire; but the Athenians were deaf to these proposals. The enraged General marched into Attica, desolating the Country through which he passed, and destroying, at Athens, now a second time deserted, every thing which had escaped the former devastation. In the mean time, the Greeks assembled their forces at the isthmus of Corinth, and drew Mardonius back into Boeotia, where he encamped on the river Æsonus.

Upon this the Greeks marched to attack the Persians. Pausanias, King of Lacedæmon, and Aristides the Athenian, commanded the allied forces, which amounted to 120,000; the Persians are computed, by Herodotus, at 350,000, and by Diodorus Siculus at 500,000. The armies joined battle near the city of Platæa, when Mardonius was slain, and the Persian army almost entirely destroyed. Artabazus, indeed, who had early apprehended the ill fortune of the day, escaped with 40,000 men under his command. By hasty marches he reached Byzantium before the news of the battle, and thence passed into Asia. Besides these, it was computed that not 4,000 of the Persian army survived the Battle of Platæa, and it was the last army of Persians ever seen on the European side of the Hellespont. On the very day of that battle happened the engagement at Mycæ, a promontory on the continent of Asia; this, according to the remaining accounts, was rather a land than a naval engagement. The Persians, on the approach of the Grecian fleet, had drawn up their ships on the shore, where they had 100,000 land forces; they also formed a strong rampart to defend their navy: but the now irresistible Greeks defeated the army, forced the rampart, and utterly destroyed the ships.

Carthaginians defeated in Sicily.

Xerxes, when apprized of these accumulated disasters, left Sardis precipitately, as he had fled after the Battle of Salamis. He, however, gave orders for the destruction of all the temples in Asia Minor, either from zeal for the Magian Religion, or to wreak his vengeance on the Asiatic Greeks. "The same conduct he observed when passing through Babylon, on his return to Susa,—perhaps, as Prideaux conjectures, to recruit his finances by the immense treasures which the Temple of Belus contained. Thus, adds that pious and learned author, (Con. pt. i. b. iv.) "was fully completed what the Prophets Isaiah and Jeremiah prophesied many years before—*All the graven images of her gods hath he broken to the ground. I will punish Bel in Babylon, I will bring forth out of his mouth that which he hath swallowed. And I will do judgment on all the graven images of Babylon. Bel is confounded, Merodach is broken in pieces, her idols are confounded, her images are broken in pieces.*"

While the Greeks were pursuing their advantages, by delivering many of the cities of Asia from the Persian yoke, Xerxes was solacing himself by the indulgence of his criminal passions, and preparing, in his own family, a horrible tragedy. He had sought to seduce the wife of his brother Maestres. That wretch utterly rejecting his unworthy suit, he hoped to conciliate her by marrying her daughter Artayntis to his eldest son Darius. This marriage had no influence to

Xerxes to Persia.

Xerxes to Persia.

Biography. corrupt the wife of Masistes; and at length Xerxes attempted, and prevailed over the virtue of her daughter Artaynta, whom he had just married to his son. In the process of this scandalous intrigue, Artaynta became possessed of a rich mantle, which Hamestris, the Queen of Xerxes, had wrought for him. This she displayed in public, when the Queen, confirmed in her suspicions of what had happened, meditated revenge; but considering the mother of Artaynta as the instigator of the whole affair, on her side determined to wreak a cruel retribution. On the birthday of the King it was customary for him to grant the most extravagant requests of those about him, and the vindictive Queen had not long to wait for this favourable opportunity of requesting the wife of Masistes to be given up to her disposal.

Xerxes long hesitated to comply with her demand; aware at once of his own share in the dishonour already brought upon his brother's family, and of some barbarous outrage being now meditated by the Queen. He is said, at last, to have sent for his brother to persuade him to sacrifice his innocent consort, and to accept of one of his own daughters in her place; an offer which Masistes rejected with great firmness, reminding Xerxes not only that he was well contented with his present alliance, but that his wife had been the mother of three noble sons, as well as daughters, one of whom had married the son of the King; and "would you after this," said he, "have me marry your daughter? I esteem your proposal, O King, as the highest honour, but I cannot accept it." Xerxes broke off this conference in great anger; but Hamestris, in the interim, by means of the guard, had seized her unhappy victim. Having first mutilated her person in the most horrible manner, she sent her home to her husband in that mangled condition. Masistes, highly exasperated, determined to revenge himself by revolting from the King, and hastened, for this purpose, to his government of Bactria. Here the Sace, a most warlike and powerful tribe, who had distinguished themselves both at Plataea and Marathon, and were afterwards concerned in several considerable revolutions in their neighbourhood, had undoubtedly been ready to avenge his injuries, for he was much beloved throughout the whole Province which he governed. Xerxes, however, sent after him a party of horse, by whom Masistes and all

his family were destroyed. And thus, unless Herodotus has egregiously failed, to gratify the resentment of the Greeks, Xerxes appears a slave to the worst passions, vainly seeking an unlimited rule over other men while he had no command over himself.

We have now passed through nine of the twenty-one years attributed to the reign of Xerxes, according to the accounts generally received; though some, on the authority of Thucydides, have given nine of the latter years to the reign of Artaxerxes. The Greeks, during those years, continued to employ their naval ascendancy in freeing the maritime Countries of Asia Minor from the dominion of Persia. In the interior of that Empire nothing appears to have occurred worthy of remembrance, except those extraordinary events which are elsewhere detailed—the resort of Themistocles to the Court of Persia, and his favour with the Great King.

The end of Xerxes was worthy of the public and private life which history, at least that of the Greeks, has assigned to him. He was slain by one of his guards, who afterwards slew his eldest son Darius, on a false accusation, and thus raised Artaxerxes to the throne. Some, however, suppose that he had shared the government with his father from the twelfth year of his reign. (See Mr. Lauchlane Taylor's Observations in his *Essay on the Revelations*, p. 191, and Priestley on the *Harmony of the Evangelists*, 1780, sec. iv. p. 24.)

Of Xerxes, scarcely any thing would now be known, His character but for the chapters of Herodotus, which we have so often quoted. Whether the Father of History justly described or occasionally misrepresented the character of the inveterate foe of the people for whom he wrote, he has certainly held him up to all Ages as an object of contempt rather than of admiration. Nor has any name been more frequently employed

To point a moral, or adorn a tale.

In the judgment of Fenelon, when he was instructing a young Prince by the examples of antiquity, in his *Dialogues des Mortes*, the life of this King eminently discovers, that *La sagesse et la valeur rendent les états invincibles, et non pas le grand nombre des sujets, ni l'autorité sans bornes des princes.* (Wisdom and valour render states invincible, rather than numerous subjects or the boundless authority of princes.)

Xerxes.
From
A. M.
3519.
—
B. C.
455.
to
A. M.
3510.
—
B. C.
464.

Assassina-
tion of
Xerxes.

LUCIUS JUNIUS BRUTUS.

FLOURISHED ABOUT A. M. 3495. A. C. 509.

Biography. In tracing out the illustrious course pursued by Lucius Junius Brutus, we have to contemplate the mighty change in the government of Rome, from the Regal to the Consular state, in which he took so striking and heroic a share. The peculiar qualities of the Roman citizen, which now had assumed a marked distinctiveness of character, would scarcely have suffered the long duration of the Kingly power, even though it had not been tyrannically exerted. The stern and savage virtue of the early Romans would have prompted them, at no distant period, to require a larger share in the direction of their Country, for whose glory they were alone contented to live, and in whose defence they thought it happiness to die. The oppressions, however, of Tarquin and his sons a little precipitated the great revolution which the fierce and warlike spirit of the people had been silently preparing.

His family misfortune. Lucius Junius Brutus, who awakened his Countrymen to a sense of their injuries and their rights, was descended from an ancient and noble family. His father, Marcus Junius, was one of the most distinguished of the Patricians, for his ample estate and his personal virtues, and had been honoured with the hand of a daughter of the elder Tarquin. These circumstances rendered him peculiarly obnoxious to the haughty monarch, who obtained the throne by the murder of Servius, and, conscious of the atrocity of his own proceedings, thought it could be rendered secure only by the removal of all the chief men in the State whose virtues might silently reproach him. Excited by this apprehension, and anxious to secure the princely fortunes of his victim, Tarquin caused Marcus Junius to be assassinated, together with one of his sons. Lucius Junius would, doubtless, have shared the fate of his father and his brother, had he not counterfeited idiocy, and thus procured himself to be regarded as harmless, while he cherished in secret the intention, on the first favourable occasion, of revenging the death of his murdered relations.

Counterfeiting idiocy. In the mean time, the King enjoyed the patrimonial estate of Lucius Junius, who, from his apparent deficiency in understanding, received the appellation of *Brutus*, and was suffered to become a companion of the Princes. While Tarquin was engaged in completing the great public works at Rome, and in sending colonies to Seguin and Circum, a dreadful pestilence broke out in the city, and a serpent was observed to glide from a wooden pillar, and spread terror throughout the palace. Alarmed at these events, the monarch despatched his sons, Titus and Aruns, to the Oracle at Delphos, in order that they might inquire the proper mode of appeasing the anger of heaven. On this long and perilous expedition they were attended by Brutus, from whose idiocy they expected to gather materials for laughter. Like his companions, he carried with him an offering to

Apollo, which appearing to be nothing but a common staff of wood, excited universal derision. In reality, however, he had concealed a piece of gold within it, so that the derided present was not only of intrinsic value, but an expressive symbol of the donor's condition, who possessed a high and noble mind beneath a contemptible exterior. On their arrival at the shrine, the youths having fulfilled their commission, inquired of the Oracle which of them should succeed to the Crown, and received for answer, that he should have the supreme authority in Rome who should first kiss his mother. Titus and Aruns, understanding the reply literally, determined to conceal it from Sextus, and either cast lots which of them should fulfil the Oracle, or agreed to embrace the Queen at the same moment on their return home, that they might reign jointly on the death of their father. But Brutus, conceiving the meaning of the response to be allegorical, pretended to fall by accident as he left the shrine, and kissed the Earth, the common mother of all things. The incident, if true, serves to prove that, during the whole of his assumed idiocy, he meditated the revenge of his own private injuries and the deliverance of his Country from oppression.

A new outrage, committed by one of the Royal House, soon afforded a fit occasion for the accomplishment of these designs. Finding his treasury almost exhausted by the erection of magnificent edifices, and the people discontented with being so long employed in the drudgery of mechanical labour, Tarquin resolved to lead his forces against Ardea, a city of the Rutuli, **Siege of Ardea.** about twenty miles from Rome, where a rich booty might be expected. He first attempted to take the place by storm, but, meeting with a vigorous resistance, was compelled to blockade it. As the siege was protracted, he was obliged to lay fresh imposts on the citizens to provide for the expenses of the army, instead of regaining their affections by a division of plunder, and thus caused their minds, already inflamed, to be more alienated from him. The young Princes and Patrician officers who were engaged in the siege spent much of their time in revelling. On one of these festal occasions, a dispute arose in the tent of Sextus Tarquin between the sons of the King and Collatinus, the grandson of Egerius, who was nephew to the elder Tarquin, respecting the comparative merits of their consorts. Inflamed by wine, they resolved to determine the contest by instantly riding to their homes and discovering how their wives were employed during their absence. In pursuance of this intention, they first proceeded to Rome, where they found the ladies of the Princes engaged in festal amusements, and little pleased at the sudden return of their husbands. But when they arrived at Collatia, the residence of the family of Collatinus, they found his wife Lucretia spinning among

Brutus.

A. M.
3495.
—
B. C.
509.

Biography. her maidens, and ready to give them, notwithstanding the lateness of the visit, a polite and cheerful reception. Her beauty, rendered more attractive by the softness of her manners, incited in Sextus the determination to seduce her, which, although he could not execute on this occasion, he did not resign. A few days after this visit, the Prince took an opportunity of leaving the camp before Ardea, unknown to his comrades, and arrived at Collatia, attended only by a single slave. There he was instantly entertained by the unsuspecting Lucretia as the friend of her husband, and in the evening conducted to his chamber. Hence he stole, in the dead of the night, to the apartment of his victim, with his sword drawn, and awakened her by placing his hand on her bosom, and declaring that he would instantly put her to death if she dared to cry out for succour. He then declared his passion to the astonished lady, mingled the most terrible threats with the most vehement entreaties, and strove alternately by flattery and terror to influence her to yield to his desires. Finding at last, that none of these arts had the least power to shake her resolution, he declared, that if she continued her resistance he would not only kill her, but dispatch one of her slaves, and place him beside her on the couch, that it might be believed he had put them to death to revenge the injured honor of her husband. The dread of infamy prevailed over a mind upon which the fear of death had no power, and Lucretia yielded. In the morning the infamous ravisher left her for the camp, exulting in his guilty triumph.

Outrage on Lucretia.

Tanocent as Lucretia had been in intention, she was unable to survive the indignity she had been compelled to endure. The stern prejudices of her Roman education prevented her from justly discriminating between Physical and Moral pollution. She wrote immediately to her husband and father, entreating them to hasten to her, with a few chosen friends, as she had a terrible misfortune to relate. She then dressed herself in mourning, and, according to Dionysius Halicarnassus, proceeded to Rome; although Livy informs us, that she awaited at Collatia the arrival of those to whom she had dispatched her summons. Her request was immediately complied with; and her father, Collatinus, with Lucius Publicola, and other illustrious Patricians, assembled with great anxiety to hear her complaint. They found her sitting pensively in her chamber, and observed her burst into tears on their arrival, on which her husband eagerly demanded if all was well. "Oh no!" she passionately exclaimed; "for what can be well with her whose chastity is gone? A stranger, my dear husband, has defiled your nuptial couch! But this body alone has been violated; my soul is unspotted, as my death shall testify. Give me your hands in solemn pledge that this crime shall not be unrevengeed. It was Sextus Tarquin who last night spurned the sanctities of hospitality, and by force obtained the gratification of his lust—deadly to me—and to himself! alas, if ye dare to act like men!" All present immediately plighted their faith to avenge the wrong, but strove to console her by assurances that she herself was guiltless, and ought yet to live to see justice overtake the sole author of her sorrows. Their consolations and remonstrances were in vain. "I leave you," she replied, "to visit the crime on Sextus; for myself, although I am free from the guilt, I will not avoid the consequences of my

fall; no woman, in future times, shall ever survive her chastity, and point out Lucretia as her example." With these words she suddenly drew a poniard from beneath her robe, which she plunged into her bosom, and fell lifeless amidst the astonished assembly.

The father and husband of the heroic lady immediately gave way to the bitterest affliction. But Brutus, finding that the moment of retribution so long waited for had arrived, seized the dagger from the mortal wound, and solemnly raising it to heaven, exclaimed, "I swear by this blood, most chaste till defiled by royal infamy, and call you, O gods! to bear witness, that I will pursue Tarquin, his accursed wife, and all his polluted family, with fire, sword, and every instrument of vengeance; and I will never suffer them or any other person to wear the Crown of Rome!" He then delivered the bloody dagger to Collatinus, Lucretius, Valerius, and all who were present, who bound themselves by the same oath, amazed to find Brutus, hitherto regarded as an idiot, inspired by so high and noble an energy. Like him, they changed their grief into an aspiration for revenge, and followed him as their leader in the great enterprise of destroying the regal power. At his direction, the body of Lucretia was brought into the Forum, where, by virtue of the authority of Tribune, or Master of the Horse, which Tarquin had bestowed on him, because he supposed it impossible that he should use it against the royal authority, he ordered the Comitia to be assembled. The people naturally ran in crowds to see the melancholy spectacle, which aroused in their minds not only sympathy for the departed, but the remembrance of those individual wrongs which each attributed to the House of Tarquin. On Brutus they looked with amusement, as on one inspired by the gods; and on the venerable and childless father with burning grief, which nothing but revenge could alleviate. By consent of the latter, whom the King had left Governor of the city, the gates were shut, and a guard placed upon them, that no intelligence might be conveyed to the camp of the tumult at Rome. Brutus, in the mean time, standing beside the corpse, addressed the people in a passionate speech, calculated to inflame them against the monarch and his family. He not only set forth, in glowing colours, the atrocious outrage which had caused the lamentable tragedy before them, but glanced rapidly at all the tyrannous acts of the King, from the murder of Servius; set before them the inhuman barbarity of Tullia, who drove, to meet her husband, over her father's corpse; dwelt on the oppression which had degraded the conquerors of all their foreign enemies to the low drudgery of mechanics; and incited them, by vivid pictures of all the deeds of injustice imputed to the reigning family, to root out their name and their power for ever from among them. This discourse was received with acclamations and demands for arms; and a decree, hastily passed by the Senate, was solemnly confirmed by the people, which deprived the King of his authority, declared him and his family perpetual exiles, and pronounced a dreadful curse against any Roman who should, by word or action, attempt to recall them.*

Brutus.
A. M.
3495.

A. C.
509.

Character
of Brutus
developed.

Addresses
the people.

* Tullia, finding that it was in vain to oppose the feeling so highly excited, left the palace in dismay, and fled through the city, without experiencing any personal violence, but followed by universal execrations.

Biography. Brutus now gave arms to a number of noble youths, who offered their services in the cause of freedom, and, leaving Rome to the government of Lucretius, marched with them for Ardea, in order to incite the army to join him. The King, having, in the mean time, heard of the transactions at Rome, set out for that city, in order to suppress the tumult; so that, according to Livy, Brutus passed him on the road, having turned aside to avoid an encounter. On his arrival before Rome, he found the gates shut against him, and learning that himself and his family were condemned to exile, retired, without endeavouring by force to obtain an entrance. Brutus, meanwhile, was received in the camp with the most lively expressions of joy, and the sons of the King were compelled to fly, while the troops united in the work of freedom with their fellow-citizens.

Thus did Brutus, by a single stroke, and without the least effusion of blood, put an end to the monarchy of Rome, after it had subsisted for two hundred and forty-three years. The revolution appears to have taken place precisely at the most favourable juncture for the rising grandeur of the State. In the earlier times, the citizens being collected from various regions, and unused to social regulations, would have been incapable of joining in the domestic contentions incident to a Republic, without producing the total disorganization of the whole, and returning almost to a barbarous condition. Beneath the fostering influence of the regal power they became gradually united, and those common feelings grew up among them which all the tumults of party were unable to destroy. That ardent and exclusive patriotism which ultimately became the means of subduing the world, had gathered strength in successful wars and in glorious peace, till it became an impulse so grand and inspiring, that those who cherished it had too lofty a consciousness of their own personal worth to endure the yoke of a Sovereign. Had the Romans now learned to repose beneath a pacific monarchy, and to rest satisfied with their conquests, the energy which aimed at universal sway must have perished, and Rome have remained one of the smallest Kingdoms of Italy.

Of the oppressive acts of Tarquin and his sons, which were the immediate causes of the revolution, we can scarcely judge with impartiality, from the colouring thrown over them by the Roman Historians. These writers, even though they flourished when the liberties of their Country had decayed, seem to have written with quenchless ardour respecting them; and to have given vent to the feelings they dared not express on present transactions, in dwelling on the glories of the past. Even from their representations, however, it is manifest that Tarquin was not destitute of great talents, nor of spirit to employ them in magnificent designs. "His conduct," observes Montesquieu, "before his calamities, which it is evident he foresaw, his gentleness and humanity towards the conquered, his beneficence to the soldiers, the arts by which he engaged such numbers to attempt his preservation, the edifies he raised for the public use, his courage in the field, the constancy and patience with which he bore his misfortunes, a twenty years' war, which he either carried on, or caused to be carried on, against the Romans, though deprived of his Kingdom, and in great

poverty—these things, and the resources he perpetually found, prove manifestly that he was no contemptible person."

The family of Tarquin being expelled from the city, the Romans were called on to choose the form of government by which they would be ruled. In this important choice they appear to have been determined by the wisdom of Brutus. He proposed that two persons should jointly be entrusted with the supreme power, that they might check injustice and ambition in each other, and that, still further to prevent the abuse of their authority, the office should last only for a year. This proposition was adopted by the people assembled by Curia; the new Governors were called *Consuls*; the new form term *Kingdom* was changed to *Republic*; and the title of King, no longer bestowed on a temporal magistrate, was given to a Priest of high rank, who was termed *Res sacrorum*, and enjoyed dignity inferior only to the *Pontifex Maximus*. As the Kings had been accustomed to perform some of the public ceremonies of Religion, this officer was appointed to discharge that part of the regal duties, and to preserve the venerable name which had been consecrated at the foundation of the city, without being permitted to interfere with the Civil rights of the people. Indeed, so jealous were the Romans of the title which their prejudices would not suffer them wholly to abolish, that they absolutely prohibited the individual who bore it from all interference with the public concerns, so that, in the Comitia of the people, in which he presided at the opening sacrifice, he was compelled to withdraw the moment that solemnity was concluded.

The form of government thus fixed, Lucretius, who had governed the city during the interregnum, caused the people to be summoned to the Campus Martius, to the first election of Consuls. On his proposition, Brutus, and Collatinus the husband of Lucretia, were chosen to the new dignity, and immediately entered on its exercise. They are said, by Livy, to have possessed all the authorities, and to have been surrounded by all the emblems of power which had been assumed by the Kings, excepting that only one of them at a time was attended by the Lictors with the fasces, an honour which they enjoyed alternately for a month during the Consulate. As Brutus had been most active in abolishing the Kingly power, his colleague readily conceded to him Brutus the right of being first attended by the Lictors. In the mean time, Titus Herminius and Marcus Horatius, who had taken the command of the army before Ardea on the expulsion of Tarquin and his sons, made a Truce for fifteen years with the inhabitants of that city, and led the troops to Rome to take part in the solemnities by which their Countrymen sought to secure and to consecrate their freedom. On their arrival, Brutus and Collatinus again convened the people, by Centuries, in the Campus Martius, exhorted them to union, and procured the confirmation of that decree by which, a few days before, Tarquin and his family were condemned to exile. Still further to bind all orders of men to the lasting exclusion of royalty, they, on this occasion, took solemn oaths before the altars that they would never recall the Tarquins or invest any one with the Kingly office, and their example was followed by the Senators and the people. At this assembly, the first *Res sacrorum* was also elected, and the citizens were gratified

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the new form
of govern-
ment
adopted.

Biography. by the restoration of the laws of Servius Tullus, of which they had been deprived by the ambition of the exiled Sovereign.

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Brutus appears next to have directed his attention to the supplying those vacancies in the Senate which had been occasioned by the jealousies of Tarquin. Considerable difference of opinion has existed on the question whether these renovations were directed by the will of the Consuls, or the votes of the people in Centuries, the chief magistrates merely advising and superintending the election. Some have contended that, even during the regal state, the Senators were always elected by the citizens—first in the Curie, and afterwards in Centuries, as directed by the institutions of Servius. Others suppose that the Senate was always filled up by the monarch, and that this authority being transferred to the Consuls, was exerted by them on this occasion. The words of Livy, taken literally, imply the latter; and those of Dionysius of Halicarnassus, though not so express, do not contradict the hypothesis, which, on the whole, appears the most probable. In after-times, indeed, when the ranks of the Senate were filled, for the most part, from those who had passed through the train of offices from Quæstor to Consul, the people might be said virtually to choose those who attained Senatorial power; but as no Historian of this period has given any account of a popular election, it seems most likely that, as yet in the infancy of freedom, the ruling spirit of the time assumed the right of making those arrangements which they thought necessary for the peace and welfare of the new Republic.

The Conscript.

The Senators now added to the body were selected from the Equestrian order, and called *Conscripti*, in contradistinction from the elder members, who were originally denominated *Patres*; whence the term *Patres conscripti* was subsequently employed to designate both classes of Senators. Dionysius, indeed, applies the epithet to the first Senate of Romulus, but he is, in this respect, at variance both with Plutarch and Livy. It is, however, by no means certain whether the term *Conscripti* was given to those who were added by Tatius, the Sabine King, and to those who were created by Tarquin the elder, or was first applied, on the establishment of the Republic, to the elders who were supplied from the choice of the people or the nomination of Brutus.

While these important regulations were forming in the city, Tarquin was not inactive. According to Livy, he first retired with two of his sons to Cære, a city of Etruria, while Sextus, the immediate author of his family's ruin, endeavoured to find a retreat at Gabii, of which he had once treacherously become master, and fell a victim to the vengeance of the people. Other authors represent the father as seeking refuge among the Gabii, and as retiring thence into Etruria, in the hopes of finding the friends of his mother's relations ready to espouse his cause. Dionysius speaks of Sextus as surviving the expulsion of his family fourteen years, and falling, at the end of that time, in the Battle of Regillus. We shall leave, however, these contradictory statements, and pass over the inconsistencies of the Historians respecting the number and fates of the exiled princes, to relate the formidable conspiracy at Rome in favour of the Tarquins, which gave occasion to that triumph of stern patriotism over

paternal love in the conduct of Brutus, which Historians, Painters, and Poets have delighted to celebrate.

The austerity of the new government, under which nothing but Virtue could hope for distinction, was naturally felt by many of the Patrician youth as an intolerable evil. The honour of rank and fortune commanded respect no longer. Failings which royal favour had been well contented to pardon, while they rendered the monarchy more secure, could obtain no indulgence now. The young men, addicted to pleasure, remembered with affection their princely companions who were doomed to exile, from whom they had received those courtesies which the station of their friends rendered peculiarly grateful. Aware of the existence of these feelings, Tarquin sent ambassadors to Rome, who were apparently charged with the moderate request that he might be permitted to enjoy his patrimonial fortunes. But while the Senate were hesitating as to their reply to this demand, which they at length referred to the people, by whom it was granted, the emissaries of the King found means to engage some of the noblest youths of Rome, among whom were three Noblemen of the Aquilius family, nephews of Collatinus, two of Vitellius, and Titus and Tiberius, the sons of Brutus, in a conspiracy to restore the Tarquins. These met together in the house of one of the conspirators, and bound themselves to fidelity by a dreadful oath, confirmed by touching the entrails of a man newly slain and drinking his blood. At one of their assemblies, however, a slave, named Vindicius, overheard the whole of their discourse, and hastened to give information of the discovery he had made—according to Livy, to the Consuls; but, as others assert, to Valerius, as he feared the ties of natural affection would induce the chief magistrates to spare the traitors. Certain it is that they were immediately seized, the letters which they had given for Tarquin to the ambassadors secured, and preparations made for their immediate trial. Early on the following day, the culprits were brought before Brutus and Collatinus, who were seated on the tribunal. The sons of the former were first arraigned, and their guilt proved by the testimony of Vindicius, and the production of their letters. With unbroken firmness, Brutus three times demanded if they had any defence to offer, but they replied only by their tears. All the spectators were moved by commiseration for their inexperienced youth, and called upon the father to spare them; but he, rising from his seat with the same unshaken constancy, directed the Lictors to perform their office. Upon this dread command, the youths, in the fervour of agony, implored their judge to save them, and the people joined their entreaties; he alone remained unmoved, and saw his children scourged and beheaded without a sigh. But Collatinus was little prepared to follow his example. He made an effort to save his nephews, which appears to have been frustrated by the firmness of his colleague, though the Historians differ considerably respecting the circumstances under which his merciful intentions were defeated. Vindicius was rewarded with a sum of money, his emancipation from slavery, and the privileges of a citizen of Rome. The ambassadors were dismissed from reverence to the sacred character which they bore, though they had

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The sons of Brutus actors in it.

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forfeited their claim to its protection; and the property of the King, now confiscated for his treachery, was divided among the people, who were thus bound by an additional motive to resist all attempts for his return. The Campus Martius alone was reserved for the public use; and having been consecrated to Mars, was devoted to those exercises by which the Roman youth were prepared for victory. Livy relates, that as the people thought it unlawful to use the corn reaped from this field, they threw it in bundles into the Tiber, where it floated in the shallows, and, mingling with other substances, became the foundation of an island, which, in after-times, was covered with temples.

Procure
the relics of
Collatinus.

The zeal of Brutus for the complete abolition of all the relics of the Tarquin Race, seems to have become a passion which not only overcame his dearest affections, but perverted his sense of individual justice. He was unable to endure the continuance of his colleague in the supreme power, who bore that name which he desired that all should hold accursed. The people, indeed, were not destitute of the same feelings, and murmured against Collatinus as favouring the exiled King. Observing these emotions in the populace, Brutus convened a public assembly, in which he read the oath taken by the people against the real of their late Sovereign, and called on them scrupulously to guard those liberties which they had confirmed by so august a sanction. He observed, that he addressed them with grief on account of Collatinus, to whom he referred, and that nothing but the love he owed to his Country should have induced him to break silence. But the people felt that while one of the Race of Tarquin remained, and held high office, they were unable completely to enjoy their freedom. Then, addressing himself to his astonished colleague, he exclaimed, "Of your own accord, O Lucius Tarquin, remove these inquietudes from us; we have not forgotten that you cast out the Tyrants; complete your claim on our gratitude; deliver us from the name of the Kings we have rejected. I will advise the citizens not only to leave you all your possessions, but if needful, liberally to augment them. Depart in nudity and peace; deliver your Country even from groundless fears. We shall feel that we are free indeed, when the last member of Tarquin's House has departed from us." At this address Collatinus was bewildered with surprise, while the chief men in the city pressed around him and entreated him to retire. At last, on the entreaties of Lucretius, the father of his heroic wife, he resigned the Consular dignity, and retired to Lavinium, where he died, after a peaceful life, at an advanced age. Livy places this incident before, and Dionysius after, the exhibition of the inflexibility of Brutus on the guilt of his sons. The latter Historian relates the circumstances in fuller detail, and represents the conduct of Brutus in still harsher colouring. He puts into his mouth a vehement harangue against the object of popular resentment, and makes him declare that Rome might select between himself and Collatinus, as both should never continue Consuls. According to this authority, the people were so incited by the furious discourse of the popular orator, that they were about to depose Collatinus with ignominy, when Lucretius interposed, entreated his son-in-law voluntarily to retire, and besought his adversaries not

to heap disgraces upon him. There is a great inconsistency in the latter part of the statement of this Historian. He informs us that the illustrious Exile retired, calling on the gods to witness the ingratitude of his friends, and immediately after represents him as accepting twenty talents from the public treasury, and five from the private fortunes of Brutus. The account of Livy, which we have followed, appears the most consistent with itself, and the least unworthy of the parties to whom it relates. From the little we can gather respecting Collatinus, his virtues seem to have been of too gentle a cast for the stern Republicanism of Rome. He doubtless made a happy exchange of the turbulence of contending factions for the repose in which he spent his days. It is greatly to his honour that he never united with the enemies of his Country, like Coriolanus in after-times, in order to revenge his private wrongs. He left, if not a glorious, at least an unspotted name.

If, in the banishment of Collatinus, Brutus had manifested an indifference to private feeling, his subsequent conduct at least proved that he was not instigated by personal ambition. He immediately converted the people to the election of a Consul, who might rule jointly with him in the room of the Exile. On this occasion they voted in Centuries, and their choice fell on Publius Valerius, whose subsequent conduct in extending the rights of the people procured for him the name of Publicola. He was a man of great eloquence, generosity, and benevolence, addicted from the earliest age to the studies of Philosophy, and filled with a deep sense of the rights arising from the common humanity of all. He was no sooner chosen, than a general amnesty was decreed to all who had followed the fortunes of the exiled Prince, on condition that they should, within twenty days, return to the city. This prudent measure caused many noble Patriarchs to join the Republic, who had, at first, retired from the belief that the revolt against the Tarquins would shortly be dissolved, and bring ruin on those who had assisted in its progress.

But Tarquin, though deserted by most of his friends, did not resign his hopes of regaining his throne. He forgot his sorrow for the defeat of his schemes in the fervent desire of vengeance; and resigning all plans for subverting the Commonwealth by treachery, resolved to attack it in open war. In order to procure the means for this contest, he appeared as a suppliant in the cities of Etruria, and urgently besought the Velientes and Tarquinenses to assist in his restoration. He besought them, with the most pathetic entreaties, not to suffer a King, united to them by ties of blood, after enjoying such a Kingdom, to linger in poverty and exile, and to see his children perishing around him in the bloom of their youth. He reminded them, that while others had been sent for from foreign regions to fill the Kingly office at Rome, he had been driven thence by an accused conspiracy of his relatives, in the midst of his exertions to adorn the city; contended that the supreme power had been divided because no one was found worthy to enjoy it, and that his goods had been distributed among the people that all might participate in the injustice and crime; and declared his resolution to recover his throne, and to take vengeance on the ungrateful citizens. He further incited them to join him, by calling them to revenge, at the same time, their individual wrongs, the

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lerius the
new Con-
sul.

Biography. defeats of their armies, and the loss of their territories, of which Roman cupidity had deprived them. His exertions were successful: the Veientes joined him in the hope of recovering the lands they had been compelled to resign in former wars, and the Tarquinianes from affection to a family sprung from among them, and the ambition of seeing one exercising supreme power at Rome with whom they could claim kindred. The combined forces of these States speedily entered the territories of the Republic, and the Consuls, at the head of the troops, advanced to give them battle. The cavalry were under the direction of Brutus, and the infantry, drawn up in a square battalion, were commanded by Valerius, his colleague. As Brutus was proceeding, Aruns, the son of Tarquin, who was at the head of the horse-soldiers of the royal army, observed him, surrounded with the Lictors, and exclaimed with fury, "There is the man who has driven us forth to exile! There is he, proudly decked in those ensigns of dignity which he has spoiled us! O gods! the avengers of injured Kings, assist me!" With these words, he set spurs to his horse, and rode fiercely to attack the Consul. Brutus, inflamed with equal animosity, rushed to meet him. Both combatants were inspired by so terrible an ardour, that each lost all thought of self-defence in the eager hope of destroying his adversary, and thus each desperately rushed on the spear of his foe, and fell at the same instant. The issue of the battle which followed was at first doubtful; the Veientes were overcome by the Romans, and the Romans opposed to the Tarquinianes were defeated. The latter, however, speedily retired, and left the field to their foes. According to Livy, they were panic-struck by hearing a voice, in the night, come from a wood, which was thought to be that of Silvanus, shouting that the Etrurians had lost one man in the battle more than the Romans had, therefore, that the latter were victorious.

Death of
Brutus.

The body of the fallen hero was brought with the spoils to Rome, and there honoured with as splendid a funeral as could be prepared in those rude and simple times. Valerius delivered an oration in his praise over his remains; whence the custom arose at Rome of paying this tribute of respect to departed greatness. But the most touching mark of lamentation for his death was afforded by the matrons, who were mourning for him a whole year, in gratitude for the noble vengeance he had exacted for their insulted honour.

Thus fell Brutus, at the moment when he seemed to have attained his utmost desires. His public life, from the hour when he threw off the appearance of an idiot, was but a few months in duration; but his conduct during that period decided the fortunes of his Country, and affected the condition of the civilized world for Ages. Not only was he the instrument of effecting a mighty change in the institutions of Rome, but he stamped for ever on her character that stern and savage grandeur to which every adversary was compelled to yield. He had seen his aged father and his brother slain, his estate confiscated, and himself treated as a mark for derision; and during years of contumely and disgrace, he had existed but for vengeance. One emotion—a burning hatred to tyranny—took entire possession of his soul. His tender affections, all his attachments but this for his insulted Country, withered and died away within him. His course, therefore, was as decided as his energy was sublime. As he was placed in the most conspicuous point of the Roman Annals, his sacrifice of all human emotions to his Country's freedom became the grand model which a nation of warriors delighted to imitate. From his example the impulse was given to that illustrious succession of heroes who were "navies of their mighty souls" in the service of a State resolved on Universal Empire.

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CAIUS MARCIUS CORIOLANUS.

FLOWERED ABOUT A.M. 3514, B. C. 490.

Biography. The family of Caius Marcius was one of the noblest and most venerable in Rome. He was descended from Ancus Martius, the fourth of the Roman Kings, and numbered many illustrious Patricians among his ancestors. He lost his father in his early childhood; but this misfortune seemed almost compensated by the care of his mother Volumnia, who not only devoted her life to his education, but strove to inspire him with that martial ardour which alone could lead to the highest distinctions. He returned her love with the most respectful yet devoted affection; and the hope of adding to her joys was the strongest impulse which animated him in his career of victory. He learned early to excel in all the robust exercises which were preparatory to the exploits of the field; and acquired in these so great an excellence, that scarcely any one of the youths of his own age dared to enter into competition with him. From this decided superiority, so early recognised, it is probable that unbend-

ing pride and stern spirit of defiance had their origin, which threw so dark a shadow over his character in maturer years.

Marcius was early permitted by his heroic mother to encounter the dangers of battle. He soon had an opportunity of displaying those great qualities with which he was endowed, in the fiercest engagement in which Rome had yet conflicted for the preservation of her freedom. Tarquin, unsubdued by his numerous misfortunes, prevailed on the Latins to espouse his cause; and although exceedingly old, marched with the army, which was commanded by Mamilius. The Romans, under the conduct of Posthumus, the Dictator, hastened to meet them, and hearing that the exiled King and his sons were among the hostile forces, rushed with uncommon ardour to give their enemies battle, and met them on the borders of the lake Regillus. Here a combat the most sanguinary and ferocious ensued, in which the Generals, carried away by

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their ardour, fought hand to hand among the soldiers. Tarquin himself, feeble with age, concentrating all his energy for a single effort, spurred his horse to attack the Dictator, but received a wound in his progress, and was borne from the field by his allies. Both Mamilius and Valerius were killed, after performing the most astonishing feats of valour. At length, the Roman fortune prevailed, and the Latins fled, after a resistance in which scarcely a soldier escaped un wounded. In this mighty contest the prowess of young Marcius was conspicuous. As he saw one of his comrades struck down at a little distance from him, he rushed between his Countryman and his foe, and maintained the combat till he slew the aggressor. For this exploit, Posthumus crowned him with an oak leaf garland—the reward of him who preserved a citizen. On his return to Rome, after this success, he married, but continued to reside, together with his wife and family, in the house of his revered and beloved mother.

It would have been well for Marcius had his mind been devoted entirely to the acquirement of additional fame in defending the State in foreign warfare, and the enjoyment of those domestic pleasures, in the intervals of combat, of which he was so well deserving; but the high-born pride of his spirit, and his disdain of the populace, were unfortunately developed in the contests between the Senate and the people, by which the Commonwealth was now distracted. It will be proper to take a concise view of the origin of these struggles, in which he took a share so ruinous to his happiness and so blasting to his honourable fame.

When the regal government was abolished at Rome, its place was supplied by an Aristocracy, which allowed but a small share in the direction of the State to the people. This, however, was not the principal grievance of which they had to complain. The law respecting debtors, which allowed the creditor to treat the insolvent as a slave, and even to whip and torture him, pressed on them most severely; especially as wealth was distributed with great inequality, and the most exorbitant interest was exacted for the loans which extreme poverty often compelled them to request from the Patricians. Their sense of this oppressive regulation was aroused by the appearance of an aged man in the Forum, covered with bruises, and in the most piteous condition, who related the story of his wrongs and his sufferings. He alleged, that while fighting the battles of his Country, he had lost all his little stores by the incursion of the foe; had been forced to borrow money to pay the taxes imposed on him; had given up his paternal estate to satisfy the enormous demands of his creditor; and, after all, had been seized, in his age and sorrow, and tortured in a dungeon.

Dispute
between the
debtors and
creditors at
Rome.

Moved by this tale and by the miserable appearance of the speaker, the people ran tumultuously through the city, and when the Consuls, Appius Claudius and P. Servilius, attempted to appease them, burst forth into expressions of vehement indignation against their oppressors. They demanded that the Senate should immediately assemble to redress their wrongs, and when they found the greater part of that body absent from terror, they became still more incensed and tumultuous. At length the Senators, thinking it safer to meet the danger than to neglect it, repaired to the place of deliberation, as the populace had required. But here the opinions were far from unanimous as to

the course it would be proper to take in this important crisis. Some, with Appius, recommended the seizure of the most active in order to terrify the rest into submission; while others, with Servilius, were inclined to soothe and conciliate the unruly. In the midst of the discussion, news arrived that an army of the Volscians was advancing to besiege the city, which the people received with joy. The Commons now determined to obtain revenge for their wrongs by totally refusing their services. This course decided the Senate to lay aside their animosities for the present, and to empower Servilius to forbid the detention of any citizen in prison or in chains, so as to prevent him from joining the Consular levies, and to prohibit the seizure of the lands or arrest of the families of any who should take up arms during their absence. This measure had the effect desired, since a great number of debtors availed themselves of the protection offered, and, in the battle which ensued, exerted themselves with more energy, as they were inspired by the broken state of their fortunes. The Truce between the contending parties of the State was occupied by a brilliant succession of victories. The Volscians, after an ineffectual attempt on the Roman encampments, were completely routed, and the city of Suessa Pomatina, to which the fugitives from the battle escaped, was taken and given up to plunder. An army of the Sabines, which had suddenly advanced to ravage the open country, was overtaken, and cut in pieces in a single day. The Aruncians, who had sent Deputies to demand that the Romans should withdraw from the Volscian territories, and whose legions, at the same time, set out to enforce the negotiation, were arrested by hands who rushed forth eagerly to destroy them; and before the Senate could be regularly consulted, or an answer given to the ambassadors, the army was defeated, and the war terminated by the Roman prowess. And the Etruscans, terrified by the successes of the Romans, sent an embassy to sue for Peace, which was granted only on the cession of their lands.

The people, whose valour had gained these signal triumphs, naturally expected that the return of Peace would bring them a solemn investigation and redress of their grievances. They were, therefore, highly indignant when they found, not only that this duty was entirely neglected by the Senate, but that the old laws respecting debtors were enforced even against those who had been protected from the grasp of their creditors when the danger of the Republic required that they should be at liberty to hazard their lives in its service. Those who fought under the banners of Servilius, when they were seized, applied to him to assist them and redeem his plighted faith, accused the hardness of their fate, and displayed the wounds they had received when supporting him in battle. The Consul, although he was disposed to render them justice, remained irresolute, through fear of Appius and the Senators, who were determined to resist all the demands of the people. Thus he so lost their affection, that when it was referred to the Commons to nominate a person who should have the honour of dedicating a temple to Mercury, they elected M. Lætorius, the first Centurion of a legion, for the purpose of irritating Appius, whom they had cause to hate, and Servilius, whom they began to despise. After this conduct of the Plebeians, the breach between the higher and lower orders continued.

Continued.

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Biography. rapidly to widen. When a debtor was arrested, he was constantly rescued by force, and the Consuls' decrees were prevented from being heard or obeyed, by clamour and tumultuous risings. While this state of disturbance continued, the Sabines threatened the city with war, and the people, remembering the rewards of their former exertions, refused to shed their blood for the defence of those who had shown themselves ungrateful. At this juncture, the year of Appius and Servilius expired, and A. Virginus and T. Volusius were appointed to the Consular dignity. The new magistrates, urged by the Senate to violent measures, ordered one of the leaders of a tumultuous assembly to be apprehended, but not only saw their Lieters repulsed by the people, but a contest ensued, which, although not deadly in itself, was of a nature to excite the most serious alarm. The Senate immediately assembled to great confusion, and it was long before the Consuls could restore that order which was necessary even to the appearance of deliberation among the members. Three opinions were then asserted with great zeal; Virginus, the Consul, proposed that effect should be given to the promises of Servilius, and all those soldiers released who had fought under him. Thus Larcius urged the justice and expediency of a total abrogation of debts, as the only mode of healing the divisions; and Appius violently insisted that the sedition arose not from oppression, but from too much freedom, which the right of appeal secured, and that the only mode by which the Senate could preserve its dignity, was the adoption of firm proceedings and the appointment of a Dictator. The latter recommendation was adopted; but, happily for the peace of Rome, the author of the measure was not chosen to that office, on which the salvation of the State depended. The choice of the Senators was prudently fixed on M. Valerius, brother of the man who had assisted in expelling the House of Tarquin, and who had given to the people those laws by which all those rights were secured that they were still allowed to enjoy. As the memory of his relative was still dear to them, they listened to his promises, when he made them the same offers as those by which Servilius had beguiled them; and enlisted in such numbers that an army of ten legions was raised, being a greater force than the Romans had ever yet been able to embody. All the troops were, however, needed; for three powerful foes appeared at once in arms—the Æqui, the Volsci, and the Sabines; all probably expecting to find great advantage to the intestine divisions of Rome. The first had made incursions on the territories of the Latins, who entreated the Romans either to protect them, or allow them in arms against their invaders; and as the former course was judged the most prudent, Veturius, the Consul, was sent to their assistance, and soon drove their faces into the fastnesses of the mountains. The other Consul marched to attack the Volsci, whom he found ardently desirous of a battle, as, from their superior numbers, they were confident of obtaining the victory. As they rushed forward with shouts and acclamation, the Romans waited in silence to receive their charge; and then, being fresh and unfatigued, returned the attack with so much vigour, that the Volsci, exhausted with the anticipations of success, fled to great disorder. The victors followed them closely, drove them from their camp to the city of Velitra, and entered that place, together with the defeated batta-

lions. After great carnage, the few who survived threw down their arms and received the mercy of the conquerors. The Dictator, in the mean time, obtained a great victory over the Sabines, who were the most formidable enemies of Rome. And the Consul Veturius, being incited by the clamours of his army to the bold attempt of dislodging the Æqui from their mountainous position, struck so great a terror into the foe by the boldness of the act, that when they might have attacked him with every probability of success, they deserted their camp and fled into the valleys. A rich booty was thus obtained without effusion of blood, and the army returned in triumph.

Immediately on the return of the soldiers, Valerius, anxious to redeem the pledge he had given, proposed a law for the relief of those who were insolvent. The proposition was unhappily rejected, and the virtuous Dictator retired from office to disdain, amidst the acclamations of the people whom he had vainly endeavoured to serve. Marcus now appears to have taken a decided part against the popular requisitions. He contended that the grievances respecting debtors were the mere pretext of a seditious spirit, which must be crushed, by resolution, in its infancy, or it would totally destroy the rights of the Senate and Patricians. These counsels, however, were frustrated by a new mode which the people adopted to make the Nobility feel how much they were dependent on those whom they affected to despise. Conducted by Sicinius, they left their employments, and peaceably entrenched themselves, according to some authors, on the banks of the Anio, and to others, on the Aventine hill, taking nothing but those things which were necessary for the supply of their immediate wants. This measure struck more dismay into the hearts of the Patricians than they had felt to the most violent tumults, and soon produced a resolution to concede any thing which might induce the people to return. For this purpose, Menenius Agrippa, a man of excellent character, and endowed with that rude species of humour which is always acceptable to the populace, was sent to treat with them; and, in order to show the folly of their secession, related to them the celebrated fable of a sedition by the members of the body against the stomach, in which, though they succeeded in starving the object of their aversion, they found that, in their success, they lost all their own energy, and were brought near to destruction. The adaptation of this happy fable to the state of parties among the Romans had its desired effect, and the seceders agreed to treat for a reunion. At length they consented to return, on condition of being allowed five Tribunes, to be chosen from their own body, who were to protect them against the powers of the Senate and Consuls, whose persons were to be esteemed sacred, and who were to be allowed a *sacrosanctum verbum* on every proposition, before it became a law to bind their constituents. These officers had, however, no voice in the Senate, no share in the administration of justice, and no splendid nor august habit to distinguish them from their fellow-citizens. But shortly after their appointment, they obtained the consent of the Senate to the appointment of two functionaries, to be their assistants, who, in subsequent times, were called Plebeian Ædiles, and had the care of the public buildings and many other duties confided to them. Sicinius and Brutus, two of the most vehement opponents of the

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Conduct of
Marcus in
these dis-
putes

The Tri-
bunes.

Valerius
Dictator.

Biography. Patrician encroachments, were among the first number of Tribunes.

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Brave con-
duct of
Marcus at
Corioli.

Marcus witnessed these concessions with regret, but saw that it was in vain to oppose them. He shortly found a more congenial sphere for the development of his energies, in the war against the Volsci, who seem to have risen from every defeat with unabated resolution and prowess. He attended the Consul Cominius to the field, against these formidable adversaries, and having shared in defeating the Antiates and capturing Longa and Polusca, proceeded to assist in the siege of Corioli, a strongly-fortified town, which the enemies regarded as their Capital. Animated by the danger of their principal city, the Volsci collected a large force, with which they resolved on attacking the besiegers from the rear, in the hope of compelling them to retire. To meet this detachment, Cominius drew off a great part of his forces, and left Titus Larcus to command those which still lay before the town, among which was Caius Marcus. On this movement the troops within the city sallied forth on the diminished battalions, and drove them to their entrenchments. At this critical moment, the spirit of Marcus burst forth to save and conquer; while he desperately opposed himself to the pursuers, he called to the Romans, with a voice like thunder, to turn on them, and roused their courage, while he struck dismay into the troops which had hitherto been victorious. Not satisfied with repulsing the foe, he hastily followed them; now struggling with the enemy, now animating his own battalions, and calling out to them that Corioli was theirs. With astonishing enterprise, followed only by a few soldiers, he burst with the fugitives into the city, and rushed through the streets, putting hosts of enemies to flight, who were so confounded at his surprising valour, that they thought not of cutting off his retreat, nor of steadily opposing his progress. While he thus seemed to burst like lightning through the city, Larcus had time to enter without opposition, and to secure the conquest which Marcus had achieved, almost as swift as thought, by the might of his single arm. The soldiers immediately began to disperse themselves throughout the city, for the purposes of plunder. But Marcus, sternly rebuking them, called to them to follow him instantly to the assistance of Cominius, who might even then be struggling with hosts of their foes. Only a few noble spirits obeyed him, and with these he hastened, without a moment's pause, to join the Consul. He arrived at the very moment when the armies were about to engage; scarcely told the issue of his exploits, and covered already with dust and blood, eagerly seized on the post of the greatest danger, carried defeat and terror wherever he moved, and forced the Volsci, with great loss, to retire. Even yet he refused to listen to the entreaties of those who besought him to take repose. As if gifted with more than mortal powers, he led on the pursuit of the fugitives, and never stopped till all the troops were routed and the camp of the Volsci taken. On the day after these wonderful successes, Cominius, after giving thanks to the gods, rapturously eulogised Marcus, attributing all the glory to him alone, and entreated him to accept a noble horse, and to choose a tenth part of the spoils. The hero received the praises bestowed on him with graceful modesty, accepted the horse offered by the Consul, and, whittly declining any share of the booty,

requested only, as his reward, that a Volscian who had once hospitably entertained him might be allowed his freedom. This moderation and generosity gave a finishing grace to his triumph. The assembly, as he refused all the more substantial gifts they desired to shower upon him, unanimously gave him the surname of CORIOLANUS, in memory of his astonishing valour. At ROME he was received with the warmest admiration, as the Consul, with eminent magnanimity and justice, had given him the whole merit of the war, and delighted to set forth his praises.

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Derives his
surname
from the
place.

The peace which ensued, however, was dangerous to Rome and fatal to the glory of Coriolanus. At first, indeed, all animosities seemed buried in the common joy; a new Treaty of Peace was made with the people of Latium, and a third day added to the *Feria Latina*, in commemoration of the happy reunion of the Senate and the Plebeians. But the death of Menenius Agrippa, whose qualities ensured him the respect of all, removed one great support of the public harmony. This excellent person died without leaving sufficient property to defray the costs of a public burial. As his relatives were about to inter his remains in private, the people, to whom he had greatly endeared himself, raised a fund, by the payment of a *sextans* each, for the purpose of bestowing on him splendid obsequies. When the Senate heard of this intention, they refused to allow so noble a Patrician to be buried at the cost of the Plebeians, and decreed him a magnificent funeral from the public treasury. The people, however, refused to take again their subscriptions, but persecuted them to the children of Menenius, to comfort them in their poverty, and stimulate them to the cultivation of virtue. Soon after the death of this popular Senator, a famine, which arose from the want of tillage during the secession of the people, occasioned fresh commotions at Rome. The people, with that misdirected passion which their extreme misery alone could excite, reviled the Senate as the authors of the scarcity, which manifestly originated from natural causes. All the exertions used by this body to purchase corn having afforded only temporary relief, they were disposed to assent to a request from the citizens of Velitrae, to send a colony thither to replace the greater number of its inhabitants who had lately been cut off by a terrible pestilence. When, however, they directed a number of the common people to set out for the desolate town, the Tribunes, Sicinius and Brutus, incited the latter to great discontent, by affirming that the place was infected, and that the Patricians only sent them there as to a lingering *Dispectus* grave. On this occasion, Coriolanus was unable to express his feelings of disgust, and openly inveighed against the Tribunes, and the spirit they succeeded in arousing. In this instance the Senate prevailed, and dispatched colonies both to Velitrae and Norva, a city of Latium, but were entirely disappointed in the hope that this measure would render the city tranquil. The tumults continued under the direction of Sicinius and Brutus, who took advantage of the general distress to procure a law forbidding any one to interrupt the Tribunes while speaking, under grievous penalties. The Senate and the people continued to act in political opposition, each refusing to confirm or acquiesce in the decrees and resolutions passed in the assemblies of the other, and many accepted the invitations of neighbouring States, and emigrated from Rome. At length the

Biography. Fathers resolved on sending an army against the Volsci, in order to employ and amuse the turbulent and miserable citizens. But they followed the advice of the Tribunes, and refused to take arms. On this, Coriolanus, indignant, set forth on the expedition, attended only by his own dependants, a few noble Patrician youths, and a small number of Plebeians, who joined him when they observed the spirit with which he was actually departing. This enterprising party advanced to the gates of Antium, collected large spoils, with abundance of cattle and food, and returned with the booty, which the generous leader divided, without reserve, among his followers. After this expedition, Coriolanus became candidate for the office of Consul. At first the people were inclined to forget his opposition to their cause, in his noble qualities and splendid success, but the Senate supported him with so injudicious a warmth, that they withdrew their suffrages from him, and chose Minucius and Sempronius to his exclusion. Conscious of his own merits, he deeply felt and bitterly resented this injury; and he had unfortunately too soon an occasion for displaying the rancour which he condescended to cherish.

Is rejected
as Consul.

Corn arrived from various quarters, nearly at the same time, for the relief of the distresses in Rome. Not only had considerable stores been purchased in Italy, but the fleet which had been dispatched to Sicily returned heavily laden with grain, half of which had been purchased on low terms, and half freely presented to the State by Gela, the King of Syracuse. As these timely provisions were at the disposal of the Senate, the question was earnestly agitated in that body whether they should be gratuitously distributed among the people, or on what terms they should be allowed to enjoy them. On this occasion, Coriolanus took the opportunity vehemently to inveigh against the Plebeians and the Tribunitary power, and intimated that the exiguities of the time should be improved to abolish those privileges which had been so unwisely conceded. Many of the young and langhty Patricians, who felt an insuperable distaste to the vulgar harangues of the popular orators, strongly supported these declarations; but the more mild and aged of the Senators opposed them, sensible either of the impolicy of provoking a tumult, or of the want of generosity which would be shown in compelling the people to resign their privileges in order to obtain the means of satisfying hunger. While the matter was eagerly debated, the Tribunes, who were present, burst into the most severe invectives against Coriolanus, calling out on the Fathers to condemn him to death or exile, and threatening that, in case they refused, they themselves would wreak their vengeance upon him. Unspalled by these denunciations, Coriolanus defied their power, and threatened, unless they desisted, himself to exhaust their insolence. As they found the majority of the Senate inclined to support the object of their hatred, they hastened to the assembly of the people, whom they alarmed by apprehensions that the abolition of the Tribuneship was intended, and persuaded them to send into the Senate-house for Coriolanus to come and be arraigned in their presence. The messenger was dismissed with scorn. At length the Tribunes, with a body of their most resolute supporters, surrounded the doors of the Senate-house, in order to seize their great adversary at the close of the discussions. When, therefore, he appeared, attended with many noble

youths, who greatly admired him, the Ædiles were ordered to seize him; a fierce contest ensued, which the Consuls were scarcely able to appease. Both parties, at length, quietly departed, and Coriolanus returned home in safety.

Early the next morning the Tribunes assembled the people, and the city was disturbed, in every part, by tumultuous proceedings. The Senate, after long debate, resolved on conciliatory measures, and desired the Consuls to soothe the people, and entreat them to carry no further their animosities against Coriolanus, whom the Patricians seemed determined not to resign. With these views, Minucius made a long and very judicious speech, in which he assured the assembly that there was not the slightest intention of depriving them of any of their privileges, or of withholding from them the corn which had been procured for the relief of their distresses, and proved to them the injustice of their desiring to call a Senator to account as a criminal for advice he had given in his legislative character. He even implored them, that, if they thought they had powers to try Coriolanus, or a disposition to punish him, they would pardon him in consideration of his gallant services, or as a favour to the Patricians. This address inspired gentler thoughts in the people; but the Tribunes insisted on hearing Coriolanus make his own defence and apology before they would consent to absolve him. He came forward, therefore, to speak, and was received with deep attention. Instead, however, of pursuing the course which Minucius had marked out for him, he refused to submit to be questioned by the Plebeians, and sternly inveighed against the whole policy of his accusers. This bold and imprudent course secured to the Tribunes all the advantage they were on the point of losing, and caused the fiercest uproar. Sicinius availed himself of the popular rage, condemned the accused to death, and ordered the Ædiles to seize and east him from the Tarpeian rock. He stood unmoved, still breathing forth defiance and contempt on his judges. His friends protected him, and the whole body of the Nobles threw themselves among the crowd and resisted the execution of the sentence. In this commotion, the consuls interfered, and so great was the veneration which their presence inspired, that the contending parties retired, and Coriolanus was once more rescued from the foes whose malice, but for his pride and fierce demeanour, must have been weak as it was pitiful.

Although the immediate danger was thus appeased, the Tribunes insisted on the appointment of a day for the trial of Coriolanus by the people. The Senate hoped, at first, that an incursion of the Antiates would have diverted the popular attention till animosities had in some degree subsided, but in this they were disappointed, as Peace was restored before the time which had been named for the formal accusation of the illustrious Senator. Earnest debates took place among the Fathers whether they should suffer the premeditated Applius Claudius strenuously urging them peremptorily to forbid it, and Valerius as forcibly entreating them to yield. During the discussion, Coriolanus demanded of the Tribunes of what they intended to accuse him; and as they were afraid in the Senate-house to allege against him the speech which he had made within its walls, they replied, that they charged him with aiming at tyranny. Conscious of his own integrity on this point,

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Formidable
attacks
against
him.

The Tri-
bunes in-
sist on his
being
brought to
trial.

Biography. he consented to yield to the investigation required, on condition that his accusers should confine themselves to this single accusation. Livy, indeed, is intently silent on this consent, as well as on all the circumstances alleged by Dionsysius and Plutarch to have taken place between this period and the retirement of Coriolanus from Rome; and, on the contrary, affirms that he altogether refused to acknowledge the authority of those who presumed to try him, and was condemned to banishment in his absence. This account seems far most probable, from his character; and there are several inconsistencies in the statements of the more minute Historians, which incline us to give credit to Livy. We shall, however, state the substance of the particulars which Plutarch and Dionsysius have related.

When the time appointed for the trial arrived, a fresh dispute arose, whether the people should give their votes by Centuries or Tribes; a highly important question, because, if the voices of the people were collected by the first means, the Patricians were certain of success; whereas, if the latter mode were agreed to, they were reduced to their numerical strength, having no more votes than the lowest of the Plebeians. After a fierce contention, this point also was conceded to the Tribunes; and when the Senate acquiesced in the demand, the cause was virtually decided. The Patricians, indeed, condescended to entreat and to supplicate the people in behalf of the man whom they wanted either the courage or the power to defend; and seem still to have entertained hopes that their prayers and the memory of his own noble actions would secure for him an acquittal. At length the expected day arrived, and immense multitudes were collected in the Forum, in anxious expectation of the issue. Minucius first addressed the assembly, entreating them to waive the trial as a boon conceded to the entreaties of the Senate; and, finding that he could not obtain this favour, reminded them that they were bound to confine their allegations to the support of the charge of tyranny. If, however, the Tribunes did not in terms relinquish this accusation, they continued, in their harangues, to bring forward all the political offences of Coriolanus as proof of a constructive treason. After they had apparently exhausted all their invectives, the party accused, with a noble assurance, presented himself to the crowd; and scarcely condescending to notice the particular complaints brought forward by his foes, recounted his exploits in the service of the State, even from his boyhood; displayed the crowns which he had won by his astonishing valour, especially in preserving the lives of the citizens, and uncovered the wounds which he had received in battle; and then triumphantly appealed to the audience, whether he could have intended in Peace to destroy those for the preservation of whose lives he had a thousand times periled his own? The people, who came resolved to condemn, felt abashed before him, and cried out for his acquittal. But Decius, one of the Tribunes, now brought forward a new charge, which was totally unexpected, that he had divided the spoils he had taken among his soldiers, to conciliate their affections, instead of bringing them to the public treasury. It is said that Coriolanus was unprepared to reply to this accusation, which was calculated to rouse the animosities of those who had envied the troops those riches which they had dearly won. Pursuing their advantage, the Tribunes collected the

suffrages, and Coriolanus was condemned to exile by a majority of three votes, twelve having voted against him, and only nine in his favour. All these proceedings were, however, the appearance of Historic fiction. It is not probable that, on such an occasion, the Senate would resign all material distinction between themselves and the people, by abandoning the ancient right of voting in Centuries; it is unlikely that Coriolanus would consent to recognize what he regarded as innocent encroachments, and submit to be tried by the people, merely because he thought his adversaries had taken a ground which they could not maintain; still less is it to be believed that he would condescend to exhibit his scars and his trophies before those whom he held in inexpressible disdain; or that he should be confounded by a charge which he might so readily have turned on his accusers. Certain, indeed, it is, that he was condemned to perpetual exile; but it seems most probable that the people were exasperated to this injustice by his steady refusal to appear before them.

As soon as the result was known, the Patricians were struck with the deepest sorrow. Coriolanus alone betrayed no symptom of regret; but the injury smelt into his inmost soul. He embraced his wife and children, and the mother whom he had so tenderly revered, and, after exhorting them to bear their distresses with constancy, left Rome, attended by a few clients only, who resolved to share his misfortunes. Many of the Senators followed him to the gates, but he received the expressions of their grief with a haughty silence. After a few unquiet days spent in the country, during which he was divided between his love for Rome and his desires of vengeance, the feelings of resentment assumed the complete mastery. In pursuance of his determination to make his enemies feel his power, he resolved to throw himself into the arms of the Volsci, to whose defeat he had obtained the most signal renown. For this purpose, he covered himself with a habit which disguised him, and proceeded, in the evening, to the house of Attius Tullus, the most celebrated of the Volscian Generals, whom he had repeatedly overthrown in battle, and whom, therefore, he supposed to cherish a great animosity against him. He entered the hall of his rival without being discovered, and placed himself on the hearth sacred to the household gods, which all the States of Italy feared to violate. The servants, awe-struck by the grandeur of his form and the majesty of his deportment, hastened to call their master, who was at table, that he might question the mysterious stranger. Tullus immediately entered the room, and demanded to know his name and purpose; when Coriolanus, throwing off his disguise, replied, "If you remember me not, I must declare to you that my name is Caius Marcius—the bitterest foe of the Volsci—to which my surname, Coriolanus, would witness. That is all which is left me now. The envy of the people, and the cowardice of the Senate, have banished me from Rome, and forced me to become a suppliant here—not for life, but for vengeance. If you will accept my services against my ungrateful Country, this affliction of mine may become the means of your triumph; if not, I desire to live no longer. My fate is in your hands; destroy one who, if you receive him out into friendship, cannot exist but at your peril." Astonished at his magnanimity, Tullus gave him his hand in pledge of faith, assured him that ne would

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His banishment determined.

Seeks refuge with the Volscian General Tullus.

Day of trial.

Biography. receive the highest respect from the people among whom he had sought refuge; and conducted him into the inner apartments, where he was hospitably entertained, and consulted as to the best means of renewing the war with Rome, in which he might satisfy his desires of revenge.

In the mean time, the Romans were engrossed in superstitious observances, little suspecting the danger preparing for them. An old man, having procured himself to be conveyed in a couch to the Senate, declared that Jupiter had appeared to him in a dream, and signified his displeasure at the person who had danced before the Public Games, and that these must be celebrated afresh, or the Republic must dread the anger of heaven. He added, that he had at first neglected this intimation, and in consequence, by disobedience, had lost one of his sons, while his sleep had been haunted by the same vision, threatening him with further evils if he refrained from making the disclosure. He affirmed, that while he still hesitated, he was seized with a severe distemper, and lost the use of his limbs, so that he could only be brought to the Senate-house in a litter. While he delivered this discourse, it is said that he gradually recovered his strength, and, at its conclusion, walked home, leaving the Senate astonished at the prodigy. On inquiry, they found that a slave had been whipped by his master through the Forum, on the morning of the Games, which they presumed had given offence to the Gods; and having set a fine on the offender, they prepared with great magnificence again to celebrate the festival.

Tullus resolved to take advantage of this occasion, to inflame his Countrymen against the Romans, especially as the Consuls chosen for the ensuing year, by the influence of the Plebeians, were known to be men of no talents for war. For this purpose, he encouraged a number of the Volsci to repair to Rome, to witness the approaching solemnities; and then gave secret intimations to the Senate that he expected some disorder would ensue from their presence. On receiving this communication, the Fathers ordered all the Volsci to depart from the city, who were met on their journey home by the treacherous instigator of their dismissal, and incited to regard it as an unparalleled outrage. The Volsci, however, on the advice of Coriolanus, sought a more plausible reason for breaking the Truce then subsisting between the nations, and sent Deputies to Rome to demand the restoration of the cities and the land which had been wrested from them. To this demand the Senate indignantly replied that if the Volsci would be the first to take up arms, they would be the last to lay them down. As the Volsci expected this answer, they were prepared to act on it, and having chosen Coriolanus and Tullus to command the forces, immediately took the field.

The army was divided into two portions, each of which was led by one of the Generals. Tullus, with his battalions, invaded the territories of the Latins, to prevent them from affording succor to their allies; while Coriolanus burst immediately into the Roman domains, and acquired great spoils. The former having also taken considerable booty near Latium, remained to guard the frontiers, while the latter advanced to meet the Consuls. These magistrates did not, however, seem eager to contend with their injured Countryman, who continued to ravage the country without opposi-

tion, entering Circum without resistance, and retaking not only Satricum, Longula, Polusæ, and Corioli, which he had so recently contributed to subdue, but a number of cities belonging to the Latins, who in vain supplicated the assistance of their usual protectors. In his progress, he spared the estates of the Patricians, either from old friendship, or a desire to raise jealousies between that order and the Plebeians. Such was, at all events, the consequence of his forbearance; and the Senate were even charged with having secretly encouraged the Exile to make war, for the abolition of the Tribunial Power. All was confusion within the city, as the parties distrusted each other, and feared both the abilities of their foe and the incapacity of the Consuls. In the mean time, Coriolanus was rapidly advancing, and having taken Lavinium, pitched his camp at the Cloilian trenches, within five miles of the city. The people, who had doomed him to exile, now in terror besought the Senate to meet him; but, with a truly Roman spirit, they refused to sue to him as a master, whom they had strenuously defended as an equal. When, however, they found that he had broken up his camp, and was actually preparing to invest the city, they consented to send Deputies to him, to negotiate for Peace. Minucius, Cominius, and three other Senators of Consular dignity, were appointed to conduct this important mission. They entreated him, by the memory of their former love, to forget the past, and to return to the city, which would be most joyful to receive him. He replied, with austerity, that he would consent to Peace only on condition that the Senate would restore all the possessions they had taken from the Volsci, and grant to that people the same rights of citizenship which they had conferred upon the Latins. For himself, he expressed his astonishment that he should be requested to return to a people who had so injuriously treated him, and against whose future vengeance he could never be secure. He granted, however, a Truce of thirty days, that they might have time to consider the offers he made them, as General of the Volsci; and, in the mean time, drew off his troops from the city, and employed them in taking possession of several other towns in the territories of Latium.

Although the greatest apprehension prevailed at Rome, the Senate resolved never to submit to the terms proposed by the invader. At the close of the period allowed them for deliberation, they sent ten of their number to Coriolanus, charged to assure him that the Romans would never yield to demands thus enforced, and, at the same time, to entreat him to withdraw his troops, and afterwards to negotiate for a union. On hearing the speeches of these Deputies, he replied, that the Senate had no alternative but restitution or conduct of war; and though, as General of the Volsci, he had no other answer to return; as one of the citizens of Rome, he would advise them to ask no longer terms to which he could never listen. He yet allowed them three days to decide on the course they would finally adopt. Their resolution, however, on this point, seems never to have wavered, though they were afraid even to send forth an army to oppose the enemy's progress. Still hoping to move Coriolanus to a compliance with their wishes, they dispatched the Priests and ministers of Religion, in their sacred vestments, to conjure him to retire. He heard their entreaties, and without relaxing his determination, dismissed them. As a last hope,

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Consternation at Rome.

A depopulation created for Peace.

Haughty conduct of Coriolanus.

Coriolanus invades the Roman territory.

Biography.

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490.His mother
and family
go out to
conciliate
him.

all now exerted themselves to the utmost, to prepare for that siege which was instantly to be expected. The women ran distracted about the Forum, clinging to the statues of the gods, and the sacred altars, and imploring in agony the assistance of heaven. Suddenly, Valeria, the sister of Valerius, ascended the steps of the Temple of Jupiter, in the Capitol, and called these wretched suppliants around her, as if inspired with a divine energy for their relief.

She assured them that one hope of saving their Country yet remained through their means, and exhorted them to entreat the mother of Coriolanus, who had devoted her life to his happiness, to join with them in a last effort to prevail on her hitherto inexorable son. Having persuaded them to accede to this proposal, she conducted them to the house of Volumnia, whom she found in the deepest affliction, and earnestly entreated her assistance. The noble matron, after expressing her fear that nothing could shake his soul from its purpose, agreed to make the attempt if the Senate would afford it their sanction. After some opposition from those who feared that Coriolanus would detain the ladies in his camp, the opinion of those who knew that they were secure in the honour of his character prevailed, and the train set forth, in mourning habits, without any guard, in chariots provided by the Consuls.

Coriolanus observing the melancholy procession, sent to inquire its meaning. When he heard that his mother, wife, and children, with the noblest of the Roman matrons, were coming towards the camp, he resolved to deny their request with as firm a resolution as he had done that of less moving embassies, and called the chief of the Volscian officers around him to witness his firmness; but when they came into his presence, the feelings of nature, in spite of his determination, rushed back upon his heart, and he was melted to tears. He first embraced and supported his mother, then fondly revived the spirits of his wife, and caressed his children. Volumnia then took advantage of this moment of tenderness to urge her request. She entreated him, by the most sacred considerations—by his duty to that land where he had been nurtured in childhood—and by his gratitude for her maternal care, to withdraw his troops, and grant a Peace for a year, during which period a solemn Treaty might be agreed on and ratified. She assured him that if he would persist in ravaging and destroying the Temples of his Country, she would never live to be reproached with having given him birth, but he should pass by his unnatural triumph over the corpse of her who had borne and nourished him. He listened to this speech in silence, torn by contending emotions. At length Volumnia, perceiving that he was moved, added still more urgent supplications, besought him to recompense all her love by one sacrifice, which would, indeed, save him from eternal reproach, and breaking off with passionate sorrow, threw herself at his feet, together with his wife and sons. Affection then became triumphant: he raised his mother, and pressing her hand, said, in a solemn tone, "Oh, my mother! you have gained a victory, indeed, for your Country, but it is to the ruin of your son!" He then took them apart, and after consenting to all that they required, suffered them to return. The news of their success was received at Rome with unbounded joy. Crowds came out to meet and conduct them to their houses; and the people were

at a loss to find adequate expressions of their delight and gratitude. All the Temples were thrown open as on a splendid victory. When the Senate offered to their deliverers any recompense they would demand, they only requested permission to erect a temple to Female Fortune, which should afterwards be provided with sacrifices and Priests from the public treasury. This modest request was readily granted, but the Fathers insisted on defraying the whole expense from the national funds; upon which the ladies added a statue at their own cost, which was believed, by the superstitious, to have uttered an exclamation expressive of their matchless virtue. Plutarch, after a laborious investigation of this prodigy, rejects it as beyond belief; for though he thinks the deities might suffer statues to perspire, or drop blood, in manifestation of their will, he cannot think they could make them utter articulate sounds without organs to pronounce them.

On the day after the interview with his relatives, Coriolanus retired with his forces. Although he liberally retires.

Coriolanus retired with his forces. Although he liberally divided all his spoils among the soldiers, it soon appeared that the apprehensions he had expressed to Volumnia, when he granted her request, were not unfounded. Tullius, who had long since been led to repent of his generosity towards him, by envy of his superior fame, was resolved to make this abandonment of the siege the occasion of his downfall. When, therefore, Coriolanus arrived with the army at Antium, he charged him with treason against the people who had succored him, and required him to resign his command preparatory to his trial. He replied that he was willing to lay all his conduct before the general assembly of the nation, from whom he had received his powers, but refused to yield to the sentence of the Antiates alone, over whom he knew that his rival had peculiar influence. At length Tullius, not choosing to wait the legal decision even of his own Countrymen, sent a summons to Coriolanus to appear in the public assembly and make his defence, and procured a number of his partisans to assassinate him before he could be heard. On the day appointed, the accuser set forth his charges against Coriolanus in glowing colours, and tried by every art to rouse the passions of the auditors against him. When he rose to reply, the greater number, however, were disposed to hear him with respect; but the friends of Tullius rushed forward to prevent him, exclaiming that he was a traitor, and overwhelmed him with stones till he fell. No sooner was it discovered that he had expired, than

present, even those who had contrived his destruction, were touched with remembrance of his noble qualities, and filled with remorse for his murder. The Volsci honoured him with a splendid funeral, and built a magnificent tomb over his remains. Dionysius affirms, that on the arrival of the news of this catastrophe at Rome all the people put on mourning; but Plutarch describes the Romans as receiving the intelligence without any indication either of sorrow or joy, but granting the request of the women that they might wear mourning for the space of ten months, in token of regret for one whose death had been occasioned by yielding to their entreaties.

Although both Dionysius and Plutarch represent Coriolanus as having thus fallen, on his return to Antium, Livy appears to have entertained a different opinion respecting his fate. He quotes Fabius, whom

Coriolanus.
A. M.
3514.B. C.
490.Assassinated by the
Volscians.

Biography. he speaks of us by far the most ancient of the Roman Historians, as affirming that this hero lived to old age, and, in his declining years, was accustomed to complain that exile, always grievous, was most oppressive to the aged. From an expression of Cicero, in Lælius, it appears to have been his opinion that Coriolanus terminated his days by his own hand.

His character.

There is no hero, perhaps, of ancient Rome who fills so large a space in our Imaginations as he whose life we have so often been relating. He seems to have been cast in Nature's grandest mould. The effects of his power in rallying defeated armies, striking panic into his foes, rushing from battle to battle, and carrying victory for ever with him, give us an impression of a firm, voice, and energies, more than mortal. Nor are his moral qualities—his contempt for wealth—his generosity in rewarding his soldiers—his noble frankness, and unshaken resolve, less worthy of admiration than his physical resources. To all these elements of a sublime character he added a filial reverence and a conjugal love which seem to give the finishing grace to his more brilliant virtues. One fatal defect he had, which not only obscured the lustre of his rare endow-

ments and heroic deeds, but rendered them the instruments of his ruin. He wanted that wisdom which sees excuses for the deficiencies of less noble natures, and traces out the good and kindly feelings which are blended with the errors and the vices of men;—and the absence of this sweetener of greatness destroyed him. A man of less intellectual grandeur could better have afforded to be destitute of this nice lack of humanity. Qualities like his required the attendance of more than ordinary gentleness to the failings of others, to prevent them from seeming to place him beyond the sphere in which men could claim kindred with their possessor. Holding the populace in contempt, he felt compelled, by his noble openness, to express his emotion, which they were unable to forgive. He was exempted, at least, from the faults of an ordinary ambition. He acted from simple impulses which he chose never to disguise; careless of any approbation but that of his own thoughts, and almost rejecting any other, as far as one but himself and his mother were worthy even to applaud him. He was "himself alone." He would have been the greatest and most perfect hero of antiquity, had he only learned to love and respect his species.

Coriolanus.
A. M.
3514.
B. C.
490.

LUCIUS QUINTIUS CINCINNATUS.

FLOURISHED ABOUT A. M. 3544. B. C. 460.

Biography.

LUCIUS QUINTIUS CINCINNATUS, who, of all the ancient Romans, has left behind him the most spotless fame, does not appear to have taken any prominent part in the affairs of the State until he had passed the meridian of life. We do not find him mentioned in the repeated disputes respecting the Agrarian laws, to which Cassius had first given occasion, and which were not extinguished by the violent death to which they brought their author. Equally passive does he appear to have been during the violent contests respecting the conduct of the Consuls to Volero, and the law for substituting the *Comitia Tributa* for the *Comitia Curiata*, in the choice of popular officers, proposed by that spirited Plebeian. During all the earlier struggles between the Senate and the People, he seems to have declined taking a decided part, although known to favour the Patricians. From the nature of his influence, when afterwards called to active exertion in the service of his Country, it appears that his daily life and deportment were distinguished by excellences which all parties agreed in revering.

While the Consuls were absent from Rome on an expedition against the Æqui and Volsci, whom they completely overthrew, a most important proposal was made by Terentilius, one of the Tribunes: he complained, in the assemblies of the People, that the rights of individuals were protected by no certain laws, as, with the exception of a few sacred books, to which none but the Patricians had access, no written regulations existed, but all depended on the judgment of the Consuls. He, therefore, demanded that five men, the most worthy of the office, should be chosen to

frame a code, in pursuance of which the magistrates should be compelled to administer justice. The Senate feeling that the adoption of this measure would greatly limit the powers they at present exercised, vehemently opposed it, and by the address of Q. Fabius, the Tribunes were prevailed on to defer its discussion till the return of the Consuls. When, however, Lucretius and Veturius had enjoyed their Triumph, and their successors, P. Volumnius and S. Sulpicius, had entered on the discharge of their duties, the Tribunes unanimously pressed for the speedy compilation of settled laws, and required that ten of the most venerable citizens should be deputed to frame them. The Patricians seem to have resorted to superstition in order to terrify the people from their design, as strange prodigies are said to have intervened; and, when these failed of success, they pretended that the Æqui and Volsci were about to invade the territories of Rome, at which the Tribunes did not conceal their derision. Violent contents frequently took place in the public assemblies, where the most daring of the Patrician youth, with no small degree of pride and imprudence, opposed the Plebeians. The most distinguished of these was Cæso, son of Cincinnatus, a man of great corporal strength, courage, and eloquence, who exerted all these faculties with equal zeal in opposition to the Tribunes. By his acts of violence, he rendered himself so obnoxious to the populace, that they insisted on his being brought to trial. Upon the day appointed for the investigation, he was defended by his uncle, F. Quintius, and his father, neither of whom either denied or excused the acts of impetuosity of which he was accused; but

Cincinnatus.
A. M.
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460.

Conduct of Cæso, son of Cincinnatus.

Biography. the former attempted to procure his pardon by setting forth his noble qualities and early prowess in the field, and the latter by imploring the People to treat the errors of youth with compassion, and to absolve his son as a favour to him, whom none of the men had reason to accuse. The assembly, which felt the deepest respect for the virtues of Cincinnatus, was inclined by these entreaties to acquit his son; but Virginius replied, that he had no doubt the father himself was ignorant of the atrocities of the man for whom he was pleading, which were only heightened by his having disregarded the example of such a parent. He then called on a person in attendance, named Volscius, who affirmed that Cæso, returning from an entertainment with riotous companions, insulted his brother; and, receiving a merited retort, proceeded to strike him to the ground, and an bruised him, when in a state of imperfect recovery from the disease then prevalent, that death was the consequence of his injuries. On hearing this charge, the People rushed on the party accused, to kill him, without hearing his defence, but were restrained by the interposition of the Consuls. Virginius demanded that he should be secured in prison till he could be brought to trial on this accusation, which affected his life; but the other Tribunes proposed, that on giving security for his appearance, he should be suffered to remain at large during the interval. Two sureties were required, and the Senate fixed the sum for which such should be bound at 3,000 aæres. This security was given, (the first occasion such a proceeding took place at Rome,) and Cæso withdrew on the same evening and retired into Etruria, not choosing to hazard the event of a trial. As the sureties were then called on for the sums which they had engaged to pay in case he refused to appear, Cincinnatus, resolving they should not suffer for their kindness to his son, sold the chief part of his little estate, and retired, with virtuous constancy, to a small cottage on the banks of the Tiber, where, with his own hands, he cultivated the small plot of ground which this act of justice had left him.

Paternal
sacrifice of
Cincinnatus.

While Cincinnatus continued in this honourable retirement, contentions still divided this City. The Tribunes continued resolutely to demand the law which should define the rights of the People and the limits of the judicial power, and were resolutely opposed by the young Patricians, whom the exile of Cæso seemed rather to incite than to terrify. Thus baffled, the popular officers had recourse to various stratagems to effect their purpose; they affirmed, that Cæso was actually concealed in the City, ready to strike some blow against their rights, and even, according to Dionysius, forged a letter warning them of a plot by some of the Roman Senators and Knights, to murder all who had exerted themselves in behalf of the Commons, and sought, by the absurd device, to procure a decree from the Senate giving them judicial powers against the conspirators. This last incident, however, is not alluded to by Livy, and has all the appearance of fiction. While the contentions between the Orders of the State remained unappeased, the Senate was thrown into the greatest alarm, by the bold and sudden seizure of the Capitol by a Sabine, named Herdonius, at the head of a numerous band of outlaws and slaves. This desperate chieftain, having put to the sword all who refused to join him, except a few who escaped to give the alarm,

marched into the City, proclaiming liberty to the slaves, demanding the recall of the Exiles, and threatening to bring the Sabines and Volentes to assist him, in case the Romans should oppose the execution of his purposes. The Patricians were struck with dismay, since on the one hand, they dared not arm the populace, and, on the other, expected the States which yet smarted beneath their defeats, would take this opportunity to obtain vengeance. A rising among the slaves, who had often too much cause for retaliation, was also to be expected. In the mean time, the Tribunes increased the confusion, by loudly declaring the whole invasion an artifice projected by the Senate, in order to prevent the People from obtaining the laws which they were determined to exact. In this exigency, the Consul Valerius rushed into the Forum, and passionately conjured the People to forget their intestine divisions until the Temples of the Gods and the sanctuaries of their fathers were recovered from the foe; and solemnly demanded that they should follow him to this sacred enterprise, on pain of being treated as the open enemies of Rome. To all these remonstrances, they at first answered only by repeating their demand. At length the earnest persuasions of the Consuls prevailed, and the citizens agreed to enlist for the recovery of the citadel, on the promises of Valerius that he would never interfere with the popular assemblies. Before, however, the great effort was made to expel the sacrilegious intruders, an army from Tusculum appeared in the City to aid the Romans in their peril, and joined the ranks of the citizens. The combined forces then with great ardour forced their way up the ascent, and after a sanguinary struggle, in which Valerius was slain, retook the Capitol by storm. Herdonius fell in the contest, the Tusculans received the thanks of their allies, and the Temples were purified by solemn lustrations.

After the deliverance of the State from this danger, the contests between the Senate and the People were revived, as Claudius seemed unwilling to perform the engagements of his late colleagues, and to suffer the proposition of the Agrarian law. The Patricians earnestly desired that Cincinnatus should be chosen to the Consulate in the room of Valerius, and by great exertions he succeeded. The new Consul, relying on the veneration felt for the austere simplicity of his character, began his administration with vigour. He reproached, with equal freedom, the irresolution of the Senate and the turbulence of the People. "It is your fault, O Fathers!" exclaimed he, in addressing the Senate, "that the same Tribunes, year after year, hear absolute sway over the distracted City, as in a house given up to ruin, by their speeches and their crimes. With my son Cæso, all valour, all constancy, all the qualities which can adorn youth in War or in Peace, have been utterly banished from Rome. You suffer the most low and seditious talkers, for a second and a third year, by the basest arts, to rule with the authority of Kings. What! does A. Virginian deserve less punishment for not being to the Capitol, than Herdonius for seizing it? If we look upon his conduct rightly, he merits severer vengeance. Herdonius was, at least, an open foe, who warned you to take up arms, whilst the Tribune took away our weapons, and exposed us naked and defenceless to Exiles and slaves. Why—with reverence for Claudius and the deceased Valerius I ask it—why did you march to expel your foes from the Capitol before you had

Cincinnatus
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460.

He is
chosen
Consul.

driven those hither enemies from the forum? How are we disgraced before earth and heaven, that when a leader of exiles and slaves was in the citadel, when the sanctuaries of Jove were polluted, when all things dear and sacred were given up to profanation, the Tusculans should have been aroused before us!—that it should be matter of doubt whether a Tuscan general or the Roman consuls wrested our citadel from the invaders!—that we, who once would not suffer the Latines to arm in their own defence, should now, but for the spontaneous assistance of these Latines, have been taken captive and blotted out from among nations! Is this, O tribunes, the succour you afford the people, to give them up unarméd to be slaughtered by their foes? What! if one of the lowest of your plebeians—of those whom you have broken off from the rest of the commonwealth, and formed into a distinct order—if one of these should tell you that his house was surrounded by an armed force, you would instantly afford him help: and yet, when Jupiter, the first and best of beings, was encircled with troops of the basest slaves, you thought him unworthy of your assistance! You would surround your own persons with an inviolable sanctity, which ye deny to the Gods. And do you think, immersed as ye are in crimes against man and God, that ye shall this year obtain the law you would extort? If this could be endured, accursed would be the day on which I was made consul; more accursed and calamitous than that on which Valerius fell. No! my colleague and I will lead our forces against the Æqui and the Volsci, since, from what cause I know not, the deities are more propitious to us in war than in peace. We had better have merely to imagine what we should have endured from these nations, had they known that our capital was in the possession of a desperate band, than actually to feel it."

Effect of his address

The senate began to take courage at this display of firm resolution in the consul; but the tribunes treated him with derision, and asked whence the soldiers would be procured for the campaign, since they were resolved to prevent a levy. "We need none," was the prompt reply of Cincinnatus; "the troops who enlisted under Valerius for the recovery of the capitol, are bound by a solemn oath to assemble at the command of the consuls, and never to lay down their arms without their permission. On the obligation of this oath, we command every soldier by whom it was taken to meet us to-morrow at the lake Regillus." This line of conduct on the part of the consuls, threw the tribunes into confusion, though they endeavoured to prevail on the people to evade the oath, by contending that, as Cincinnatus was not consul at the time when it was taken, it could not bind them to obey his orders. The consciences of the people were not, however, thus to be satisfied; and so great was the respect with which they regarded the sanctity of an oath, that they abandoned all thought of setting aside the orders of the consuls by any other means than that of prevailing on them by concession, not to force them to a winter campaign. At length a compromise was agreed to, whereby the tribunes waived the proposition of their law for the year, and the consuls laid aside their design of calling the army to the field. After this, the tribunes, notwithstanding the remonstrances of the senate, who passed a decree, declaring it inconsistent with the public welfare that the same individuals should,

year after year, fill magisterial offices, were re-elected by the people. The patricians then, that they might stand on an equality with the commons, proposed to continue Cincinnatus in the consular authority for another year. But this the virtuous senator refused, with expressions of indignation and disdain. "Can I waver," said he, "that your authority is set at naught by the people, when you yourselves destroy it? What! because the commons have broken your decree by continuing their magistrates in office, must you set it at defiance, that you may not be outdone in temerity? It is more pitiable folly to trifle with your own laws than those made by others. You, conscript fathers, are imitating the inconstant mob that you despise, and following, instead of setting an example. But, for myself, I will not stoop to mimic the tribunes, nor suffer myself a second time to be chosen. And I admonish you C. Claudius to drive away this licentious spirit from Rome; and rest assured that, so far from offending me by opposing my nomination, you will truly increase my renown, and preserve me from that envy which I must endure, were I to be re-elected consul." The senate, convinced by this address, immediately decreed that no one should nominate Cincinnatus on the approaching election for the consulate, and that, if any one persisted in offering his suffrage in his favour, the vote should be rejected. Cincinnatus then once more retired into private life, after having, by the firm consistency of his actions, obtained the esteem even of those against whom his efforts were directed.

In the succeeding consulate of Q. Fabius Vibulanus and L. Cornelius Maluginensis, war again broke out between the Æqui and Volsci and the Romans. While Fabius with an army, of which one-third only were Romans and two-thirds Hernici and Latines, completely defeated the main army of the foe near Antium, a detachment of the Æqui took possession of the Tusculan citadel by surprise. This incident caused the war to be protracted for several months; but, at length, famine compelled the besieged to submit, who were forced to pass under the yoke, and afterwards cut off by Fabius. The other consul, who had remained at Rome, then marched into the enemy's country, and both he and his colleague returned laden with spoils. After their escapes, a treaty was concluded with the Æqui, by which they were left in possession of their cities, on condition of paying tribute to their conquerors, and furnishing them with troops when they should require their services. During this time, the tribunes did not openly bring forward their measure, but procured themselves to be a fourth time elected to the office. In the next year, when L. Minucius and G. Nautilus were consuls, they resolved to propose the Agrarian law, but consented to allow two months to the consuls, during which period they might state fairly to the people the objections they entertained against it. Before this interval had expired, the Æqui revolted, and the Sabines invaded the territories of the republic at the head of a numerous army. Nautilus marched against the latter, and not only compelled them to retire, but followed them into their own domains, and obtained considerable plunder. But his colleague, Minucius, who was sent to oppose the Æqui, met with very different success. Either from terror, or rashness, he suffered himself to be completely surrounded by the

Cincinnatus.

A. M.
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—
A. C.
460.

Refers to
be re-elected
consul.

Assembles
a powerful
army.

Disasters of
the Romans.

Biography. enemy, so that he had no means of escaping or of obtaining provisions, and anticipated nothing but an unconditional surrender. When the news of his critical situation arrived at Rome, the senate resolved on the appointment of a dictator, who might take such strong and decided measures as the exigency of the case demanded. Nanius, who had been sent for on the oars, immediately proposed that Cincinnatus should be chosen for this arduous service, and his nomination was confirmed with ardour by the unanimous voice of the senators.

Cincinnatus called from his farm to the dictatorship.

The man thus selected to the absolute control of the state, was, at this time, engaged in cultivating with his own hands, the little remnant of his patrimonial estate. When the deputies, sent to apprise him of the decision of the senate, arrived at his farm, beyond the Tiber, they found him, either following the plough, or digging a ditch, with a spade, and covered with perspiration occasioned by toil. After the common salutations had passed, they requested him to put on his toga and hear their commission, which they prayed might be attended with favourable auspices. Having eagerly inquired whether all was well in the city, he desired his wife Racilia, to bring his toga from the cottage; and, after wiping the dust from his face, attended to their errand. They informed him of the peril into which the army of Minucius had fallen, saluted him dictator, and entreated him immediately to accompany them to Rome, and prepare for the execution of his high functions. He yielded directly to their wishes, and was conveyed across the river in a vessel dispatched by the senate to receive him. On landing upon the opposite shore, he was received with great joy by his three sons, his intimate friends, and a long train of patricians, and preceded by four-and-twenty lictors to his abode. The commons ran in crowds to see him, but scarcely looked on him with cordial affection, as they remembered his former sternness towards them, though they were we-stricken by the majesty of his virtues.

Early in the morning the new dictator repaired to the forum, and with characteristic discrimination, appointed for his master of the horse a patrician named L. Tarquinius, who was esteemed the bravest of the Roman youths, though from his great poverty, he had always served as a foot soldier. With this associate, he mounted the rostrum, commanded a suspension of all business, and of all judicial proceedings throughout the city, and ordered all who were capable of bearing arms to attend him before sun-set in the Campus Martius, each with provisions for five days, ready dressed, and twelve stakes for a palisade. He also directed every man whose age rendered him incapable of active service, to prepare the food for the soldier who lived nearest to him, while he employed the interval in procuring stakes and completing his armour. These commands were implicitly obeyed, and the Roman youths having taken stakes wherever they could be found, without requiring permission, met the dictator at the place appointed, in the evening. The arrangements for the hurried march were soon made, and the troops completely equipped, left the city in good order, commanded by Cincinnatus and Tarquinius. One general desire to deliver their fellow citizens, and obtain vengeance on their foes, animated the whole. The leaders incited the troops to hasten on, by reminding them that a Roman consul and his army were in a

state of siege, that they had been three days invested, and that a night, even an hour, might determine their fate, beyond the power of redemption. The soldiers, at the same time, called on the ensigns to proceed faster, and incited their comrades to follow them. By these exertions they arrived, by midnight, at the Algidus, within a small distance from the enemy.

Cincinnatus having desired his army to halt, and taken the best view of the camp of the Equi which the darkness of the night permitted, drew up the lines so as to enclose the trenches of the foes, in the same manner as they had done those of Minucius. The soldiers then, by his commands, raised a loud shout, and, in good order, began to dig a trench, and raise up a palisade before them. The Equi, finding a new enemy had arrived, and were endeavouring to protect themselves by fortifications, hastened to prevent them from completing the work, and hoped to fall on them in confusion. But, in the mean time, the shout of the dictator's forces had reached the camp of Minucius, where it was not only heard with joy, as the signal of approaching deliverance, but was considered as the cry of actual battle. Encouraged, therefore, by the belief that his countrymen were charging the besiegers from the other side, the consul hastened, on his part, to attack them, and thus kept them engaged during the night, while the entrenchments of the dictator were completed. At day break, Cincinnatus led his forces from the lines to actual combat, while the consular army continued to harass the foe. The Equi, finding themselves entirely surrounded, threw down their arms and entreated the conquerors to spare them. Cincinnatus, after ordering them to evacuate the city of Corbio, and to send him their general, Gracchus Clesius, and their chief officers, in chains, informed them that he had no desire to take their lives, but would suffer them to depart after passing under the yoke, in token of their subjection. To this hard condition they assented, and two spears being fixed in the ground, and a third laid across them, the whole army passed beneath this symbol of disgrace, and retired without further injury.

When the dictator met the troops whose deliverance he had thus happily accomplished, he reproved them in severe terms for suffering themselves to be thus encircled, and addressed their leader in terms of peculiar severity. He gave all the booty to his own soldiers, absolutely refusing to the consular bands any share of the spoils, and commanded Minucius to abdicate the authority of consul, of which he had shown himself unworthy, and remain with the legions in the capacity of lieutenant-general. This command seems to have been obeyed without a murmur, and Quintus Fabius soon after arrived from Rome, to supply the place of the unfortunate consul. Indeed, so great was the influence of the character of Cincinnatus, and so deep the sense of his justice as well as valour, that the battalions whom he had reproved and excluded from all share in the plunder, presented him with a crown of gold, and, on his departure, saluted him with the title of Preserver. On his return to the city, a triumph was decreed him, which was celebrated with all the rude magnificence of that early period. His chariot was Triumphant, preceded by the military standards and the captive chiefs, and followed by his victorious army, laden with their spoils. All the citizens gave themselves up to joy; entertainments were spread in the streets which

Marches to the relief of the consul.

Cleomenes
his
Ar. M.
11
460

His victory
over the
Equi.

Biography.

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460.

were gladdened by festive songs, and concluded with dancing. On the same day Mamilius, the Tuscan general, who had so nobly assisted in recovering the capitol from Herdonius, was presented with the freedom of Rome. According to Livy, before Cincinnatus resigned his office, he caused Volscius, the accuser of his son Carus, to be brought to trial for perjury; when he was convicted and banished to Lanuvium; but this circumstance seems contrary to the tenor of other historians. Certain it is, that though the dictator had been chosen for six months, he laid down his authorities at the termination of sixteen days, and hastened to resume his daily labours in the cultivation of his little farm, from which he had been taken.

Again re-
turns to pri-
vate life.

After the acts of this short dictatorship, we find no mention of Cincinnatus in the Roman story for nearly twenty years. Although this period was eventful, comprising fresh contests between the senate and the people, the appointment of the Decemviri—the establishment of the laws of the twelve tables—the tyranny of Appius Claudius and its tragical close, in consequence of the death of Virginia by the hand of her father—the establishment of military tribunes—and the appointment of a censorship, he does not appear to have taken any active share, either in foreign or domestic politics. Age stole on him in his happy retreat, without impairing his energies or diminishing the veneration and gratitude of his country. At length, he was once more called from his farm to assist the state by a last effort of his decision and virtue.

In the year *n. c.* 438, when Proculus Geganius Marcius and Lucius Menenius Lanatus were consuls, Rome was afflicted with a terrible famine. Each party of the state accused the other of having given occasion to this calamity; the people attributing it to negligence in the consuls, and want of foresight in the senate; and the patricians imputing it to the indolence of the people, who choose rather to spend their time in revelling and listening to the inflammatory harangues of the tribunes, than in tilling the lands. At length Lucius Minucius, a man of great integrity and zeal, was appointed, by the consent of both parties, to procure and superintend provisions for the relief of the distressed citizens. His endeavours for a long time appeared fruitless. The misery which had been a little relieved by a small supply of corn from Etruria, appeared daily to increase. Many of the people, in despair, threw themselves into the Tiber, in order to avoid the horrors of a lingering death by hunger. Soon, however, the cause which had frustrated the efforts of Minucius became apparent. Spurius Maelius, a Roman of great wealth, of the equestrian order, had conceived the idea of raising himself, by means of the distresses of his country, to the supreme power. For this purpose, at the beginning of the scarcity, he had bought up all the grain he could procure in the neighbouring provinces, and, when the wants of the people were the most urgent, distributed his stores, with great profusion, to those whom he thought likely to favour his designs. At first he appears only to have aimed at the consulate; but, as he found that he could not obtain this dignity, except in open defiance of the patricians, he resolved on aspiring at once to be absolute master of the state, which he thought would require scarcely greater energies, or a more daring spirit of enterprise. When, therefore, the elections for the new consuls arrived, he

does not appear publicly to have advanced his pretensions, and Titus Quinctius Capitolinus, brother of Cincinnatus, and Agrippa Menenius, were chosen. Maelius continuing to acquire fresh popularity by his largesses, prepared for exerting his influence to attain his object, by collecting arms at his house, and holding frequent assemblies there of all on whom he could prevail to favour his purposes. At this time Minucius, who had long watched his proceedings, for which the nature of his office afforded him opportunities, acquainted the tribunes with his conspiracy, and even charged the tribunes of the people with having been bribed to assist him in reducing his country to bondage. On this disclosure, the senate began to censure the counsels of the past year, and those who were then in office, for their remissness in permitting a plot of so dangerous a kind to assume so formidable a character before its suppression. To this reproach, Quinctius replied, that the blame ought not to be attached to the magistrates, but to the laws, which limited their power, since any steps they could take against a popular traitor might be frustrated by an appeal to the people. He, therefore, earnestly recommended the appointment of a dictator, who would have power to dispense with the laws, as the only means by which the plans of Maelius could be overthrown, and the offender brought to justice, and advised the election of his brother Cincinnatus, as the senator best fitted to meet and overcome the danger. Universal approbation followed this proposal; but, when the wishes of the senate were communicated to Cincinnatus, he entreated that he might be allowed to decline the office, as being now past eighty years of age, he feared he should prove too feeble for the performance of his duties. When, however, he was assured that the citizens had far more confidence in his wisdom and courage than in that of all other patriots, he consented to give them his services; and having implored the gods that they would not permit the commonwealth to suffer through the infirmities of her guardian, once more left his cottage and appeared at Rome.

No sooner was he appointed dictator, that he chose C. Servilius Ahala, as his master of the horse, and actively prepared to crush the designs of Maelius. He placed guards in all parts of the city, as if he expected the invasion of a foreign enemy. In the morning, he repaired to the forum and while the people were inquiring with astonishment, what new danger had caused the appointment of a dictator, and called forth a man in extreme old age, to direct the state, he ordered his master of the horse to lead to Maelius, and command him to appear in his presence. Struck with terror at the idea of confronting the virtuous dictator, Maelius entreated the protection of his friends to cover his retreat, and when an officer laid hold on him to compel his obedience, they rescued him by force from his hands. He then ran through the forum, entreating the people to defend him, who was persecuted by a senatorial conspiracy because he had relieved the wants of the commons in their greatest need. While he spoke these words, Servilius Ahala rushed on him, and slew him; and then, returning to the tribunal of Cincinnatus, sprinkled with the blood of the slain, he reported that Maelius, having refused to obey the summons, and attempted to raise an insurrection, he had summarily executed justice upon him. "You have done bravely

Cincinnatus.

A. M.
3544.
—
B. C.
460.Is again ap-
pointed dicta-
tor.

Biography. Servilius; you have saved the state," was the prompt reply of the dictator.

A. M.
3544.
B. C.
460.

As some of the people murmured at the sudden destruction of Melius, Cincinnatus convened a public assembly, and there developed the treasons of the slain, and justified the conduct of his officer. He affirmed, that even had Melius been innocent of the offences imputed to him, he would have been justly killed for setting at naught the august authority by which he was commanded to appear at a tribunal, where he would have met with an impartial trial. He set before the people, in glowing colours, the offence of which the traitor had been guilty, in attempting to enslave a city which had forcibly banished its kings; which had seen the sons of its first deliverer put ignominiously to death, for conspiring to restore the regal authority, and had seat Collatinus into exile merely because he bore the name of the family who had occupied the throne. He reminded them of the fall of Cassius, and the Decemviri, for striving to establish tyranny, and represented the deeper dye of his offence, who, without the pretensions of birth, or high exploits, and from the mere recommendation of wealth, hoped to attain absolute power. He declared the crime to be of so aggravated and monstrous a kind, that nothing which had been used to accomplish it, ought to be permitted to survive; and therefore decreed, that

the house where the conspirators had assembled, should be destroyed, and the goods which had been amassed to purchase empire, forfeited. This order was carried into prompt execution. The house of Melius was levelled with the ground, his goods sold, and the proceeds given to the treasury; while the corn found on his premises was sold to the people at a very low price by Minucius. This officer, who had contributed so much to the destruction of the conspiracy, was rewarded, according to some writers, with an ox with gilded horns, and to others, with a statue. His duty thus performed, Cincinnatus once more laid down his powers, and retired to spend his few remaining days in honourable repose. We are unacquainted with the particulars of his death, which was probably gentle. His vigour, both of body and mind, preserved by a course of healthful labour and an unassailed conscience, seems to have been undiminished till his long life was nearly concluded. If he inclined too decidedly to the senatorial party against the plebeians, he erred only from honest prejudice. His character, if somewhat hard, inflexible, and severe, stands almost alone in ancient annals for venerable simplicity, calm decision, and an energy of virtue, which alone had power to inspire the despairing with confidence, or abash the most resolute in their crimes.

Cicero.
Ist.
A. M.
3544.
B. C.
460.

Death and
character.

MIDAS;

COMPRISING AN ACCOUNT OF THE PHRYGIANS.

Biography. As the name of Midas is the most considerable in Phrygian history, and belongs in fact to several rulers of that ancient people, it is conformable with our general plan to throw together the chief incidents which concern them under this name.

Of Phrygia. PHRYGIA formed a part of that portion of Asia Minor called Asia Proper, which besides comprehended Mysia, Caria, and Lydia. The origin of the name is altogether uncertain: the same may be said of its precise boundaries. According to Ptolemy, it was included within the 37th and 41st degrees of N. lat. and extended in lon. from 56 to 62 degrees. It has been celebrated in common with the whole of Asia Minor, for its fertility and the general salubrity of the climate.

Origin, &c. The origin of the Phrygians is unknown, but they always considered themselves as having the highest claims to antiquity of any people in the world. They are said to have been extremely superstitious in their sentiments, and voluptuous in their character. In their government they were monarchical, and, till a period approaching the Trojan war, the whole country was under the dominion of a single prince, as Nannacus, Midas, Manis, Gordius, and his descendants; but afterwards they became divided into petty sovereignties or provinces.

Nannacus. Ninnacus, or Nannacus, who is also called Annacus, or Cannacus, was the first king of Phrygia of whom we possess any account, and indeed the first whose

name is transmitted to us in the records of history. *Midas, &c.* He is said to have lived before Deucalion's Deluge, and his times were proverbially referred to as descriptive of any thing of remote or uncertain antiquity. He lived to a great age; but the report ought probably to be considered as fabulous, that he attained to upwards of three hundred years, when, it is said, he inquired of the oracles how long he should live, who replied, that at his death all things were to perish. Instantly he repaired to the temples of the gods, accompanied by the chief of his subjects, and uttered the most lamentable cries and groans to procure a change of this awful decree; from which circumstance originated the expression "to weep like Nannacus," as indicative of excessive grief.

From another king named Manis was derived the Manis phrase "Manic achievements," which, among the Phrygians, denoted such as were very extraordinary and heroic; for this prince is represented as eminent for military valour and for virtue.

Gordius was remarkable for having ascended from Gordias the plough to the throne. The story, as given by the historians, is in its chief outlines, as follows: Perhaps the reader may be amused with it as a fable, founded, however probably, in some basis of fact. While engaged, on one occasion, in his rural employment, an eagle settled upon the yoke, and continued perched there the whole of the day. This, of course, produced alarm in a superstitious mind, and, considering it as

Biography. something portentous, he went to a city in Lydia to consult the soothsayers. On entering Telmisseus, the celebrated resort of diviners, he met a beautiful girl, who answered to his inquiries after the sages he sought, that she was herself well skilled in the art, and that the prodigy he related was designed to intimate his elevation to a kingdom; and with more of ambition, it must be admitted, than of modesty, she proposed to him to share the royalty to which he was born, by becoming his wife. Gordias, however, was by no means so scrupulous as to deny her request. Soon after this, a sedition having broken out, the oracles unanimously advised the choice of a king, and, upon a second application to them to point out the favoured individual, asserted that the first man who visited the temple of Jupiter in a cart, after their return, was appointed by the gods to that office. In this manner, the lot fell upon Gordius, who was the person so circumstanced, and in gratitude for his elevation, he consecrated the cart to regal majesty in the temple, which was afterwards, both by them and other nations (as the blindness of man), adored as a goddess. He fastened a knot to the beam of the cart, so curiously perplexed, that the oracles promised the dominion of the world to whosoever untied it. Alexander, having attempted, like others, in vain, at last cut it through with his sword—a circumstance which has given birth to a well known proverbial saying.

Midas. MIDAS was the son and successor of Gordius. Plutarch (in Vit. Caesaris) says, that he was born of the goddess worshipped under the name of Bona Dea, by the Romans. Several circumstances are related of him, some of which savour of the fabulous antiquity when they were invented, or of the overweening credulity of the historians by whom they are told. When he was asleep one day, in his childhood, a swarm of ants is reported to have been busily engaged in conveying their stores of wheat into his mouth. This, of course, required a consultation with the all-divining oracles, who were pleased to intimate that it imported immense riches. This prediction, if such it really was, proved in the end to be correct, for his great opulence is the theme of all the ancient writers. He is said to have obtained large treasures from the mines of metal on Mount Bermius, and which, in all probability, were discovered during his reign.

Conon (ap. Phot. Bibl.) mentions his having found a treasure, and becoming in consequence very rich, and, his having, by various artifices, obtained the royal dignity among the Brygians. It is affirmed, that in his reign Silenus appeared on Mount Brime. Whatever he touched is declared to have turned immediately into gold; and availing himself of this superiority, he induced his subjects to remove from Europe into the country on the Hellespont, and settling in Mysia, he exchanged the original name of his subjects from Brygians to Phrygians.

Orpheus is represented as the instructor of Midas in the mysteries of religion, or, as we should rather say, in the absurdities of the existing superstitions; and so devoted was his mind to the subject, that he was not contented with the dulness of mere learning, but aspired to the glory of invention, introducing into Phrygia new deities, new temples, new rites and ceremonies, and orders of priesthood. The custom of mourning over the dead in solemn dirges and lamenta-

tions, is attributed to him as its inventor. He also set a pre-eminent example of this mode of rendering funeral honours, by annually mourning over his departed mother. This, according to Suidas, led the people eventually to pay her divine reverence as a goddess.

Of his works of public utility, we have an account of his building the city of Ancyra; and Pausanias relates, that in the temple of Jupiter in that place, was to be seen an anchor which he had contrived.

In person Midas is represented as very comely and attractive; a singular eminence is attributed to his wife, who is moreover celebrated for wisdom. She is stated to have instructed the inhabitants of Cyme in the art of coining money. They had several children. The Greek proverb, *Μίδας ἐννύδρα*; that is, "Midas has asses' ears," has rendered his name peculiarly notorious. In a trial of skill, as the poets have it, between Pan and Apollo, who rivalled each other in music, Midas pronounced in favour of Pan, which so incensed Apollo, that he fixed a pair of asses' ears on his head, as a badge of ignorance. This disgraceful appendage, however, he contrived to conceal under his diadem, till it was at length detected by his barber, who treacherously disclosed the vexatious secret. Others, with equal probability, affirm, that Bacchus, upon some affront, metamorphosed him into an ass.

Midas is said to have reigned over Dardania as well as Phrygia; but this is uncertain. Cleobolus Lyndias composed an epitaph for his monument, which has been mistakenly ascribed to Homer.

After Gordius had succeeded Midas, without leaving Ancharras behind him any thing recorded, excepting the surrounding of Gordium with a wall, Ancharras, his brother, followed, who is remarkable for having performed a similar self-sacrifice with that which afterwards gave such celebrity in Roman story to the name of Curtius. During the reign of his father, Midas, a considerable part of the city of Celzema is said to have been destroyed by an earthquake, which left a permanent chasm. The cracks, upon being consulted, gave intimation that the earth would not close up again till the most valuable thing in life were thrown into it. Immediately upon the report of this answer, the inhabitants volunteered their gold, silver, and jewels; but without effect; till Ancharras, taking the resolution to sacrifice life itself, as the most valuable of all considerations, and that life his own, bade an affectionate farewell to his father and his wife Timothea, and rode on a horse at full speed into the chasm, which instantly closed.

Otreus, the next in succession, is scarcely known to Otrea, Lityerses, is known only to be yemas, despised for his gluttony and drunkenness, except by the Phrygian labourers in the harvest field, in which he himself is reported to have worked. It is added, that he compelled reapers to join him, and then cut off their heads, to bind in the sheaves, a species of cruelty which is scarcely credible, since it would expose himself to extreme danger; and accordingly Hercules is stated to have dispatched him on account of these enormities.

Midas II. reigned over all Phrygia; but his parentage is unknown. He had no better title to the throne than usurpation; in which he succeeded thus—having given out that he should offer a sacrifice to the gods, he

Biography. marched out of the town of Gordium with a large party, with great pomp and concealed daggers: the citizens following in vast multitudes, were suddenly attacked, and the city seized by the conspirators.

Gordius III. Gordius III. appears to have succeeded the former monarch; and after him, came his son Midas III. of whom it is recorded, that he presented the Delphian oracle with a royal seat, or tribunal, of exquisite workmanship.

Midas IV. Midas IV. reigned about a. c. 635, when the Cimmerians, invading Asia Minor, after their expulsion from Europe by the Scythians, took possession of Sardis, and pressed hard upon the Phrygians, as well as the Lydians and Paphlagonians. Midas, in despair of being extricated from his difficulties, poisoned himself with bull's blood. He had two sons, of whom Adrastus was sent into exile by his father, for having accidentally killed his brother. He was, however, received into the Court of Cræsus, the Lydian king; where, strange to relate, after having been entrusted with the education of his patron's favourite son, Atys, he killed him also accidentally at the chase; and in consequence, though Cræsus forgave him, he put an end to his own life. Phrygia henceforth became a province of Lydia, till Cyrus reduced the whole under his dominion.

Phrygia Minor. PHRYGIA MINOR was a small territory comprehended between the 40th and 42d degrees of north latitude, with a trifling extent of longitude. It included the maritime tract called Hellespontica, and the Mediterranean, termed Egeæus. Part of the former was called Troas, or Troad. In general, Phrygia Minor, may be said to have had for its boundaries the Propontis on the north, the Aegean sea on the south, Mysia on the east, and the Hellespont on the west. The inhabitants acquired the appellation of Trojans from the chief city, called Troy or Ilium, a place which the poems of Homer and Virgil have immortalized.

Origin, and other particulars. They were undoubtedly a very ancient people; but of uncertain origin. It is supposed by Bochart, that the lesser Phrygia was founded by the eldest son of Gomer, because of the resemblance perceptible between his name (Ashkenaz) and several of the lakes, rivers, islands, cities, and inhabitants. Monarchy seems to have been their earliest and settled form of government. At first, they consisted of petty principalities; but these gradually subjoined into the general dominions of the Trojan kings. Very little information can be communicated respecting these people; but the ancients describe them as eminent amongst the polite and civilized nations of that remote period of time. That they addicted themselves early to trade and navigation, is apparent, from their settlements in Thracia, Peloponnesus, Sicily, Italy, Egypt, and Africa. Their religion, generally speaking, if religion it may be called, resembled that of the inhabitants of the Greater Phrygia. Among their deities, however, one was remarkable. His appellation was Apollo Sminthius, from a Phrygian word, signifying field-mouse; and the tradition is, that mice have committed such ravages in their fields, that the inhabitants deemed it necessary to have recourse to the oracle at Delphos, and received for answer, that they should be debarrassed from that plague, if they sacrificed to Sminthian Apollo. They obeyed accordingly, and erected and dedicated a temple to their deliverer in Amaxito, a city of Troas. Others, however, state, that their worship of mice, originated in their

having obtained a complete victory, on one occasion, Midas, &c. over their enemies, in consequence of these vermin-coadjutors having gnawed the bow-strings of their enemies, and thus disabled them for battle. The worship of Sminthian Apollo was introduced into other countries; Strabo refers to a temple dedicated to this mouse-god in the isle of Tenedos.

Teucer is usually considered as the first Trojan king. Teucer. He was the son of Scamander and Ida; but some historians represent him as the last of a series of sovereigns, among whom Cynthis is named. It is difficult and unimportant to ascertain the precise fact; and even with regard to Teucer, little more can be discovered than that he was fortunate in all his enterprises, of which none are recorded, and imparted his own name to that of the country over which he reigned.

Dardanius we believe to have succeeded Teucer, Dardanius. though some authors represent him as his predecessor. He was the son of Corytus, king of Samothrace, which kingdom he inherited; and after his ascent to the throne of his ancestors, erected a temple, and instituted religious ceremonies in honour of Pallas, and other divinities. This proceeding enhanced his reputation for wisdom and piety so much, that Teucer, inviting him into Phrygia, gave him his daughter in marriage, and appointed him to be his successor. During his reign, he extended the bounds of his dominions by conquest, being engaged in war with the Paphlagonians. He built two cities, of which one was named after himself, Dardania; and paid great attention to the adjustment of civil and religious regulations. The Palladium, or statue of Pallas, was brought by his orders into Phrygia. Some affirm there were two, and that the oracle declared that neither of the cities in which they were kept, should be exposed to any calamities.

Eriethonius, the son and successor of the former, Eriethonius. imitated the illustrious example of his father, and acquired, in consequence, a similar respect from his subjects. The great object of his life was to maintain an uninterrupted peace with the other states, and this furnished him with the means of enriching his own kingdom. His reign was prolonged to the period of at least forty-six years; or, according to some, to seventy-five: the latter, however, was more probably his age.

Eriethonius had only one son named Troas, who Troas. took possession of the throne upon his father's decease. At the commencement of his reign, he laid the foundations of the city of Troy, which has since become so illustrious in the annals of history. All the neighbouring princes, excepting Tantalus, were invited to attend the dedication of the city. The neglected prince soon resented the offensive treatment he had received, by detaining and ill-using Ganymedes, the son of Troas, who was passing through the territories of Tantalus with presents to Jupiter European. The young man died of grief, and soon afterwards his father followed him to the grave, in consequence of the double affliction he suffered for the loss of his favourite child, and the failure of the war into which his resentment had instigated him to engage. He is said to have reigned forty-nine, or, according to some authors, nearly sixty years. He left three sons, Ius, Ganymedes, and Assaracus; and one daughter, Cleomestra. She had one son, named Lyersus, the father of that Antenor who was much celebrated for his sagacity. He was sent by Priam as ambassador into Greece, to demand his sister

Hector, who had been carried captive by Hercules, and borrowed on Talamon. He was, however, improperly treated, which provoked him on his return to excite Priam and his sons against them; but when the ambassadors of Greece were sent to demand Helen, he generously entertained and laid the plan of their safe conveyance out of Troy, from the disguise of Priam's sons. Upon being dispatched upon a second embassy into Greece, he is believed to have acted a traitorous part, as Priam would not listen to any conditions of peace for which Antenor was solicitous. When the city was captured, it is certain the Greeks spared and protected Antenor; but Livy and others, consider this kindness as resulting solely from their recollection of his former hospitality. The prejudices of the Trojans who remained, compelled him to withdraw from Troy, and the Hætti, who were forming a new settlement, chose him for their king. Having gone up the Adriatic gulf, they landed among the Euganei, whom they expelled, and settled under the name of Veneti, in their territory. The town which the refugees built was called Troy. Antenor had several sons, some of whom are said to have reigned in Phrygia, till driven out by Hector's sons.

Ilus. Ilus was successor to his father Troy, and reigned forty years. He pursued the war against Tantalus with much rigour, that he eventually dispossessed him of his kingdom, and annexed it to Phrygia. Ilus has the character of a good prince, having applied himself to the framing of useful laws, and the construction of stately edifices. On one occasion, he rescued the Palladium from the temple of Pallas, which had been set on fire by lightning; but he lost his sight by his zeal, which was afterwards happily restored.

Laomedon. Ilus left two sons, Titonius, who, at his father's death, was employed in foreign war, and Laomedon, who assumed the government. He built the citadel of Troy by means of the treasures lodged in the temples of Neptune and Apollo. Hence he was said to have been aided by those deities. Several inundations and a plague occurred in his time, which were considered as the effects of Neptune's and Apollo's anger on account of the profanation of their temples. Having treated Jason and the Argonauts in so inhospitable manner, Hercules afterwards returned and plundered the city. In this war Hercules slew Laomedon; and at last all his five sons, excepting Priam.

Priam. Podarces, the only survivor, has acquired the surname of Priam from a Greek term, signifying *to ransom*, as he had been ransomed, together with his sister Hecuba, from the captivity of Hercules, and restored to his ancestral throne. He began his reign by building a wall round the city of Troy, and afterwards he constructed towers, castles, aqueducts, and other works of public utility. Most of the neighbouring states were subjected to his authority, which was acquired and maintained by a large standing army. It was in the reign of this prince that the ever-memorable war between the Greeks and Trojans occurred, the exploits of which history and poetry have celebrated. It originated in the rape of Helen, by Paris, the son of Priam by his second wife Hecuba. Helen is represented as the most beautiful woman of Greece, and Priam supported his son in an action too general at that period, but justly reproached by all civilized nations. She had before been seized by Theseus, and her father, as Thu-

cydides relates, in order to prevent the recurrence of a similar disaster, induced her suitors, who consisted of the most eminent princes of Greece, to take an oath to rescue her in case of her being taken from Menelaus, the husband of her choice. This occasioned the combination which existed in her favour, to which Agamemnon, the brother of the injured husband, united; and in a general assembly, war was resolved upon against Troy, and Agamemnon appointed commander in chief. According to the best historians, the Greeks employed at least a thousand ships in this contest,* and the average amount of men may be reckoned at from eighty to eighty-five to each ship; which does not seem very great, considering the extent of the confederacy; but Thucydides remarks, that they were apprehensive of being distressed for provisions. Troy, however, proved no easy conquest, but resisted the assaults during no less a period than ten years; but the greatest part of Asia Minor espoused their quarrel. Aware of the opposition they were likely to encounter, the Greeks began their operations by attempting to negotiate for the restoration of Helen, and the treasures which Paris had carried off with her; but Menelaus and Ulysses, the ambassadors, returned without accomplishing their mission.

It is related by Herodotus, from an Egyptian tradition, that Paris, when returning with Helen, was driven by stress of weather to the coast of Egypt, and landed on the Canopian side of the Nile. Some of the slaves fled for refuge to a temple of Hercules, and reported their master's conduct to Thonis, the governor of the province, who reported the tale to Proteus, the reigning monarch. He immediately resolved on detaining Helen and the treasures, with the view of restoring them, and ordered Paris to quit the country in three days. Hence when the Greeks sent to demand Helen and the treasures in question, the Trojans are said to have replied, that neither were in their possession, but in the power of Proteus. This reply was looked upon as an evasion; but when the city was reduced, the Trojans persisting in their former assertion, Menelaus went into Egypt, where he was kindly received, and regained his wife.

The first eight or nine years of the Trojan war were employed by the Greeks in pillaging the coasts, and reducing the islands or cities that were in the opposite interest; but at length they united in one compact body and approached the city. Soon after this investment, a plague broke out in the camp, occasioned by their being in the midst of fens and marshes, and beneath a burning sun. This was followed by a quarrel between Agamemnon and Achilles, the latter of whom withdrew with his forces to the ships: in the interval several severe battles were fought. Patroclus was slain by Hector; but Hector himself fell by the hands of Achilles, who returned to the war. Achilles was, in his turn, fatally wounded with an arrow, shot by Paris. The city was at length taken in the night; but it is uncertain whether by assault or treachery. The poets say it was accomplished by the stratagem of a wooden horse, crowded with soldiers, which has been thought to signify that the Greeks entered by the Scæan gate, over which the statue of a horse was placed: others are more disposed to interpret it literally, and to give the Greeks credit for an ingenious contrivance.

* Homer enumerates 1186; Thucydides calculates them at 1200.

Biography. Their success was dishonourably employed in the practice of innumerable cruelties upon the vanquished, and the total destruction of the city. The date generally assigned to this transaction is a. c. 1184. Such of the Trojans as escaped settled in different countries. *Æneas* fixed his residence in Italy, and founded the kingdom of Alba. The Roman emperors boasted of their descent from this illustrious personage. A degree of doubt, however, exists upon this point; and by some authors *Æneas* is represented as having collected his dispersed countrymen, and rebuilt the city, over which his descendants presided. Others affirm, and with greater probability, that the Phrygians and Lydians became possessed of the ruined territory, and imparted the name of Phrygia to Troas.

At the close of this article, we subjoin a general geographical statement, which may be useful in guiding the researches of the reader into the labyrinths of ancient history.

ASIA, in its northern and eastern parts, was very little the field of those transactions which most astonish and interest us in former times. To the north, are Asiatic Sarmatia and Asiatic Scythia, corresponding with Tartary. *Sarmatia* is situated between the rivers Tanais and the Volga. *Scythia* is divided into two parts: the one on this side, the other beyond mount Imaus. The easternmost parts are, *Serice*, Cathay, *Sinorum regio*, China, and *India*. The latter was divided into India on this side the Ganges, now the empire of the Great Mogul; and India on the other side of the Ganges.

THE GREATER ASIA commences at the Indus; of which the chief provinces are Oedrosia, Carmania, Arachosia, Drangiana, Bactriana, Sogdiana, Margiana, Hyrcania, Parthia, Media, Persia, Susiana, Assyria, Mesopotamia, and Babylonia.

ASIA BETWEEN PONTUS EUXINUS AND THE CASPIAN contains four provinces—Cohis, Iberia, Albania, and the Greater Armenia; and is separated from the Lesser, by the Euphrates; from Mesopotamia, by Mount Taurus; and from Assyria, by Mount Niphates.

ASIA MINOR comprises several divisions. 1. *Northward*, on the shore of Pontus Euxinus; *Pontus* under three names, having the cities of Trapezus and Themiscyra, on the river Thermodoon, the residence of the Amazons.—*Paphlagonia* and *Bithynia*, whose cities are Nicia, Prusa, Nicomedia, Chalcedon, and Heraclea.

2. *Westward*, by the shores of the *Ægean sea*: the

Lesser Myria, containing Cynicæ, Lampasæus, Parium, Abydos, Dardanium, Sigæum, Ilium or Troy, and the island of Tenedos. The rivers are the *Aræpe*, the Granicus, and the Simois. Mount Ida. This region is also called *Phrygia Minor*, comprising Troas.—The *Greater Myria*, containing Antandros, Tryjanopolis, Adramyttium, Pergama. *Lesbos* is an island opposite to Myria, having the cities Methymna and Mitylene. *Æolia*, having Elen, Cuma, and Phloceæ. *Ionis*, Smyrna, Clazomenæ, Teos, Lebedus, Colophon, Ephesus, Priene, Miletus. *Caria*, Ladiæa, Antiochia, Mlagnesid, Alahanda; the river *Mæander*. *Doris*, Halicarnassus, Cnidos. *Chios*, *Samos*, *Patmos*, *Cos*, are opposite; and more to the south, *Rhodes*.

3. *Southward* along the Mediterranean—*Lycia*, of which the cities are Telmessus and Patara; the chief river, *Xanthus*. Hence begins Mount Taurus. *Pamphylia*, having Perga, Aspendus, and Sida, as the principal cities. *Cilicia*, containing Selucia, Corycium, Tarsus on the river Cydnus. The island of Cyprus is opposite to Cilicia, whose chief cities are Salamis, Amathus, and Paphos.

4. *Along the banks of the Euphrates*—The *Lesser Armenia*, containing Comana, Arabyza, Melitene, and Satala; and the river *Meles*.

5. *Inland*:—*Cappadocia*, whose cities are Neocæsarea, Comana Pontica, Sebasta, Sebastopolis, Diocæsarea, Cæsarea or Mazaca, and Tyana. *Lycaonia* and *Isauria*, containing Iconium, Isauria.—*Pisidia*, having Selucia and Antiochia.—*Lycia*, whose cities are Thyatira, Sardis, and Philadelphia; the rivers Casystus and Hermus, which receives the Pactolus. Mount Sipylus and Tmolus. *Phrygia Major*, containing Synnada and Apamia.

SYRIA, now SYRIA or the EAST. This comprises the provinces of *Palestine*, containing the chief cities of Jerusalem, Samaria, and Cæsarea Palestina; and the river Jordan. The same name is also applied to *Canaan*, which includes the cities of Gaza, Ascalon, Azotus, Accaron, and Gath.

Phœnicia, having Ptolemais, Tyre, Sidon, and Berytus; and the mountains of Libanus and AntiLibanus. Syria, properly so called, or *Antiochena*, of which the cities are Antiochia, Apamia, Ladiæa, and Seleucia. *Comagena*, containing Samosata.

Cælogyria, whose cities are Zeugma, Thapsacus, Palmyra, and Damascus.

ARABIA PETRÆ. Its cities are Petra and Bostra. Mount Casius. DESERTA. FALIX.

HISTORY.

CHAPTER XI.

A SYNOPTIC VIEW OF THE JEWISH ECONOMY.

DISSERTATION I.

NATURE AND DESIGN OF THE JEWISH ECONOMY IN GENERAL.

History.
General observations.

THERE is no class of persons to whom the Jewish economy does not present something worthy of particular attention. In all respects it is unique and wonderful, furnishing ample materials of reflection, both for the devout and for the philosophic observer: exhibiting to the one the veiled magnificence of an ever-present Deity, and to the other a singular combination of the moral, social, and political elements of mankind. The arrangements of that economy, as a system of holy legislation, and its events, as a dispensation of omnipotent providence, impress upon it a character of novelty, of strangeness, and of singular importance. It supplies a chapter in the history of the world, which can never be read without a feeling, in which astonishment and admiration struggle for the pre-eminence; nor without suggesting motives, and principles, and considerations essentially beneficial in their tendency to every contemplative mind.

The volume which contains the circumstances of this extraordinary period, has impressed upon it an equal peculiarity and uniqueness. It is not a *fable*, "cunningly devised" for the purpose of entertaining the reader, by conducting him into a maze of mystery,—although the facts recorded are so curious and so interesting, as to possess all the seducement, without the fallacy of fiction:—it is not mere *history*, allied in quality and design to other records of time gone by, and framed to store the inquisitive mind with the transactions of dubious origin, or mixed character which have agitated the past population of this our globe,—although it has all the reality, and more than the common reality of such documents, but without the dross of error, the colourings of deceptive fancy, or the misrepresentations of prejudice:—it is, in truth, a *revelation*, comprising in that term not only what is real and what is historic, but what is divine: so that the pen of inspiration alone could have written what it contains, because, in its details and developments, the *searcher of hearts* is to be seen no less than the *recorder of facts*. It is not in man to ascertain the secret principles of conduct, to penetrate to the fountain of thought, and the spring of action, to lay open the bosom and to give permanency to the fleeting images of the inmost soul;—as well might he hope to arrest the shadows that fly across the plain in their course, or to detect the mysteries of the unattainable heights, or unsearchable depths of creation; but the

volume which exhibits and exposes, with infallible precision, all these secrets, approves itself as originating in a super-human source; and it is impossible to read its very earliest page, without finding oneself carried beyond the sphere of ordinary history, and common observation.

1. With regard to the general nature of that economy, the circumstances of which constitute the subject of the Pentateuchal history, we have to observe, in the first place, that nothing could be better calculated, or more evidently designed to establish the *doctrine of Providence*; and that nothing could be more important than, at an early period of the world, to impress *degenerate* and *wasteful* man with this sentiment.

In the life of Moses, we have already remarked that his conduct as a leader of the Israelites must be viewed not merely as singular, but as injudicious, nay, as absolutely wild and frantic upon any other supposition than that of his being guided by a divine impulse; and we may add, that the credibility of the common events of the Jewish history is essentially confirmed by those of a miraculous nature. Nothing surely can be more evident than the inadequacy of all human power to accomplish, independently of a divine interposition, the deliverance from Egypt, the establishment of the Jewish polity, and the settlement of that illustrious people in the land of Canaan. The want of military skill and military fame in their leader, the opposition of the government of Egypt to his projects, and the impediments which presented themselves at every step of his progress, justify the assumption that these events could not have resulted from unassisted human agency. If the narrative be considered in such a manner as to separate the leading facts not miraculous, which form the basis of the history, from the miraculous, the absurdity of supposing no providential interference becomes at once strikingly apparent. Otherwise, their existence in the wilderness during forty years cannot be accounted for upon any rational principles; nor can it be imagined by what means they could have been restrained from rebellion against the authority of their leader, and from taking the resolution of either returning to Egypt, or invading Canaan. Human passions were evidently held by the grasp of some mighty hand, and all their affairs guided irresistibly by an omnipotent arm.

Jewish Economy.

Doctrine of Providence established.

History.

Hence, therefore, we derive our first consideration with regard to the nature and design of the Jewish economy; as tending to establish upon a basis of incontestable facts the *doctrine of a providence*. This sentiment is indeed corroborated by every page of the sacred volume, which constitutes, as a whole, one grand argument in its favour. All the prophecies in connection with their corresponding events—all the miracles of the Mosiac economy, and afterwards of the Christian age—the well-attested histories of the visits of holy angels to this lower world—the remarkable incidents related in the lives of such men as Abraham, Joseph, David, Daniel, and others—the record of Divine interferences in the Israelitish affairs—the entire train of events which were preparatory to the coming of the Messiah, and linked together by a supernatural consanation, concur to establish this doctrine.

It has been sometimes pleaded as an objection, that this earth, with all its interests, however diversified and vast they may appear in our apprehensions, are too insignificant to attract the attention of the God of the universe. Such a notion would, in fact, restrict the Deity absolutely to himself, and consequently make him finite. For if he totally abandon this earth on account of its insignificance, a similar reason may be assigned for his abandoning other worlds of inferior or even of greater magnitude, till it would appear that every part of the universe in succession might be forsaken, and that God would exist as an independent, indeed, but a limited intelligence. Many of the heathen philosophers adopted this rash sentiment respecting the insignificance of the world, as a reason why it could not be regarded with any constant or minute concern by its original framer. But whatever the dictates of an imperfect philosophy, or whatever the doubts of uninstrusted reason, the conduct of God to ancient Israel furnishes to all generations an incontestable evidence of the reality of his superintendence of human affairs, and especially of the deep and superior interest he takes in whatever is connected with the concerns of the wise and virtuous, or tends even in the remotest degree to affect the welfare of his church.

Anti-Polytheistic principles.

2. A second great design of the Jewish economy was to establish *Anti-Polytheistic principles*, in opposition to those which were generally prevalent among the nations. The idea of God, as a Spiritual Intelligence, seems too simple and sublime for a creature fallen under the dominion of his senses, and whose grovelling perceptions have no aptitude for retaining that grand elementary doctrine. At a very early period, therefore, the strangest misconceptions had arisen respecting this being, and the primitive faith was perverted and degraded by a thousand mythological and idolatrous inventions. Dazzled with the brilliancy of the sun and the other luminaries of the firmament, men regarded them at first, perhaps, as the residences or representatives of the Divinity; but, certainly, afterwards, as themselves animated by distinct and independent spirits, and fit objects of religious adoration. Pillars and statues were erected to them, till these pillars and statues themselves became the objects of a senseless worship; and at length fire, air, light, and all the different elements of nature, were viewed with the same reverential regards. So degraded was man, that malignant principles, imaginary furies, and even venomous

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repiles and destructive animals, particularly in Egypt, were honoured, from a sense of fear; and superstition, idolatry, and sorcery, united, to bind in their rivets chains the intellects of mankind. These absurdities soon spread to the widest extent; so that previous to the mission of Moses they had infected every part of the world; and it is obvious, no ordinary means could have been efficacious in extirpating from the human breast the gross errors which it had so long and so deeply cherished. In addition to the prejudices of common minds, the system of paganism was defended by kings and legislators, who used it as an engine of government, to extend their influence and sustain their dignity. To the populace it was ever dear, on account of the unbridled licentiousness it sanctioned, and the gratification which its shows, festivals, temples, and services afforded to every vitiated passion. It was, in fact, a system which proved the fruitful source of every crime, domestic and public; and human happiness, no less than human reason, bled a victim on its altars.

To counteract, therefore, the prevalence of Polytheism, and to assert his own divine prerogatives, was worthy of the supreme legislator; who, in introducing a new and just principle of worship, and in adopting extraordinary measures to maintain it, consulted at once his own glory and the real interests of the human race. The great leading doctrine of the Jewish code, the primary and fundamental truth upon which the whole superstructure of the Mosiac economy was reared, may be found in the declaration "Hear, O Israel, the Lord our God is one Lord." (Deut. vi. 4.) In opposition, as we have once before observed (Life of Moses), to the Polytheistic inventions of surrounding nations, Moses at once asserted the worship of *one God*, as the *central truth*, in intimate association with which every other doctrine, every service, and every enactment, were arranged. This was the doctrine which he represented as "dropping like the rain, and distilling as the dew; as the small rain upon the tender herb, and as the showers upon the grass"—salutary and beneficial; the influence of which, wherever propagated, must diffuse a beauty over the face of degenerated human nature, and supersede the corrupt principles that have obtained so lamentable an ascendancy in the world. It was of incalculable importance that this truth should be deeply fixed in the wayward mind of Israel; for while they were so slow to learn, and so ready to forget it, the true religion, of which they were the depositories, could only be maintained by assigning it a just pre-eminence in their belief and practice. It is, and ever must be, as the sheet anchor; if we let it go, or break away from it, all is lost; an inevitable shipwreck of faith succeeds, and the mind of man is drifted into a vast and shoreless ocean of speculation, without a guiding star. Whatever system be adopted, it must be essentially wrong, without this principle, however plausible in appearance, or however supported by authority; and to this simple and elementary sentiment man must be conducted, in order that the book of his religious knowledge may be cleared from the innumerable errors that weakness and wickedness have inserted in it, and that the spring of action may be purified from the defilements of misconception, prejudice, and folly.

The character by which the Supreme Being is distin-

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guished from every other intelligence, is that of self-existence; and this is inculcated with the utmost solemnity upon Moses at his first interview with God, when he was appointed to his great work. "Thou shalt say unto the children of Israel, I am both sent me unto you." The superstitions which had arisen in that dark period from the invention of different names, was counteracted at once by this declaration, and the pre-eminence of the self-existent and immutable Jehovah, clearly established. And to accommodate more perfectly the instructions to be communicated to the people of Israel in religion, to their capacities and feelings, other epithets are added, "the Lord God of your fathers," "the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob," which was to be the divine "memorial unto all generations." This intimation was calculated to exhibit the governor of the universe in the most attractive form, to fix upon their minds a most interesting impression of his paternal character, and of his deep and invariable interest in all their concerns, and to emancipate them from the slavish principles of an idolatrous worship, which had placed surrounding nations under the protection of tutelary divinities. It has been demonstrated by a series of acute reasoning, that the doctrine of self-existence lies at the basis of every other representation of the true God, and that it is the source whence may be deduced all the divine attributes.

Closely and essentially connected with this view of God, and therefore perpetually inculcated upon the Israelites by their great legislator, is the unity of God, to which we have before alluded. The atheistic has always been far less prevalent than the polytheistic notion; and the chief danger to which the chosen people were exposed, did not so much arise from the probability of their being induced to deny the existence of God, as from their associating in his worship other and inferior objects of adoration, who might be supposed to co-operate in the guidance of human affairs. The hazard was, and ever since has continued to be, not so much the subversion as the corruption of religion; and, therefore, to prevent the unallowable mixture of polytheism with the genuine faith, Moses continually repeats the doctrine of the divine unity, with all that solicitude which we may imagine to spring from the two-fold conviction of the importance of the sentiment, and the danger lest his people should be seduced into it by the force of idolatrous example, or their inveterate propensities to evil. It is, therefore, over and over again referred to in terms similar to the following: "Know therefore this day, and consider it in thine heart, that the Lord be God, in heaven above, and upon the earth beneath, there is none else;" and the most solemn interdictions are connected with these and other instructions of the same nature—"Thou shalt fear the Lord thy God, and serve him, and shalt swear by his name. Ye shall not go after other gods, of the gods of the people which are round about you; (for the Lord thy god is a jealous God among you) lest the anger of the Lord thy God be kindled against thee, and destroy thee from off the face of the earth." (Deut. vi.)

Real system
of morality
introduced.

3. The Jewish economy was the means of introducing a system of morality which, while it furnished a striking contrast to the irregularities of other nations, prepared the way for the more complete discovery of the extent of our obligations by the great teacher of the Christian dispensation. The ten commandments comprehend

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an important summary of moral duty, such as no other system of legislation include, and such as was highly calculated, in proportion to its diffusion amongst mankind, to check the rapid progress of wickedness and purify the earth from its corruptions. The first table requires the worship of the one only living and true God as supreme over all the creation, and the source of every blessing, and interdicts every species of idolatrous adoration, as inconsistent with his unity and his perfections. It inculcates inward as well as outward worship, the regard of a sabbath, and the obligation of oaths. The second table specifies and enjoins our social duties, including the intercourse both of domestic and public life; our circumstances as men and as citizens.

It is to be observed, that mankind, even in the most enlightened nations, devoid of a revelation, have committed the grossest mistakes on the subject of moral obligation, and that especially at the period, and among the nations in question, they were sunk into the utmost state of degeneracy. It is scarcely possible to imagine a vice which even grave and repeatedly wise legislators have not sanctioned by their authority. Theft, rapine, adultery, and every species of impurity, even the most unnatural crimes have been allowed, as well as all the ferocious and revengeful passions of human nature; children were exposed by their parents, to perish, on account of some natural deformity or defect, whether of body or mind, and even human victims were often led to the accursed altar of their gods. The master sacrificed the slave, the conqueror the captive, the parent the child, and this under the sanction of law, and the prescription of philosophy "falsely so called." The propagation, therefore, of a code like that of the Decalogue amongst the Israelites, was of pre-eminent importance, to counteract their propensity to imitate the vicious conduct of others, and to comply with the suggestions of a perverted and debased reason; and particularly so when it is recollected that the Mosaic law, being probably the first ever given to any nation, must have been known in those countries whence the most ancient legislators and sages derived their systems. The effect consequently must have been considerable in regulating the opinions and practices of mankind.

The Decalogue was given to the people of Israel by the Supreme Being himself, in the most awful and impressive manner, and it enjoined those great principles which were at once simple in their enunciation, and comprehensive in their character, conducive alike to the glory of the legislator, and the felicity of the people whom they especially concerned. Upon the basis so broadly laid by this communication, the superstructure of all morality and religion was reared, and every injunction secures the highest interests of both. On the two commandments, love to God, and love to one's neighbour, depend all the law and the prophets; and every future enactment is in fact no other than an illustration and enforcement of one or other, or of both these great first principles of human conduct; for every one requires the separate or combined exercise of a warm devotion, and an expansive benevolence.

4. The system of Judaism was not confined in its effects to the single nation among whom it was originally propagated; but was intended, through their instrumentality, to enlighten the world. It furnished the clearest evidences of the existence and of the attributes

Design to
enlighten
the world.

History

of the true God, not only to those who were witnesses of the miraculous interposition of heaven, but to all the other nations by whom they were surrounded, and who nevertheless shared in the remarkable adventures, or heard of the singular exploits of the Israelish community; "amongst whom," as Dr. Graves well remarks, "were the Egyptians the wisest, the Canaanites the most warlike, and the Phœnicians the most commercial nations of remote antiquity; and afterwards, the four great empires of Assyria and Persia, Greece and Rome, which successively swayed the sceptre of the civilized world. So that whatever knowledge of true religion was preserved amongst mankind, was in all probability principally derived from this source, or at least was from thence materially extended and improved."

The Jewish legislator frequently appeals to the wonders wrought by omnipotence on behalf of his nation, and represents their evident superiority to every other people, not only on this account, but because they exclusively possessed the statutes and judgments of the Almighty. It is even distinctly declared in the law, as one express design of the proceedings in the Jewish economy, to promote the knowledge of the true God in other countries, and the motive by which infinite wisdom was influenced in its dispensations. Thus an appeal is made with regard to Pharaoh—"In very deed for this cause have I raised thee up to shew in thee my power, and that my name may be declared throughout all the earth;" and this declaration is equally applicable to the other extraordinary manifestations of Providence to Israel—all wear this inscription upon their fronts—all evince the same miraculous guidance—and all tended to impress the world with the same salutary surprise and fear. To this principle Moses refers in very striking terms in the following passage, in which he represents the prosperity which should reward the obedience of Israel, and the calamities which should attach inevitably to their rebellion, as attracting the attention of other people to the greatness of Jehovah. "The Lord shall establish thee an holy people unto himself, as he hath sworn unto thee, if thou shalt keep the commandments of the Lord thy God, and walk in his ways. And all the people of the earth shall see that thou art called by the name of the Lord; and they shall be afraid of thee. But it shall come to pass, if thou wilt not hearken unto the voice of the Lord thy God, to observe to do all his commandments and his statutes which I command thee this day, that all these curses shall come upon thee, and overtake thee." "So that the generation to come of your children, that shall rise up after you, and the stranger that shall come from a far land, shall say, when they see the plagues of that land, and the sickness which the Lord hath laid upon it; even all nations shall say, Wherefore hath the Lord done thus unto this land? what meaneth the heat of this great anger? Then men shall say, Because they have forsaken the covenant of the Lord God of their fathers, which he made with them when he brought them forth out of the land of Egypt."

These passages are, it must be admitted, remarkable, and prove (as well as others that might be adduced) the regard of the Supreme disposer of events, in the case of the ancient Israelites, to what "all the people of the earth" should "see," and to what "all the nations" should "say," that is, to the effect which his dispensations to the people of Israel should pro-

Jewish Economy.

duce upon other nations in their vicinity, or to whom the report of these proceedings should extend through a distant futurity; and accordingly the Mosiac Scriptures relate several instances of the impression which was actually made by the divine miracles. The Egyptian magicians acknowledged the finger of God. The servants of Pharaoh reconstrated with him upon his persistence and obduracy, notwithstanding the plagues which were brought upon the country; and, at a subsequent period, some of the Canaanish nations having heard of what the God of Israel had done, were terrified and confuted at the approach of the people to their borders. They particularly mention the signal miracle of guiding the Israelites through the Red sea, and the defeats of the Amorish monarchs; and long after the Philistines exclaim, "Woe unto us, who shall deliver us out of the hand of these mighty gods? These are the gods that smote the Egyptians with all the plagues in the wilderness." Afterwards, in the reign of Solomon, his fame "in all nations round about," which attracted princes and people from all quarters to hear his wisdom, and the manner in which he encouraged strangers to worship the true God, must have contributed powerfully to circulate his religion. This great purpose, however, was still more effected by the captivity, which occasioned their dispersion among the inhabitants of the most illustrious countries of the heathen, who were by this means excited to pay attention to the providence of God, and to the religion which he had established and supported by his power. Daniel and his associates were of eminent service in this point of view in Babylon, and the empire of Nebuchadnezzar and Darius; and so effectual was the impression on the mind of Cyrus, that he actively engaged in the restoration of the people of Israel to their land. Some of the most learned writers also have shown, that the principles of the true religion were diffused through the instrumentality of the patriarchal and Jewish revelations among the ancient Persians, who derived their knowledge originally from Abraham, which was rendered more complete and uncorrupt by the reformation of Zoroaster, who was acquainted with the Jewish Scriptures.

The plea that the Mosiac scheme could not have been divine because it did not universally enlighten and reform mankind, is utterly nugatory; for there is no reason to suppose it could have been so at that period of the world, or at any period which has yet occurred, by any methods of divine government consistent with the established course of nature and the moral agency of man. "So deeply," observes Dr. Graves (Lectures on the Pentateuch), "was mankind sunk in error and ignorance, in idolatry and all the vices connected with it, that any reformation of an entire nation, and much more of all nations, seems to have been totally impracticable. If the Egyptians and Canaanites could not be reformed by the wonders they beheld and the chastisements they suffered—if the Philistines, the Samaritans, and the Assyrians, so long witnesses of the divine providence over the Jews, continued still idolaters, it seems certain no nation could have been permanently and exclusively attached to the worship of Jehovah, except by placing it under a system of miraculous instruction and miraculous controul, nearly or exactly similar to that under which the chosen people were disciplined and restrained. Now that

History. many different nations should be thus miraculously disciplined and controlled, as far as we can judge, could not take place without *totally altering the entire scheme of God's moral government, and utterly subverting the established course of nature.* And so long as any nations continued unenlightened and unreformed, the objection that the divine dispensations were partial and confined, would still remain. Is it not then evident that such an objection rests on presumption, leads to absurdity, and would terminate in atheism?"

Jewish dispensation, preparatory and prefigurative. 5. The Jewish must be regarded as *preparatory and prefigurative of the Christian dispensation.* Without admitting this sentiment, it would be utterly impossible to account for many circumstances, or even to render intelligible the statements contained in some of the books of the New Testament. In particular, the Epistle to the Hebrews pre-supposes such an idea, and carries back the mind to it by plain and unequivocal representations of the fact. Abraham is said to have "rejoiced to behold the day of Christ;" and we find that, in the divine promises to that illustrious patriarch, such a blessing was included as should not only extend its benefits to his family and nation, but, as it is expressly said, to "all families of the earth." His faith is peculiarly celebrated in not having withheld his only son from the sacrifice, because he beheld in the figure the future Messiah, whose voluntary sacrifice and triumphant resurrection (of the latter of which the rescue of his son was an emblem) were predestined to secure the salvation of mankind. These sentiments were of course communicated to his family, and were well understood by the patriarch, whose bright expectations were sustained as they were embodied in the covenant which was so often renewed. The Jewish economy was, therefore, in reality, not exclusive and partial, since it anticipated and introduced another dispensation fraught with the welfare of the world. The purpose of providence to extend the effects of the Jewish dispensation to the very ends of the earth, and the remotest ages of time, is continually recognized in the Mosaic and prophetic writings. Jacob predicts it in the coming Shiloh; the inspired Psalmist records it in various prophetic intimations respecting the sufferings, the exaltation, and dominion of the Messiah; Isaiah proclaims it in the exultant tones of his heaven-strung lyre; and "all the prophets prophesied until John."

The Apostle of the Gentiles, in accordance with the Mosaic and prophetic writings on this subject, represents in a detailed and argumentative manner, in his Epistle to the Hebrews, that the Levitical constitution was introductory to the more spiritual scheme of the gospel, and expressly typical of it—"a shadow of good things to come," which constituted the substance. And not only so, but the law and the prophets did in fact accomplish the design here intimated, "their pre-exist-

ence being indispensably necessary to prepare for the reception of that gospel, and in a variety of ways illustrating its importance and facilitating its promulgation." Had no such religion or nation existed as the Jews, it seems evident that the whole world would have sunk into the grossest idolatry, and into an almost total ignorance of the first principles of religion; all expectations of a future retribution would have been incredible—the evidence from prophecy would not have existed, and every appeal to miracles must have been disregarded. If this state of debasement and degeneracy had taken place, it is inconceivable by what means mankind could at any time have been rescued from it without subverting the whole course of nature—no light could otherwise have penetrated this palpable darkness, and no religion could have been found in which to build the church of God. The Jewish economy directly prevented the occurrence of such a scene of moral anarchy, and such a debasement of the human character. It furnished an asylum for the truths of religion and the principles of morals, where they might take refuge from the mighty tide of corruption that deluged the other nations of the earth, and await a proper period for going forth with renovated strength and renewed and extended influence to bless mankind. Here all the radical principles of a pure divinity were preserved, and the contagion of vice was guarded against by a peculiar system of laws, and by manners grafted upon them; and moreover, as possessing a typical and prefigurative character, the contrite mind of the Jewish worshipper was perpetually directed to the Christian dispensation, and a bright impression of the reality and glory of this latter economy preserved in the memory and heart. The law convicted of sin, showed its nature, proved its demerit, impressed the necessity, and in its priests and ceremonies pointed to the reality of an atonement for it in the end of the world. Nor did the Jewish law only prepare for the introduction of the gospel by its types and prophecies, and also by preserving the principles of sound theology and pure morals, but by the strictness of its moral prohibitions and its denunciations of divine displeasure against transgression, it exposed the secret guilt of man, proving his depraved propensity and his utter dequency; and thus rendered unspcakably acceptable the publication of freedom and eternal life by the promised Messiah.

We refer the reader for a fuller exposition of the typical character of the Jewish dispensation to our former article *MOSAIC*, under the third division contained in his life, relating to the nature and character of his laws: also to *Outram de Sacrificiis*; *Faber's Hore Mosaicæ*; *Magee, on Atonement and Sacrifice*; and *Graves's Lectures on the four last Books of the Pentateuch*.

Jewish Economy.

DISSERTATION II.

MANNERS, CUSTOMS, AND OTHER PECULIARITIES OF THE ISRAELITES.

History. In the general term *Israelites*, we may be permitted with an allowable anachronism, to include the patriarchal families from the earliest periods of their history; since, like a river which has acquired a new name after flowing from a considerable distance to some remarkable spot, it is nevertheless essentially the same from its most insignificant source, through all its windings, and in every degree of its expansion to its issue in the ocean. It will not be expected, being obviously incompatible with our proportions, that all the peculiarities of the Israelites as a people, should here be minutely traced and specified: suffice it to detail those which are of the greatest importance, or which tend to exhibit their most distinguishing nationalities. With this view it may be convenient to classify them under certain general divisions, comprising their religion, their civil polity, their domestic circumstances, their distribution of time, and their ordinary pursuits.

Religion. 1. In considering the nature of the Jewish economy as a whole, the marked peculiarity of their religion has of course been especially noticed; but in order to have a more clear perception of that peculiarity, it seems requisite to enter into somewhat further detail, and to specify their more remarkable institutions. The principles of their religion have already been adverted to, and are in fact so completely interwoven with every topic of that great subject, which may either now, or will hereafter, come under discussion, that no formal enumeration seems to be demanded. They had but one divinely appointed place of public assembly, called the tabernacle, and afterwards the temple, in which all the solemnities of their worship were conducted, and on the one altar of which the appointed sacrifices were presented to the great Supreme. While this unity was symbolical of that of the object of their adorations, the magnificence with which it was adorned shadowed forth the glory of his perfections as the "king eternal, immortal, invisible."

The temple itself, with the sacrifices of different kinds which belonged to the Mosaic ritual, will presently come under review, remarking only here that the quality of the victims, and the manner of offering them, with all the circumstances of time and place, were prescribed by the law with an authority, and accuracy, and punctiliousness, that admitted not of the slightest deviation.

Fasts. Their three principal festivals were the passover, the pentecost, and the feast of tabernacles; the former was instituted to commemorate the signal deliverance of their nation from Egyptian bondage; the second to mark the promulgation of the law, which was at the expiration of fifty days, and the third to record, and to perpetuate a lively recollection of their settlement in the promised land, after the inconvenient method of living, and the toilsome marches and counter-marches, to which they had been so long addicted in the wilderness. To

each of these solemnities was assigned, apparently with reference to the creation of the world, the period of seven days. At these seasons, an immense concourse of people was usually assembled at Jerusalem, from every direction, all clad in the attire of holiday, animated by the pleasing recollections of their past history, which the very institutions themselves were calculated to revive, and exalted by the sight of friends and relatives convened for the similar purpose of indulging not only an allowed, but even a prescribed and commanded festivity. These were seasons of singular satisfaction, deeply remembered, often conversed over, greatly anticipated, and repeatedly celebrated in the writings of their inspired authors—seasons when the natural overflowings of earthly affection blended with the elevating delights of a heavenly devotion. The sabbath was also regarded as a holy feast, and the first day of every month, called the new moon, was likewise so considered.

The Israelites had their *fasts* as well as their festivals, **Fasts** and these were not only regular as to the time of their observance, but assumed a character of singular humiliation and mourning. The entire day was in these cases, spent in total abstinence, till the evening. The tenth day of the seventh month, or feast of atonement, was the only public fast-day appointed by the law; but others were afterwards introduced, as one in the fourth, another in the fifth, and a third in the tenth month. In addition to these, they observed fasts on occasions of a particular nature, or of great importance; such as seasons of national calamity or of great private misfortune, of which frequent mention is made in the compositions of David. Fasts were also sometimes connected with vows, and in their nature wholly voluntary. They were peculiarly strict and conscientious in all these circumstances, and never permitted themselves, under any pretence, or by any latitude of interpretation, to violate their sacred obligations; of which the whole volume of history does not contain a more striking illustration, than the often discussed tragic story of Jephthah's vow. The public fasts were, like the festivals, announced by the sound of trumpets, which procured a general assembly of the people in convenient places, where the old men usually delivered solemn addresses to the people. At these times they never married, and observed a peculiar continence.

Classes of religious persons among the Israelites. Several classes, or orders of religious persons among the Israelites, demand to be cursorily noticed. The most remarkable of these were the *prophets*, a highly gifted race of men, who addicted themselves to extreme simplicity of dress, and great austerity in their mode of living. They were ordinarily clothed in hair-cloth, or as it is called, sackcloth, a token of mourning, and adopted by them for the purpose of expressing, in a conspicuous sign, the sorrow of their minds for the transgressions of their countrymen. Thus Elijah is de-

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scribed as "a man clothed in a hairy garment, and girt with a girdle of leather about his loins" (2 Kings i. 8); and John the Baptist is represented by the historian of the New Testament as having "his raiment of camel's hair, and a leathern girdle about his loins" (Mat. iii. 4). The prophets appear, in general, to have adhered to celibacy, as most compatible with their unsettled condition, and the spirit of self-mortification which, at least, adorned, if it were not absolutely required by their office; but instances are not wanting of marriage being practised among them. Their usual residence was upon a mountain, or in some secluded spot, although at times, and in some places, they associated together in considerable numbers, especially in seminaries called the schools of the prophets, where the junior members of this community received instructions preparatory to their more public engagements. They were great students of the divine word, and maintained a constant intercourse with heaven by prayer and meditation. The liberties they often practised in reproving the people, and even persons of the highest distinction, for their sins, and exhorting them to their duties, were not only justified by the high office they sustained, but regarded with much attention, and, therefore, received with good effects by those for whom they were peculiarly designed. The truth of their appeals, united with a characteristic unceremoniousness of manner, made the proudest and most dignified delinquents tremble, and feel "how awful goodness is."

Nazarites.

The *Nazarites* were persons who took a particular vow of abstinence, and the rule of the *Rechabites* was founded upon it; whose author, the son of Rechab, lived in the time of Elisha, and interdicted his children from the use of wine, and from securing to themselves temporal possessions. Hence they lived under tents, and imitated the pastoral life of the ancient patriarchal families. After the captivity, we have nothing of their history. "The term *Nazarite* signifies separated, and is commonly applied to persons who make a vow to live in a more holy manner than others, either during a certain specified number of years, or even after the pledge is given, without recantation or change. The *Nazarite* abstained from every kind of intoxicating liquor, 'from wine and strong drink,' from vinegar of wine, or vinegar of strong drink, and from grapes, whether moist or dried; he was to let his hair grow, and upon no pretext whatever to approach a dead body, though it were to render funeral honours to a father or mother. If, during the period of a vow, the *Nazarite* neglected any of these injunctions, the whole ceremony was to recommence. The least admissible time for this consecration was, according to some of the Jewish rabbis, thirty days; and the perpetual *Nazarite*, whose hair had been allowed to grow for many years, might cut it once. At the expiration of the appointed term, various sacrifices were to be offered, a particular enumeration of which is given in the sixth chapter of the book of Numbers. After this, the priest shaved the head of the *Nazarite*, at the door of the tabernacle, and burnt his hair on the fire of the altar. If the person died previous to the expiration of his vow, his son was required to fulfil the time, and offer the same sacrifices. Perpetual *Nazarites*, like Samson, were consecrated by their parents, but there is a peculiarity attaching to him above all others of whom we read, being devoted, even before his birth. Similar rites were observed among the

bethen, especially the Egyptians, the Greeks, and the Romans, the origin of which is unquestionably to be referred to the Jewish law."

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The *Levites* constituted another remarkable class of persons among the Israelites. They were the ministers of religion, and formed a particular order distinct from the other tribes. In addition to the privilege of birth, they were consecrated to their office by certain ceremonies, to which Moses alludes: "Take the *Levites* from among the children of Israel, and cleanse them. And thou shalt thou do unto them to cleanse them: Sprinkle water of purifying upon them, and let them shave all their flesh, and let them wash their clothes, and so make themselves clean. Then let them take a young bullock with his meat-offering, even fine flour mingled with oil, and another young bullock shalt thou take for a sin-offering. And thou shalt bring the *Levites* before the tabernacle of the congregation: and thou shalt gather the whole assembly of the children of Israel together: And thou shalt bring the *Levites* before the Lord: and the children of Israel shall put their hands upon the *Levites*: And Aaron shall offer the *Levites* before the Lord, for an offering of the children of Israel, that they may execute the service of the Lord. And the *Levites* shall lay their hands upon the heads of the bullocks: and thou shalt offer the one for a sin-offering, the other for a burnt-offering, unto the Lord, to make an atonement for the *Levites*. And thou shalt set the *Levites* before Aaron, and before his sons, and offer them for an offering unto the Lord: This shalt thou separate the *Levites* from among the children of Israel: and the *Levites* shall be mine."

David established a new order among the *Levites*, by which some were appointed to guard the gates, some to sing psalms, and others to guard the treasures; dividing them into different classes, amounting to about twenty-four, each serving a week. Each of the classes had a head, or superintendent, who regulated the services of the day. No *Levite* was permitted to exercise his functions, till after serving a kind of novitiate for five years; during which period he was instructed in the nature of those duties which he would hereafter be required to discharge. This probation was begun at about the age of twenty-five. At the age of fifty, they were dismissed from their office; but some of the Jewish writers intimate that this was only the case in the wilderness, during their laborious march; age furnishing no plea for dispensing with their engagements at a subsequent period. As the *Levites* had no assigned portion in the division of the land of promise, and only forty-eight cities for the support of their cattle, of which thirteen were shared with the priests, they had the benefit of tithes, which were paid out of the estates belonging to the tribes, and the tenths of that were given to the priests.

Each head or chief of the twenty-four classes into which the *priests* were arranged, acquired the title of the Prince of the *Priests*. Every week one class went up to Jerusalem to perform the priestly office, and on the sabbath day they all performed in rotation, till the whole had served: on the solemn festivals they were all convened. The prince of the class ordered the particular family to offer the sacrifices on the given day, and at the end of the week all united in sacrificing. The different offices to be performed by each family and its respective members, were determined by the lot.

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Certain defects excluded from the priesthood: of those of body, the Jews calculate fifty, common to men and animals, and ninety which are peculiar to the former. The person rejected was clothed in black, and sent without the courts of the priests: he who was chosen by the authorized examiners and judges, appeared in white, and assumed his station amongst the others of his order. Many that were but partially defective in body, resided in the temple, and were employed in preparing the wood for the fire of the altar. During the time of performing their offices, the priests were obliged to observe the strictest continence, and abstinence from wine; their only food then was the flesh of the sacrifices and the shew-bread. They stood barefoot, with their heads covered and feet washed, while engaged in their functions. Their general official duties were to maintain the fire upon the altar of burnt-offerings, to guard the sacred vessels, to offer sacrifices, to wash the victims, to sprinkle the blood or the water on the persons offering, on the victims, or the book of the law, to burn the incense, to trim the lamps, to supply or remove from the table the shew-bread. They only were to catch the blood of the victims, and sprinkle it upon the altar. The high priest was possessed of the exclusive privilege of entering the Holy of Holies, on the day of expiation once a year, when he only presented the sacrifice for himself and the people. This superior officer was consecrated to his work with peculiar ceremonies, precious oil being poured upon his forehead in the form of an X.

The sacerdotal habits are enumerated in the Mosaic writings, and consisted of the linen drawers, the linen robe, the girdle, and the tiara, or turban for the head, made of rolls of linen cloth. The high priest was decorated with a dress peculiar to himself, consisting first of the *me'il*, a long garment of a purple colour, which, according to Josephus, reached down to the feet, and not made of two distinct pieces, sewed together at the shoulders and sides, but woven throughout entire. On the border of this robe were seventy-two golden bells, and a similar number of pomegranates, under which was to be seen the tunic or *linen alb*, a part of the dress common to all the priests, worn in an open manner, having raised work and figures in it, very fine and twisted, and reaching to the ground. The high priest also wore an *ephod*, which was a waistcoat without sleeves. On each shoulder where this garment was fastened, was a precious stone, containing the names of the different Israelitish tribes engraven; on the right shoulder, were the names of the six eldest sons of Jacob, after whom they were called, and on the left the six younger. On his breast was a square piece of stuff termed the *breast-plate*, or in Hebrew *hoshen*. It was about half a cubit in dimensions, and was constantly worn in every solemn consultation with the Most High. On the breast-plate were twelve precious stones, graven also with the patriarchal names. It contained also the *urim* and *thummim*, about which we have very little information. The former word signifies lights, and the latter truth or perfection; and both are considered by the Jews as sacred signs by which the Deity revealed his will. They seem to have been something more than merely two words on the breast-plate, and are represented as beaming forth a miraculous splendour. The high priest was also invested with a *mitre*, a linen band, in length sixteen cubits, and

plaited on the head in several folds. Josephus says, "on the head he wears a cap, not pointed, nor extending over his whole head, but covering a little more than half of it;" so that between the mitre and the *holy crown* was a convenient place for the phylacteries. The holy crown was a plate of gold upon the forehead, on which was an inscription of two words: *Kodesh Laybharah*—"Holiness to the Lord." To preserve it in the proper position, it was tied with blue or purple lace or ribbon, drawn through two holes, one in each end, and fastened behind the head. Outram* remarks, that it was customary for the priests of other nations to wear crowns in the performance of their sacred functions, as we are informed by Pliny. "Anciently, indeed, no crown was given, except to some god; but never by one man to another in any games: and it is said that the first of all was Bacchus, who placed on his own head a crown of ivy. Crowns were afterwards assumed by priests, in honour of the gods; and very recently they have also been used in solemn games." To this add the following passage of Tertullian: "In the same manner, therefore, the purple robe and the ornament of gold worn round the neck were ensigns of dignity among the Egyptians and Babylonians. In a similar manner also splendid robes and golden crowns are worn by provincial priests, but not with the same condition." (De Idololat. c. 18.)

2. With regard to the *civil polity* of the Israelites, Civil polity, which naturally succeeds to the former considerations, it may be observed, that they were divided, as a nation, into twelve tribes, corresponding with the number of Jacob's sons. The tribe of Levi was regarded as consecrated to the service of the sanctuary, and as such, "holy unto the Lord." This of course invested them with prerogatives, and emblazoned them with a distinction which evidently separated them from the other tribes; but this was compensated by the two sons of Joseph, Ephraim and Manassah, being exalted into two tribes, and thus supplying the number. The following clear and concise statement, from Abbé Fleury, may not be unacceptable to the reader:

The tribe of *Reuben* had four families; the Hanochites, the Pallaites, the Hezronites, the Carmites.
The tribe of *Simeon* had five; the Nemuelites, the Jaminites, the Jachinites, the Zarhites, the Shaulites.
The tribe of *Gad* had seven; the Zophonites, the Hagcites, the Shamites, the Ozmites, the Erites, the Arodites, the Arelites.
The tribe of *Judah* had five; the Shelanites, the Pharzites, the Zarhites, the Hezronites, the Hamulites.
The tribe of *Issachar* had four; the Tolaites, the Punites, the Jathubites, the Shrimmonites.
The tribe of *Zebulun* had three; the Sardites, the Elonites, the Jahleelites.

The tribe of *Manassah* had eight; the Machirites, the Gilcadites, the Jezerites, the Helekites, the Arelites, the Shechemites, the Shemidites, the Hephreites.
The tribe of *Ephraim* had four; the Shualites, the Bachrites, the Tahantites, the Enantes.

The tribe of *Benjamin* had seven; the Belaites, the Ashbeelites, the Ahirmittes, the Shuphamites, the Huphamites, the Ardites, the Naamites.

The tribe of *Dan* had but one; the Shuhannites.

* De Sacrificiis Diss. l. cap. v.

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The tribe of *Naphtali* had four; the *Jahzeites*, the *Gnutes*, the *Jecerites*, the *Shellemites*.

In addition to those who were the proper descendants of *Abraham*, and who were naturally in most esteem among themselves on account of their genuine extraction and nationality, persons of other countries, upon their embracing the Jewish religion, were admitted into the community, and were denominated *proselytes*. They were of two kinds, *proselytes of the gate*, or *proselytes of habitation*, so distinguished as being allowed to live within their gates, and *proselytes of justice*. The former were not absolutely required to observe all the Mosaic institutions, only the sabbath, the precepts to abstain from blood, and from the worship of idols, and some others which had been enjoined upon *Noah*. These strangers, however, were neither circumcised nor baptised. The *proselytes of justice* were placed upon a different footing; they embraced the whole of the Mosaic law, and enjoyed the privileges and the rank of natural Jews. Circumcision was practised upon strangers of this class, which was regarded as the seal of the covenant into which they now entered with God, under the solemn engagement to observe all his institutions; and the blood which was shed upon the occasion received the epithet of the "blood of the covenant," the parties concerned being regarded as the "children of the covenant." They were also baptised in the presence of at least three Jews of sufficient notoriety, upon declaring the motives which induced them to embrace the Mosaic law, their resolution to live a holy life, and their disposition to receive all the instructions which were now willingly accorded. The presentation of sacrifice was a third ceremony it was deemed requisite to perform, at the period of this union with the Jewish community.

Government. The government of this singular people has been usually termed theocratic; a word employed to express its peculiarity, as under the immediate jurisdiction of the God of heaven, who chose to become both the supreme legislator and ruler of the Jewish church. From his sole authority their laws emanated, and the eminent men raised up amongst them, and placed from time to time at their head, were only the channels of communication for these regulations, framed in heaven, and enacted by an omnipotent wisdom. From their implicit obedience, always resulted the happiest consequences to themselves—security and peace, with all their concomitant blessings, while innumerable evils arose whenever they manifested a rebellious temper. In that, as well as in every subsequent age of the world, a connection, as inseparable as obvious, was formed by eternal providence, between duty and happiness, wickedness and misery. None of the tribes were invested with any prerogatives of superiority, and hence all great questions of policy were immediately referred to the decision of God himself, through an application made by some of their accredited agents, and principal leaders.

At length, however, they displeased the divine Majesty, by desiring to have a king, like the surrounding nations. In him was vested the power of life and death, without referring particular cases to the process of a slow and accurate investigation in judiciary courts. He was also empowered to levy tribute upon the peo-

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ple. But though these prerogatives seemed to elevate kings to the dignity of absolute monarchs, they were nevertheless bound by the law, as well as private individuals, and could not introduce the slightest alteration. Their domestic living was plain and abstemious; but in public they often assumed considerable pomp and splendour. *Abdoun* had fifty men running before him as body guards. Some of their kings had accumulated immense riches, particularly *Solomon*, upon whose splendid condition the *Abbe Fleury* remarks—"By this prosperity of *Solomon* and his people, God gave two important lessons to mankind at the same time. First, he shows his faithfulness in accomplishing his promises, by giving the Israelites so plentifully of all the good things which he had promised their fathers in the possession of this land, that no one hereafter might doubt of his power to reward those that adhere to him, and keep his commandments. Men that applied themselves so entirely to earthly things, stood in need of such an earnest to make them believe they should hereafter enjoy an invisible happiness, and the recompense of another life. But besides, by granting the Israelites the possession of these earthly goods, and profusely bestowing upon them whatever might contribute to the happiness of this life, God has given all men an opportunity of seeing them in a true light, and conceiving higher hopes. For who under the sun can pretend to be happy if *Solomon* was not? Who can doubt that whatever happens in this world is vanity, after he has confessed it? Does not his example show as plainly that worldly goods are not only vain, but dangerous? Not only incapable of satisfying the heart of man, but likely to corrupt it! What reasons have we to flatter ourselves that we shall make a better use of them than a people so dear to God, and so well instructed in their duty? and who seem to have had a better right to this sort of happiness, since it was proposed to them as a reward. What presumption would it be to think ourselves more capable of resisting pleasures, than the wise *Solomon*?"

In common with all other nations, at the period in *Slaves*, question, the Israelites possessed the power of life and death over their slaves, which resulted partly from the right they acquired, or were supposed to acquire, over the lives of others by conquest, and the power which the victorious hero was believed to possess himself over the spared life of a subjugated foe, extended to his descendants born in a state of captivity. The great security against improper treatment, doubtless resulted from the value of the slave, whose death would be a loss to his owner of so much property: nor was this all, for the law inflicted a punishment upon the master who should kill, in chastising his servant.

It appears that parents had a right to sell their Domestic children, and they had ordinarily so much authority, influence, that after using every proper method of correction, they were, in case of failure, to represent the circumstance to the elders of the city, when the magistrate was empowered to order the rebel to be stoned to death. (*Dent. xii. 18—21.*) The apprehension of so melancholy an end to determined perverseness would naturally operate in a powerful manner upon the junior branches of families, and generally restrain their irregularities. Aged persons possessed a very considerable share of influence among the Israelites, as well as among the ancient nations in general: and it has been

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History. observed, that the best governed states have always been those where the old men were in authority, the young being both too impetuous and too inexperienced to rule proportionately well. The Scriptural history always makes very express mention of the *elders*, in relating public affairs and popular assemblies.

Administration of justice. The administration of justice was chiefly under the direction of two kinds of officers, which were established in every city by an express injunction to Moses. These were the *shopetim* or judges, and the *shoterim*, a term descriptive of inferior, and perhaps, of different orders of magistrates and officers, including sheriffs, sergeants, captains, heralds and others. To these, however, may be added, *zikonim*, senators or elders, and *rashim*, chiefs or captains, who are to be regarded as military officers. The council of seventy elders was established in the time of their great legislator, Moses, of which the high priest was president; and to this board were referred all those cases which appeared too difficult or important for absolute decision by the judges of the different cities. The judges kept their court in the gate of the city, through which the great bulk of the people, who were husbandmen, passed morning and evening, to and from their usual employments. Public affairs, therefore, were transacted at the gates from the earliest times, of which, during the patriarchal ages, the Scriptures furnish numerous examples. The towers of the gates contained spacious and handsome rooms; and although the business which was executed might not have been committed to writing, property would be made secure, and the knowledge of any general arrangement would be easily perpetuated by this publicity in the execution. The same judge presided over civil and ecclesiastical affairs, which, being alike under the supreme jurisdiction of the divine law, required no separate and independent tribunals; and hence public justice was administered by a comparatively few individuals.

War. War forms a very important article of the Jewish economy, so that every Israelite carried arms, and was trained to their use. At the age of twenty they were considered fit for service, and from that moment were regarded as soldiers, subject to a call upon every exigency. Swords, bows and arrows, javelins and spears, or half-pikes, were their weapons of warfare; and, as the history of the Gibonites shows, they were skilful also in the use of slings. Their defensive armour consisted of shields, bucklers, helmets, armour for the back and breast, and greaves to cover the legs. Sometimes machines were employed in cases of siege, to project great stones and arrows. Cavalry being of little avail in mountainous countries and sultry climates, they had at first only infantry, but the former were introduced in the times of the kings. They were, moreover, expressly interdicted the use of cavalry. They had numerous war-chariots, probably resembling those of the Greeks, and other notions of antiquity, simple in the construction, but capable of producing considerable havoc. Their army in the wilderness was immensely large, and very exactly registered. They always marched by sound of trumpet, and were quartered round the tabernacle of the covenant, which occupied a central position in the camp, in the same order; and their entire discipline and disposal has been asserted, and not without reason, to have furnished the Greeks and Romans with practical hints with regard

to military preparations. At all periods, a vast standing force was preserved. David had twelve bodies of 24,000 each, who served alternately every month; and though the dominion of Jehoshaphat were extremely circumscribed in comparison with those of David, he had 116,000 fighting men in his service, independently of those upon garrison duty.

3. The people of Israel may next be viewed in their domestic circumstances, from which the real character of life, a nation, no less than that of an individual, may often be most correctly deduced. Their marriages were always attended with great feasts and rejoicings, in which they arrayed themselves in their richest attire. The feast lasted seven days, with the festive accompaniments of singing and music. No religious ceremony appears to have been performed on the occasion, unless the simple prayers of the father and friends may be so denominated. They neither went to the temple, nor invited the priests, nor offered sacrifices: it was viewed altogether in the light of a civil contract.

The desire of children, which is so natural to the human breast, and which the corruption of society, superadded to the political difficulties of modern times, has partially extinguished, appears to have been a most ardent passion in the bosom of every Israelite. This feeling was kept in perpetual vigour by the authorized expectation of the promised Messiah, who was to be born among them; but at what precise period, was concealed amidst the clouds of prophesy. Hence they were excited to noble anticipation, by the very uncertainty of those circumstances of time, place, and family, which long shadowed the incontestable fact itself of his manifestation. The wish for children was not repressed among the Israelites by the prevalence of expensive habits and the consequent apprehension of being incapacitated to provide sufficient maintenance for a numerous offspring: quite the reverse; for their mode of life was extremely frugal, their clothing simple, and their habits such, that children, instead of proving an encumbrance, were directly beneficial, by being trained to assist them in their labours. Their only ambition was to bequeath their little inheritance entire to their children, and perhaps in a superior state of cultivation to its original condition; and as to their daughters, no one thought of seeking them for their wealth, but on account of the tribes and families with which they stood connected.

In this state of society, the married life was naturally looked upon as dishonoured by infertility, and many scriptural instances occur of pious women bemoaning it as a calamity. This sentiment is indeed evidently sanctioned by Scripture itself, in all those representations parents are spoken of with marked commendation, when surrounded with a numerous posterity, and which expressly states, that "children's children are the crown of old men." The law that a man should marry the widow of a deceased brother, when he died childless, was evidently founded on this sentiment, so consonant with the precept to "multiply and replenish the earth." It is further obvious, that *polygamy* originated from the same source; and though it was a violation of the first law of marriage, which united an individual man and woman together in that endearing bond, yet Providence tolerated the deviation, both on account of the thin state of the population, and the imperfect condition of society, upon a principle similar

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History. to that intimated by our Saviour, when he declares that Moses permitted divorce on account of the hardness of their hearts. (Mat. 19, viii.) It appears, likewise, from the inspired narrative, that they had concubines as well as wives, who were inferior to them chiefly in the circumstance of inheritance, in which the children of the legal marriage enjoyed the preference. These practices were evidently incongruous, and ill adapted to promote domestic comfort; in fact, the experience of past ages shows that they were attended with calamitous results, and must ever be regarded as a proof of weakness, if not of absolute criminality. Had the Creator at first perceived that a plurality of wives was most conducive to human felicity, he would unquestionably have bestowed more than one upon man in his paradisaical state; because his wisdom must have known what was really best; and the narrative evinces that his goodness adopted every possible measure for completing the happiness of him who was placed at the very summit of the inferior creation. It has been remarked that Lamech was the first polygamist on record, and from all that the Scripture says concerning him, there is much room to fear he was not a very good man.

Education. The subject of education stands in immediate connection with that of matrimony and of children; and among the Israelites it seems to have borne a resemblance to the discipline of the Egyptians and early Greeks. Corporal strength, being in great estimation among them as a nation of soldiers, their exercises were of a nature calculated to promote this object. They appear to have been trained to lifting weights and running races; hence they were able to convey intelligence of the issue of battles with the utmost speed. Of Asahel, the brother of Joab, it is said that he was as light of foot as a wild roe. The use of the bow, and other military exercises, entered of course into their educational system. With regard to the cultivation of the mind, it must be admitted they did not propose a very extensive range; for, adopting the prejudice that the study of the different languages was little meritorious, being equally in the power of slaves with those of the highest class in society, their attention was restricted chiefly to their own language, of which it may be said, that although it bears evident marks of grandeur and antiquity, it has little of the copiousness, and still less of the elegance of many other dialects. It is doubtful whether they were generally able to write, especially as learned men in Scripture are introduced under the name of scribes, as if the art of committing to writing were the profession of a separate class. With reading it was different, since they were laid under a religious obligation, each one to consult for himself the oracles of God—it was their employment on the sabbath or sacred day—and the remarkable contents of the inspired volume not only supplied ample materials, but suggested powerful motives to serious and frequent perusal. Here was contained all that the world furnished of authentic history; all that could particularly interest them in a national point of view, as being the record of those transactions in which their ancestors were busily engaged, and all that could authenticate their worship, and substantiate their illustrious descent.

From the riddles of Samson, and the avowed purpose

of the queen of Sheba's visit to king Solomon, we should be led to infer, that they were addicted to the use of unigmatical puzzles, which was the case also with the Greeks, and all the eastern nations. The book of Proverbs furnishes some curious specimens of this kind, and a few occur in that of Ecclesiastes. These naturally connected themselves with proverbs, fables, and allegories, which were commonly recited in verse, not only with the design of assisting the memory, but of promoting singing and musical entertainments. Several specimens of songs composed on the occasion of some memorable event are distributed through the historical book; as the song of Moses at the Red sea, the song of Deborah, the song of Hannah, and others. The Psalms is a collection of sacred hymns, fraught with devotion, as well as preceptive wisdom.

They had a variety of musical instruments, both wind and stringed, as trumpets, flutes, drums, and various others, the precise description of which it is now difficult to ascertain. The account, however, of Calmet, (Dict. Art. Music), is concise and interesting. He states, that of stringed instruments the *nab* (נב), the psaltery or psanneterion, (Dan. iii. 5) are names which appear to be significant of the same instrument, and have considerable resemblance to the harp, the ancient *eythara*, or the *hazur*, or ten stringed instrument: both were nearly of the figure Δ; but the *nab* or psaltery, was hollow toward the top, and played on toward the bottom; but the *eythara*, or ten stringed instrument, was played upon toward the top, and hollow below: both were touched either with the fingers or a small bow or fret. The *cinnor*, or ancient lyre, had either six or nine strings, which were strung from top to bottom, and sounded by means of a hollow case, over which they passed. They were played upon in a similar manner. The ancient *synophony* resembled the modern viol. The *rombuc* was, it is believed, similar to the psaltery. The *hugab*, or Hebrew organ, was composed of several pipes, of unequal length and perforation, which, like a flute, issued a sound when blown into successively. This is the ancient pipe of Pan. The drums were of different kinds, the term *toph*, from which is derived *tympannum*, applies to every description of drum or timbrel. The *salcelim*, cymbal or cysra, was an instrument of brass, of a clattering sound, in the form of a cap, or hat, and struck one against the other, while held one in each hand. By *gulgelm*, modern interpreters have understood the *astrum*, an instrument in frequent use among the Egyptians. It was nearly oval, and crossed by brass wires, which jingled upon being shaken, while their ends were secured from falling out of the frame, by their heads being larger than the orifice which contained the wires. The Hebrew text speaks of *shulshim*, which the seventy translate *cymbala*, but Jerom, *astrum*, an instrument, it should seem, of three sides, and it might be that ancient triangular instrument, which having several strings on either side, they were jingled together by a stick, and gave a sharp rattling sound. *Mezulthaim*, are also mentioned, translated likewise *cymbala*; but some render the term *finisimbula*, little bells. Zechariah alludes to the period when on the *mezulot* of the horses shall be written "Holiness to the Lord," which confirms this interpretation, since bells were anciently worn by the horses trained for war, for the purpose of accustoming them to noise. The bells fixed to

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Dancing.

Dancing seems naturally enough connected with the subject of singing, and musical instruments; and we have evidence that this was practised among the Israelites. The term *achiluth*, which is found in the title of the fifth psalm, signifies dances or choirs of dancing women, and is derived from a root which means to dance. A remarkable instance of this nature, occurs at an early period of the Jewish history. When Pharaoh and his hosts were drowned in the Red sea, and the fugitive people of God obtained in consequence a complete deliverance from their enemies, Moses composed his celebrated song, recorded in the 15th chapter of the book of Exodus, and Miriam, his sister, appeared at the head of the women, to congratulate Israel upon this event, in responsive strains and dances, vying with the other sex in expressions of praise, and recognizing with equal joy, an interposing providence; she inspired the song, and led the dance. Moses exclaimed, "I will sing unto the Lord," and Miriam replied, with no tardy zeal, "Sing ye to the Lord, for he hath triumphed gloriously." At a subsequent period, David, when animated to an extraordinary act of piety, upon the ark of God being brought from the house of Obadedom into the city, disarrayed himself of his royal decorations, and substituting the lighter linen vestment of the priests, danced before the ark in holy ecstacy of spirit. The taunting language of Michael upon that occasion, which produced David's vindication of his conduct, as an act of humility and zeal, proves how little capable irreligious persons are of estimating those characteristic demonstrations of an ardent piety, for which eminent saints have been always distinguished.

Salutations.

The Israelites, in common with the eastern nations, observed many civilities in their intercourse with each other. The term *ford* was used whenever they wished to express a marked respect. It is recorded, particularly of Sarah, that she applied this epithet to her venerable husband. The bowing and the prostration of the body were also in use amongst them, often in Scripture termed worshipping. Kissing was an ordinary mode of salutation, and whenever they went into sacred places, they took off their shoes to express their reverential feelings. Sometimes the orientals kissed the beard of the person whom they intended to honour, and sometimes they kissed the ground.

Dress.

Their mode of dress cannot, perhaps, be accurately ascertained, but there is great probability in supposing it to resemble that of the Egyptians, which according to the ancient statues, comprised a tunic, made nearly in the form of a modern shirt, sometimes with long sleeves down to the wrist, and at other times with short sleeves reaching only to the elbow, or to the middle of the arm; occasionally there were no sleeves at all. The tunic, like the Roman stola, was girded round the waist, or under the breasts. A pallium was also worn, corring the shoulders and back, and corresponding in other respects with the Grecian chlamys.

In warm climates the inhabitants do not trouble themselves about any provision for the arms, legs, or feet, excepting that soles and sandals are furnished for the latter. Having discovered or determined what was most convenient, their fashions never changed, a circumstance which is characteristic of the oriental

nations even to the present day. The rich usually possessed a great accumulation of clothes, hence it was common to make presents from the wardrobe. Their stuffs were composed of wool. The *lyzuz*, which is often mentioned in Scripture, was a kind of silk of a golden yellow, formed out of the beard or tuft of the pinnæ longa, a large shell-fish of the muscule species, found on the coasts of the Mediterranean. The most esteemed stuffs were the white and the purple, red or violet: the former seem to have been most in use. Their clothes were ornamented with fringes or borders of purple or embroidery, and clasps of gold and precious stones. The Israelites were commanded (Numb. xv. 38.) to wear ribbons of blue on the borders of their garments, in order to maintain a perpetual and lively recollection of the law of God. The head was covered with a kind of turban, and they wore their own hair, which in the beard was allowed to grow to an extraordinary length. Their women made use of bracelets, necklaces, ear-rings, and other ornaments.

Cleanliness was in some degree essential to their circumstances, as well as a great refreshment. In walking they could not avoid gathering a considerable quantity of dust, wearing nothing but sandals, and hence it was requisite to wash frequently and abundantly. We read of this being practised continually on coming into a house, sitting down to meals, and going to bed. They also addicted themselves to anointing, which consisted either of simple oil, or such as had aromatic spices infused. They applied ointments chiefly to those parts of the body which were most exposed to the atmosphere, by which means they were considerably secured against its changes and inclemencies. The legal purifications eminently conducted to cleanliness.

The construction of their houses differed exceedingly from those of modern Europeans. They had no chimneys, and the windows consisted of lattice-work, or were closed with curtains. Stone was generally made use of in building, which was cut into very large pieces, and the beauty of the erection was considered to arise from the manner in which the stones were cut and joined, all being even and well dressed by the level and square. They employed fragrant woods, as cedar and cypress, to wainscot the inside of the finest buildings, and out of these they made the ceiling and the pillars. Josephus has given us an ample description of the architectural magnificence of Solomon, which it may be worth while to cite. "This house," says he, speaking of the king's palace, "was a large and curious building, and was supported by many pillars, which Solomon built to contain a multitude for hearing causes and taking cognizance of suits. It was sufficiently capacious to contain a great body of men, who would come together to have their causes determined. It was a hundred cubits long and fifty broad, and thirty high, supported by quadrangular pillars, which were all of cedar, but its roof was according to the Corinthian order, with folding doors, and their adjoining pillars of equal magnitude, each fluted with three cavities; which building was at once firm and very ornamental. There was also another house so ordered that its entire breadth was placed in the middle; it was quadrangular, and its breadth was thirty cubits, having a temple over against it, raised upon many pillars; in which temple there was a large

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and very glorious room, wherein the king sat in judgment. To this was joined another house, that was built for his queen. There were other smaller edifices for diet, and for sleep, after public matters were over; and these were also floored with boards of cedar. Some of these Solomon built with stones of ten cubits, and wainscoted the walls with other stones that were sawed, and were of great value, such as are dug out of the earth for the ornaments of temples, and to make fine prospects in royal palaces, and which makes the mines whence they are dug famous. Now the contexture of the curious workmanship of these stones was in three rows, but the fourth row would make one admire its sculptures, whereby were represented trees and all sorts of plants, with the shades that arose from their branches and leaves that hung down from them. Those trees and plants covered the stone that was beneath them, and their leaves were wrought so prodigiously thin and subtle that you would think they were in motion; but the other part up to the roof was plastered over, and, as it were, embroidered with colours and pictures. He moreover built other edifices for pleasure; as also very long cloisters, and those situate in an agreeable place of the palace, and among them a most glorious dining-room for feasting and computations, and full of gold, and such other furniture as so fine a room ought to have for the convenience of the guests, and where all the vessels were made of gold. Now it is very hard to reckon up the magnitude and the variety of the royal apartments; how many rooms there were of the largest sort; how many of a bigger inferior to those; and how many that were subterraneous and invisible; the curiosity of those that enjoyed the fresh air; and the groves for the most delightful prospect, for the avoiding the heat, and covering of their bodies. And to say all in brief, Solomon made the whole building entirely of white stone, and cedar wood, and gold and silver. He also adorned the roof and walls with stones set in gold, and beautified them thereby in the same manner as he had beautified the temple of God with the like stones. He also made himself a throne of prodigious bigness, of ivory, constructed as a seat of justice, and having six steps to it; on every one of which stood, on each end of the step, two lions, two other lions standing above also; but at the sitting place of the throne hands came out and received the king; and when he sat backward, he rested on half a bullock that looked towards his back, but still all was fastened together with gold." (Book viii. ch. v.)

The most remarkable part in the construction of their houses was the *flat roofs*, which were conveniently adapted for a variety of purposes. Sometimes they afforded a cool as well as a secure place of lodging for the night; sometimes they were used for the purpose of concealment, as when the spies of Israel were hid by Rahab; sometimes they served the purpose of walking, as in the case of David when he saw Bathsheba from the roof of his palace. It seems, from the account of Elisha and the Shunammite, that separate buildings or little chambers were often attached to their houses; and this is indeed frequently the case in eastern countries. On some occasions they rise a story higher than the house itself; at other times they consist of one or two rooms and a terrace; others are built over the porch or gateway, and communicate by

means of a door into the gallery of the house, which the master of the family opens or shuts at his pleasure; besides another door, which opens from a private staircase immediately into the porch or street, without disturbing the family. In these backhouses strangers were usually entertained.

The simplicity of their furniture is also conspicuous. From the narrative above recited, for whatever accommodation was intended by the good Shunammite to be afforded by the prophet, he had only a bed, a table, a stool and a candlestick. The term rendered *stool* indeed signifies an honourable seat, &c.; sometimes applied to a throne. The candlestick also was unquestionably designed as a token of respect, and was probably of a large description, placed upon the ground, and capable of containing two or more lamps destined to burn during the whole night. Their beds were in reality couches, without curtains, excepting perhaps canopies. The wealthy had ivory bedsteads, which were decorated with rich stuffs, and sprinkled with odiferous waters. They were placed against the wall.

All the expressions which we find in Scripture in Diet reference to their eating and drinking, prove that their food was plain, and generally taken in moderate quantities. They used small rolls, which were not cut, but broken. Their provision consisted of bread and wine, wheat and barley, beans, lentiles, parched corn, raisins, dried figs, honey, butter, oil, sheep, oxen, and calves. They made great use of milk, and a variety of pastry. They abstained from several kinds of food on account of the interdictions of their law. They neither partook of blood nor fat, nor wine's flesh; and many animals were refused as unclean. Tertullian justly remarks (Adv. Marc. lib. ii. c. 18), "If the law takes away the use of some sorts of meat, and pronounces creatures unclean that were formerly held quite otherwise, let us consider that the design is to insure to temperance, and look upon it as a restraint laid upon gluttons, who hankered after the cucumbers and melons of Egypt, whilst they were eating the food of angels. Let us consider it too, as a remedy at the same time, against excess and impurity, the usual attendants of gluttony. It was partly, likewise, to extinguish the love of money, by taking away the pretence of its being necessary for providing sustenance. It was, finally, to enable men to sit with less inconvenience upon religious occasions, by using them to a moderate and plain diet."

Mourning was practiced by the Israelites upon a variety of occasions, not only of private affliction, but of public calamity; and the general indications of it were, tearing their clothes, which they did immediately upon receiving any distressing intelligence, beating their breasts, uncovering the head, and putting dust and ashes upon it, and shaving off the hair and beard. During the whole period of mourning, they were to desist from washing, or anointing themselves, or enjoying the refreshment of a change of clothes. Their faces were also covered, and their feet bared, and they frequently wrapped themselves up in a mantle. It was common also to sit upon the ground, and either maintain a profound silence, or utter some mournful ditty. With all these they connected fasting, either wholly, or with the exception of a little food of the plainest description, after sun-set. The usual period of observing these sever-

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ties, on account of a dead person, was seven days, but for eminent persons they were protracted for a month, as in the cases of Aaron and Moses. (Num. xx. 29. Deut. xxxiv. 8.) The mortifications to which the Israelites and the nations of antiquity in general addicted themselves in seasons of mourning, appear to have originated in natural passion, which, in such circumstances, avoids every thing like personal indulgence, and aims to honour the memory of an endeared object, or to express a sense of mental anguish amidst calamities of any description, by an extraordinary abstinence. And though, in some instances, we may censure an excess of feeling, or of outward grief, we cannot but venerate the principle which inspires it.

Funerals.

They were very solicitous about securing the rights of sepulture, and to rest with their fathers. Common people were buried; and persons of distinction embalmed, preparatory to their being placed in sepulchres: sometimes they burnt perfumes over the body of the deceased. The art of embalming was, probably, acquired in Egypt. The sepulchre was a kind of subterraneous chamber, or closet, sometimes so ingeniously contrived, that they had doors, which turned upon hinges, and a table to lay the body upon, cut out of the same stone. It is observed by Dr. Clarke, that the immediate receptacles for embalmed bodies, are relics held in veneration by the Jews, and are called *sarcophagi*, constituting integral parts of mountains, "which have been chiseled with a degree of labour not to be conceived from mere description. These are monuments on which a lapse of ages effects no change; they have defied, and will defy the attacks of time, and continue as perfect at this hour as they were in the first moment of their completion. Thus we are informed in sacred Scripture, according to the Septuagint version, that when Joseph died, 'they embalmed him, and he was put "ἐν τῷ Σαρφί" in Egypt; that is to say, in one of those immense *mono-lithal* receptacles, to which alone the ancients applied the name of Σαρφί; they were appropriated solely to the burial of men of principal rank; and their existence, after the expiration of three thousand years, is indisputably proved, by the appearance of one of them in the principal pyramid of Egypt."—Trav. part ii. vol. iv. p. 276, 277. 8vo.

Public and loud weeping seems to have prevailed at the interment, of which we have a striking specimen at the death of Abime, recorded in the 2d book of Samuel, and the 3d chapter. On that occasion, David "lift up his voice and wept," and "all the people wept." The king also stimulated his own and the public lamentation by a funeral address, adding to it a refusal to partake of food till after sun-set. There were hired women at such times, whose express business it was to utter dismal cries and lamentations in unison with flutes. In all these ceremonies the Greeks and other nations resembled the Israelites; of which, numerous specimens may be found in Homer.

Distribution of time.

4. The distribution of time, to which all nations have entitled it requisite to pay some attention, was, among the ancient Israelites, a matter of peculiar importance, since, without a degree of minute regularity on this point, their various religious observances must have been neglected.

Years.

Their years were each divided, with reference to the different periods of their commencement, into *civil* and *sacred*. The former began with the new moon following

the autumnal equinox, after completing the ingathering of the fruits. This is generally imagined to have been the time of the creation of the world, and the ancient commencement of the Jewish year, till the period of their emancipation from Egyptian bondage, which having been accomplished at the vernal equinox, appeared to them a proper reason for new dating their year, in commemoration of so wonderful a manifestation of Providence. This acquired the epithet of sacred or ecclesiastical, as this calculation regulated their fasts and festivals. Other affairs of a merely secular nature were still conducted upon the former arrangement. At first the year was not determined according to any astronomical rules and principles, but simply by the phases of the moon. Their months began as soon as she appeared, and they varied of course in their number of days. Their only certain rule was that the first month of each of their years consisted of thirty days; and their ordinary year consisted of twelve of these months. But since the aggregate of the lunar months falls short of the solar year by eleven days, each year commenced eleven days earlier, which, in thirty years, would lose an entire solar year by the regular retrocession of the time. To remedy this evil, they gave an additional month in the third year, called *Veadar*, or sometimes in the second, called *Adar*, making the whole thirteen months. The following is a view of the Jewish months, with their correspondences to our time.

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1. Nisan, corresponding with parts of March and April.	
2. Iyar, April and May.	
3. Sivan, May and June.	
4. Tamuz, June and July.	
5. Ab, July and August.	
6. Elul, August and September.	
7. Tisri, September and October.	
8. Marchesvan, October and November.	
9. Chisleu, November and December.	
10. Tebeth, December and January.	
11. Shebet, January and February.	
12. Adar, February and March.	

We subjoin a useful table of the *Jewish Calendar*, from Stackhouse's Preface to his History of the Bible.

The Jewish Calendar.

Months.	Days.
1. NISAN or ADAR.	I. New moon. Beginning of the sacred, or ecclesiastical year; a fast for the death of the children of Aaron, Lev. x. 1, 2.
	X. A fast for the death of Miriam, the sister of Moses, Numb. xx. 1.
	XIV. The Paschal lamb slain on the evening of this day.
	XV. The great and solemn feast of the passover.
	XVI. The oblation of the first fruits of the harvest.
	XXI. The conclusion of the passover, or end of unleavened bread.
	XXIV. A fast for the death of Joshua.
2. IYAR, or JIAR.	VII. The dedication of the temple, when the Asmoneans consecrated it again, after the persecutions of the Greeks.
	X. A fast for the death of the high priest Eli, and for the taking of the ark by the Philistines.

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		XXIII. A feast for the taking of the city Gaza by Simon Maccabeus, 1 Mac. xiii. 43, 44.		XXIII. The rejoicing for the law; or, a feast instituted in memory of the law, which God gave them by the hand of Moses.	
		XXVIII. A fast for the death of the prophet Samuel, 1 Sam. xxi. 1.	8. MARCH- EVSAN.	VI. A fast upon the occasion of Nebuchadnezzar's putting out Zedekiah's eyes, after that he had slain his children in his sight, 2 Kings xxv. 7. Jer. li. 11.	
3. SIVAN.		VI. Pentecost, or the fiftieth day after the passover, called likewise the feast of weeks, because it happened seven weeks after the passover.		9. Cisleu.	
		XV. A fast for the victory of the Maccabees over the people of Bethsan, 1 Mac. v. 52.		VI. A fast in memory of the book of Jeremiah, torn and burnt by king Jehoiachin, Jer. xxxvi. 23.	
		XVII. A feast for the taking of Casarea, by the Asmoneans.		VII. A feast in memory of the death of Herod the Great, a bitter enemy to the sages.	
		XXVII. A fast in remembrance of Jeroboam's forbidding his subjects to carry their first fruits to Jerusalem, 1 Kings xii. 27.		XXI. The feast of Mount Gerizim, upon their obtaining leave of Alexander the Great to destroy the temple of Samaria, which was situate there.	
		XXX. A feast in memory of the solemn judgment given by Alexander the Great, in favour of the Jews, against the Ishmaelites and Egyptians.		XXV. The feast of dedication, viz. of the temple, profaned by the order of Antiochus Epiphanes, and repaired and purified by the care of Judas Maccabeus. This festival Christ honoured with his presence at Jerusalem. It is likewise called the feast of lights, because, during the time of its celebration, the people were used to illuminate their houses, by setting up candles at every one's door. Vid. 1 Mac. iv. 52. 2 Mac. ii. 16. John x. 22.	
4. TAMMUZ, OR THAMMUZ.		IX. A fast for the taking of Jerusalem on that day, but whether by Nebuchadnezzar, Antiochus, Epiphanes, or the Romans, it is not said.		X. A fast in memory of the siege of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar, 2 Kings xxv. 1.	
		XVII. A fast in memory of the tables of the law that were broken by Moses, Exod. xxxii. 15.	10. TEBETH.	XXVIII. A feast for the exclusion of the Sadducees out of the Sanhedrim, where they had once all the power.	
5. AB.		IX. A fast in memory of God's declaring to Moses (as on this day) that none of the murmuring Israelites should enter into the land of Canaan, Numb. xiv. 29, 31.		IV. A fast in memory of the death of the elders who succeeded Joshua, Judg. ii. 10.	
		X. A fast, because, on this same day, the city and temple were taken and burnt, first by the Chaldeans, and afterwards by the Romans.	11. SHEBET.	XV. The beginning of the years of trees, when they were first allowed to eat the fruit thereof, after they were four years planted, Lev. xix. 23, &c.	
		XVIII. A fast, because that, in the time of Ahab, the evening-lump went out.		XXIII. A fast for the war of the ten tribes against that of Benjamin, for the outrage committed upon the body of the Levite's wife, Judg. xx.	
6. ELUL.		VII. A feast in memory of the dedication of the walls of Jerusalem by Nehemiah, Ezra vi. 16.		XXIX. A memorial of the death of Antiochus Epiphanes, a cruel enemy to the Jews, 1 Mac. vi.	
		XVII. A fast for the death of the spies, who brought an ill report of the land of promise, Numb. xiv. 36, 37.	12 ADAR.	VII. A fast in remembrance of the death of Moses, Deut. xxxiv. 5.	
7. TISRI.		I. The feast of trumpets, Lev. xxiii. 34. Numb. xxix. 1, 2.		XIII. Esther's fast; probably in memory of that which is mentioned in Esther iv. 16.	
		III. A fast for the death of Gedaliah, whereupon, the expulsion of the people and the utter destruction of the land ensued, Jer. xli. 2.		XV. A feast in memory of the death of Nicanor, a bitter enemy to the Jews, 2 Mac. xv. 30.	
		VII. A fast for the Israelites worshipping the golden calf, and the sentence which God pronounced against them in consequence of that crime, Exod. xxxii. 6, &c.		The feast of Purim or Lots; because when Haman proposed to destroy all the Jews that were in Persia,	
		X. The fast of expiation, as some think, in memory of man's fall and expulsion out of paradise, Lev. xxiii. 19.			
		XV. The feast of tabernacles, in memory of their dwelling in tents, in their passage through the wilderness, Lev. xxiii. 34.			

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according to the superstition of the country, he first drew lots, to know on what day of the year it would be best to put his design in execution; from whence the feast, in commemoration of their escape, took its name.

XXIII. The dedication of the temple of Zerubbabel, Ezra, vi. 16.

XXVIII. A fast in commemoration of the repeal of the decree, whereby the kings of Greece had forbidden the Jews to circumcise their children, to observe the Sabbath, and to reject foreign worship.

When the year consists of thirteen months, here is the place where the second month of Adar, or Veadar, by way of intercalation, comes in.

In addition to the common year, the Israelites had what they termed a *sabbatical year*, which was observed every seven years, during which they were not allowed to cultivate their land; and whatever was produced spontaneously during this period, was not considered as belonging to the proprietor of the soil, but the common inheritance of all. They observed also a year of jubilee at the expiration of seven sabbatical years, when there was a total suspension of agricultural pursuits; each took possession of his former inheritance, however it might have been alienated, and slaves gained their freedom.

Weeks.

The Hebrew week consisted of seven days, of which six were appropriated to secular employments, and the seventh, or sabbath, to religious services. The term *weeks of years* is occasionally used to denote seven years. Thus we find the expression, seven weeks of years, meaning forty-nine years, the interval between each jubilee year.

Days.

The Hebrews began their day at sun-set, and reckoned to the same time on the ensuing evening for its completion. They expressed the whole day by the phrase evening and morning, or the night and day: and their three original distinctions of the day were into morning, noon, and night, it not having yet been subdivided into twenty-four hours. Afterwards, the Jews and Romans divided the space between the rising and setting of the sun into four parts of three hours each. Their hours differed from ours in this particular, that ours are always equal, being the four and twentieth part of the day, but with them the hour was a twelfth part of the time which the sun continues above the horizon. This time being longer in summer than in winter, their summer hours were longer than their winter ones. The first hour began at sun-rise, noon was the sixth, and the twelfth ended at sun-set. The third hour divided the space between sun-rising and noon; the sixth divided that which was between noon and sun-set. They distinguished also between the two evenings: the first beginning at noon, and reaching to the setting of the sun; the second commencing at sun-set; and the space from noon to sun-set they called *Ben haarbeem* i. e. between the two evenings. The night was divided into four parts, called *watches*, each of which lasted three hours. The first began at sun-set, and was termed the *beginning of the watches or the evening*; the second portion of time was the *middle watch*, or *midnight*; the third is some-

times called the *cock-crowing*; and the fourth the *morning watch*.

5. The ordinary pursuits of the people of Israel claim some cursory notice. They may be said to have been chiefly agriculturists, an employment to which all the ages of antiquity seem to have been most addicted, and which, while it is the most natural, may also be regarded as the most healthful of all occupations. The primogenitor of the human race, even in a paradisaical state, was directed to cultivate the soil, for however the spontaneousness of its productions might have rendered his diligence unnecessary to its improvement, its advantage both in body and mind were undoubtedly promoted by this arrangement. The wealth of the patriarchs, which was sometimes by no means inconsiderable, consisted principally in cattle; and hence arose the solicitude they always displayed in their various migrations, to find wells, and cisterns of water. They appear to have been industrious, and as the natural concomitant, simple in their mode of living. Their goats, and sheep, and horned cattle, camels, and asses, shared their chief attention; and the produce of the field and of the flock supplied their table, without the refinements of a luxurious cookery. In the same manner the tribes, with little exception, were husbandmen and shepherds; and from these humble, though, in that age, by no means undignified employments, sprang their most distinguished men.

In the promised land, the Israelites possessed a soil adapted to their taste and simple habits. There were extensive plains suited to tillage and pasturage, and hills and mountains proper for the cultivation of the vine and of fruit trees. The climate also was congenial, the country being defended from the Arabian deserts by lofty mountains, and refreshed from the Mediterranean by acceptable breezes; and though the rain be seldom, it falls with a calculable regularity. The days in the mean time, during the intensity of summer, are abundant. The Israelites had large crops of wheat and barley, productive vineyards, and plenty of oil and honey.

This singular people seem to have had scarcely any notions of trade, manufactures, and commerce. Their own land was adequate to their maintenance, and the tribe of Zebulun only occupied sufficient of the sea coast to feel a temptation to traffic. In some of the arts, however, they appear to have been well skilled; as the melting of metals, cutting and engraving precious stones, casting of figures, joining, embroidery, and the making of tapestry. Bezalzel and Aholiab are particularly celebrated as the persons who were engaged in the construction of the tabernacle; but it must be admitted, that they seem to be solitary instances of proficiency at that time, and miraculously directed. None of the people were artificers by profession previous to the times of the kings, nor, in fact, would many of the trades have been of much service to them in their mode of living. David, however, left a great number of artificers in his kingdom, who were employed by Solomon; and after the division of the two kingdoms, there is evidence of their having been an ample supply of them. The inspired history speaks of "craftsmen and smiths" carried away from Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar (2 Kings, xxiv. 14, 16); and the prophet Isaiah (ch. ii. 3.) mentions "the cunning artificer."

We here subjoin a view of the Hebrew money, weights, and measures, as digested by Stackhouse, from Pri-

Jewish Economy.

Ordinary pursuits.

History. denari and Cumberland, of which further information may be obtained from Breewood, Bernard, and others.

Jewish money.

	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>	<i>q.</i>
The gerah	000	00	01	3
The Hebrew drachm	000	00	09	
Two drachms made a bekah	000	01	06	
Two bekahs made a shekel	000	03	00	
Sixty shekels made a mina	009	00	00	
Fifty minas made a talent	450	00	00	
A talent of gold, sixteen to one	7200	00	00	

Jewish weights.

	<i>lb.</i>	<i>oz.</i>	<i>gr.</i>	<i>dec.</i>
The gerah	000	00	10	95
The Hebrew drachm or zusa	000	00	54	75
Two zusas made a bekah	000	00	109	4
Two bekahs made a shekel	000	00	219	3
An hundred shekels made a mineth	050	00	00	
Thirty mineths made a talent	1500	00	00	

Measures of length.

	<i>Eng. Feet.</i>	<i>Inch.</i>
The Hebrew cubit, somewhat more than	0	21
The zerith, or span, a little more than	0	10
The span of a cubit, a little above	0	7

	Eng. Feet.	Inch.	Jewish Economy.
The palm, or hand's-breadth, somewhat above	0	3	
The fathom, which makes four cubits, above	7	0	
Ezekiel's reed, which was six cubits, above	10	0	
The ancient measuring-line, or chain, which was eighty cubits, above	145	0	
A Sabbath-day's journey, two thousand cubits	3648	0	
	Miles. Paces. Feet.		
An Eastern mile, four thousand cubits	1	10	0
A day's journey generally computed much about	33	0	0

Measures of capacity.

DRY MEASURES.

The eah contained a quarter of a peck.
The omer, or gomer in the Hebrew, was the tenth part of an ephah.
The ephah is computed to be about our bushel; and The homer is supposed to be ten.

LIQUID MEASURES.

The log came near to our pint.
16 logs made an bin, which answered our gallon.
6 hins made a bath, which was about six gallons; and 10 baths made an homer, which was sixty.

DISSERTATION III.

THE TABERNACLE IN THE WILDERNESS.

So far as we have hitherto been able to ascertain the state of mankind, it appears that every nation has recognized the existence of some overruling divinity, and adopted some form of worship: for in those very few instances which might be pleaded as exceptions to this statement, it may be fairly presumed, even though it could not be satisfactorily proved, that the opportunities of observation have in those cases been few—or the modes of imperfect worship sometimes adopted by newly-discovered regions, have been mistaken for the ordinary observations of civil life or parts of a domestic economy, through the existing ignorance of the language, manners, dispositions, and other peculiarities of uncivilized tribes. This universal tendency to religion may not only be regarded as resulting from its early establishment among the Israelites, but in the traditions of a great part of the globe may be distinctly traced the fragments of the Jewish economy in the mutilated forms of service, and the distorted features of truth. It must ever, therefore, be an interesting pursuit to ascertain the worship of that extraordinary people, who were under the peculiar superintendence of Providence during the first ages of their existence, and whose history is so intimately connected with the great moral revolutions of the world. We are thus naturally guided to a consideration of the TABER-

NACLE, which was erected among them in the wilderness.

The Hebrew term properly signifies a *tent*, corresponding with the Latin *tabernaculum*, and the Greek *σκήνη*, and was originally applied to the temporary habitations of the patriarchs. Philo calls it very appropriately *σκηνογραφον*, "a portable temple." The Israelites had two tabernacles, the one the tabernacle of the congregation, which was appropriated to secular uses, the other the tent, or tabernacle of testimony, called also the tabernacle of the Lord, which was devoted to religious purposes.

It was during the extraordinary intercourse with God, which was accorded to Moses in the mount, that that illustrious legislator received particular orders respecting the construction of the tabernacle, with its sacred vessels, to execute which, he desired the people to bring in their several offerings for materials, appointing two principal architects, Bezaleel and Aholiab, to complete the design. In six months from the commencement of the work, and on the first day of the first month, in the second year of the departure from Egypt, the erection was finished, and its whole interior miraculously occupied by a cloud of glory. When Moses, after some time, was able to enter within, he was divinely instructed on the subject of its future services, and afterwards solemnly consecrated Aaron and his family to the priestly office. At the expiration

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of eight days, Aaron presented his first burnt-sacrifice for himself and the people, on which occasion fire descended from heaven to token of acceptance, which was ever after, by an express appointment, to be preserved from extinction. Although, in the patriarchal ages, altars, mountains, and groves were used for worship, and even from the creation of the world, particular spots were appropriated to the engagements of piety, we have here a record of the first most remarkable building specially appointed by God himself for his own service, reared under his providential superintendence, and honoured with the glorious manifestations of his presence. And though it be true that a devout spirit will realize the whole universe as the great temple of the Almighty, and consecrate, by an appropriating faith, every spot and every object, every plain and every mountain, every grove and every copse, every stone and every star, in some sense, as the altar of sacrifice on which to present the animated offerings of gratitude, love, and praise; and though it be also true that the infinite God fills immensity with his presence, and eternity with his duration, and cannot be circumscribed within walls, or limited by place; it is, nevertheless, certain, that he has, for the wisest reasons, chosen to secure the honour due to his name amongst a race of beings, whose religion who too diffuse and undefined is apt to be dissipated, by commanding the erection of buildings in which appointed forms of worship should be observed; that by their fixing the attention which is so apt to wander, and forming the habits of piety, so apt to become irregular, his just pre-eminence may be established.

Construc-
tion.

The tabernacle consisted of an oblong square, thirty cubits in length, ten in breadth, and ten in height, having two general divisions, the holy place, and the sanctum sanctorum, or most holy, or holy of holies. The former was twenty cubits in length and ten in width, containing the table of shew-bread, the golden candlestick, and the golden altar of incense. The holy of holies, called also the sanctuary, was the same in length and breadth, namely, ten cubits, and was separated from the holy place by a veil or curtain of richly embroidered lino, suspended on four pillars of shittim wood, each overlaid with plates of gold, but having their bases of brass. This division contained the ark of the covenant. A veil of similar make, and supported in the same manner, served the purpose of a door, and separated it from the outward court. The tabernacle was enclosed on three sides, namely, the north, south, and west, by planks of shittim wood, covered with golden plates, with bases of brass, each two cubits in height, and a cubit and a half in breadth; in number forty-eight; but so far irregularly disposed, that twenty of them were on the north, twenty on the south, and only eight on the west side; all let into one another by two tenons above and two below, and the whole compacted by two bases or cross bars along the entire length, joined by mortises. Each had five golden rings, through which were passed poles covered with gold. The east side was open, concealed only by a rich curtain: this was considered the entrance. The roof was composed of a square frame of planks or boards, resting on their bases, overspread with different kinds of coverings. The first on the inside was of fine lino, embroidered in various colours of hyacinth,

purple, scarlet, and crimson: over this were coverings of goats' hair, neatly interwoven: the last consisted of sheep and badgers' skins, dyed of an azure blue or red, adapted to secure the whole from the inclemency of the seasons. These curtains were only on the sides and behind: there were none in front. The tabernacle had no window; the admission of the ordinary light being less adapted to grandeur and religious effect than artificial illumination.

Jewish
Economy.

An oblong court of a hundred eubits in length and fifty in breadth, surrounded the tabernacle. This enclosure was encompassed by pillars covered with silver plates, with capitals of silver and bases of brass; ten of them stood towards the west, six towards the east, twenty towards the north, and twenty towards the south, at a distance from each other of five eubits. These pillars were hung with curtains of twined lino thread, resembling net-work, which enclosed the tabernacle on all sides, with the exception of the entrance of the court, where a curtain still more splendid in its embroidery was disposed, twenty cubits wide, to correspond with the door-way, and sustained by four silver plated pillars, with capitals and bases of brass. It was in this court, and opposite the entrance, that the altar of burnt offerings was to be seen, five eubits long, five wide, and three high, placed on a base of stone work, and covered, within and without, with plates of brass. At the four corners were four projecting brass plated appendages, emphatically denominated the horns of the altar; from each of which a grate, made of brass, was suspended, fastened with four rings and four chains. On these the wood and the sacrifice were burnt, while a pan was placed below to receive the ashes. At a small distance was of by the priests for washing their feet when they were to offer sacrifice, or enter the tabernacle.

On the north side of the holy place was a table of shittim or cedar wood, overlaid with gold, two cubits in length, one in breadth, and one and a half in height. It was edged with a bordering of gold, and had a golden crown to the middle; at each end six leaves were piled up, called the shew bread, to represent the twelve tribes. This bread could be eaten by none but the priests, and was changed on every sabbath day. Opposite this table, to the south, stood the golden candlestick, having seven branches, beside the middle, equally distant, and each ornamented with six flowers in the form of lilies, with knobs to the same amount, resembling apples, and bowls like almond shells disposed alternately. Each branch had a golden lamp, which was regularly kindled at night, and extinguished in the morning. The altar of incense occupied the middle spot between the table and the candlestick. It was only two eubits high, and one in length, and one in breadth: over it was a crown of gold, and it was covered with the same precious metal. The incense presented each morning and evening here was of a particular composition; the officiating priest carrying a smoking censer full of fire, which he took from the altar of burnt offerings, and having placed it on this altar of incense, withdrew. Besides these there were several other brazen vessels, which need not be particularly enumerated.

The sanctum sanctorum, or most holy place, was highly

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distinguished for the ark, or the mercy-seat, which was a coffin, or chest, made of shittim wood, and overlaid with pure gold, both within and without. In length, it was two cubits and a half, a cubit and a half in breadth, and the same in height. The lid, which covered it, was entirely of pure gold. At the extremities were two cherubims, one at each end, composed of the same mass of pure gold with the lid itself. These were represented stretching their wings, and covering the mercy-seat on high, with their faces looking towards each other. They are often mentioned in Scripture, and innumerable disputes have arisen respecting them among the learned, which it will be foreign from our present purpose to detail, but we may state in brief, that whatever might have been their exact form and figure, which is rendered somewhat doubtful by the different statements of the historical and prophetic writers, they seem to have been emblematical of angels. The ark being a representation of the throne of God, the cherubim attended, like courtiers on their sovereign's person. Their faces being opposite each other, was illustrative of the general idea conveyed in Scripture of the celestial service, in which the blessed respond to each other in perpetual strains of melody and praise. Their outstretched wings evidently indicate the promptitude and activity of their movements as ministering spirits; and their eyes, fixed upon the ark, point out the reverential eagerness with which it is characteristic of them to investigate the mysteries of redemption. Maimonides ingeniously remarks, that God commanded Moses to make two cherubim for the purpose of inculcating into the minds of men, the doctrine of the existence of the angel; "If there had been," says he, "but one cherub placed upon the ark, the Israelites would have been tempted to conceive a great error: for they might have supposed that this was the image of God, who was to be worshipped under this particular form. They might also have imagined that there only existed one angel. But the command for the formation of two cherubim, coupled with the declaration 'The Lord our God is one Lord,' put the matter beyond all question. It proves there are angels, but only one God; and precludes the belief of their being Gods, since there is but one God who created the cherubim." The elegant Saurin has a beautiful passage with reference to the angels prying into the mysteries of our religion, and in allusion to this disposal of them on the ark, which we feel strongly tempted to introduce. "Les cherubins avoient leurs regards fixés sur l'arche. Cela marquoit l'admiration que les anges ont pour ces mystères dont l'arche étoit la figure. S. Pierre fait allusion à cette circonstance, lors qu'il dit dans le chap. i. de sa première Epître Catholique que les Anges se courbent pour regarder jusques aux fonds des Mystères de l'Évangile. C'est une belle idée de la religion Chrétienne. Les anges sont élevés au comble du bonheur et de la gloire. Ils contemplant Dieu face à face, et puisent ainsi la lumière et la vérité dans leur source. Ils voyent sa magnificence dans cette gloire éclatante qu'il fait briller à leurs yeux. Ils voyent sa bonté dans ces grâces dont il les comble. Ils voyent sa justice dans les supplices qu'il inflige aux anges rebelles. Ils voyent sa sagesse dans la conduite de cet univers. En un mot tout ce qui est capable de remplir l'esprit, et de satisfaire la cœur, est proposé à ces bienheureuses intelligences. Cependant au milieu de tant d'objets

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ravissans, au milieu de tant de félicité et de tant de gloire, les anges veulent être témoins de nos mystères. Ils trouvent Dieu plus grand sur la terre, dans ces exploits inouis qu'il fit pour notre salut, que dans la pompe céleste qui l'environne; et oubliant, pour ainsi dire, ce qui fait le bonheur de l'Eglise qui triomphe, ils viennent chercher parmi nous dans l'Eglise militante de quoi nourrir leur admiration"—i. e. "The cherubim had their eyes fixed upon the ark, which shows the admiration and reverence which the angels cherish for those mysteries typified by the ark. St. Peter alludes to this circumstance when he says, *which things the angels desire to look into*. This suggests a fine idea of the Christian religion. The angels are exalted to the summit of blessedness and glory, beholding God face to face, and for ever drawing supplies of light and truth from their divine fountain. They behold his magnificence in the glory that beams on their eyes. They see his goodness in the blessings which he communicates to them. They witness his justice in the punishment he inflicts upon the rebel angels. They contemplate his wisdom in the general superintendence of the universe. Every thing, in a word, capable of filling the mind, and of gratifying the heart, is presented to these happy spirits. But in the midst of these attractions, in the midst of all this felicity and glory, the angels desire to witness and to study the mysteries of our religion. They find that God is even greater on earth in those astonishing exploits which he performed for our salvation, than amidst the celestial pomp that encircles his heavenly throne; and forgetting, so to speak, the blessedness of the church triumphant, they come down into the church militant, to search among us for objects to engage their admiration." (Saurin Disc. Historiques 54.)

As to the contents of the ark, it has generally been supposed to have been appropriated to the law, or tables of the covenant, and St. Paul seems to imply it contained also the golden pot that had manna, and Aaron's rod that budded, (Heb. ix. 4.) Some, however, have interpreted the expression to signify near, not in, or within the ark. It has been said, that it is most probable, since Moses only mentions the volume of the law, that, in the times of Moses and of Solomon, this only was deposited in the ark, but that Aaron's rod and the golden pot of manna were afterwards introduced.* But in support of the interpretation of the Apostolic phraseology, as indicating only their being placed near the ark, it has been stated, 1. That the same word *Mizud* is used where it is said that the Philistines sent back the ark with an offering of jewels of gold, put in a coffer by the side of it, where it is certain the word must be understood of the outside, not of the inside. 2. The ark was not large enough to hold the volume of the whole law of Moses, with the other things placed in it. 3. The design of laying on the original volume of the law in the temple was, that it might be reserved as the authentic copy by which all others were to be corrected, and consequently it must be so placed that access might be had to it on all occasions requiring it, which could not have been done, if it had been put within the ark, and shut up there by the cover of the mercy-seat over it, which was not to be removed. 4. When Hilkiah, the high priest, in the time of

* Saurin Disc. 54.

History. Josiah, found the copy* of the law in the temple, nothing is said of the ark, nor is it there mentioned as taken from thence, but as found elsewhere in the temple.*

Speaking of the tabernacle in general, Calmet observes, "This tent was as it were, the dwelling of the God of Israel, who was considered as residing in the midst of the camp. Round about it were encamped the tribes, Judah, Zebulun, and Issachar to the east; Ephraim, Benjamin, and Manasseh to the west; Dan, Asher, and Naphtali to the north; Ruben, Simeon, and Gad to the south. The tribe of Levi being entirely employed in sacred service, were placed all round the tabernacle: Moses and Aaron were to the east; the family of Gershon, west; that of Merari, north; and that of Kohath, south."

It may be further remarked, that the heathen nations regarded their temples as the houses of their gods, taking the hint, no doubt, from the Jewish tabernacle. Hence *ædes deorum* is their most usual term for a temple, or place of religious solemnity. (Comp. Livii Hist. lib. 2. cap. 5. with many others.)

Whether the tabernacle was an imitation of Egyptian worship.

A question of considerable interest has been often agitated among theologians and critics; namely, whether the tabernacle, with its ark and other sacred vessels, were constructed in imitation of the Egyptian and other idolatrous worship; the affirmative of which is particularly, and with much zeal, maintained by Spencer,† who represents the Deity as condescending to imitate in some degree the system of worship paid to false gods, but with such alterations as tended to correct and purify the superstitions of his people, and thus to check at the proper point their lamentable propensity to idolatry. We shall abridge his arguments, and enunciate some reasons by which they may be confuted.

Spencer's arguments.

Spencer begins by alleging that it was a custom among the Egyptians, and other ancient nations, to convey the images of their gods in tents, or portable temples, either to do them honour or to secure their perpetual presence. This he demonstrates by the teraphim of Laban, the testimony of Apuleius, a passage from Virgil, and other citations; but especially the words of Amos (chap. v. 26, compared with Acts vii. 42, &c.) "Have ye offered unto me sacrifices and offerings in the wilderness forty years, O house of Israel? But ye have borne the tabernacle of your Moloch and Chiun, your images, the star of your god, which ye made to yourselves." Here he quotes a variety of opinions in illustration of the term tabernacle, as signifying a tent, or coffer, or receptacle of the god; and institutes critical examinations of the word Moloch, and the star of Remphan or Chiun, which was adored by the Israelites: a piece of idolatry borrowed from the Egyptians. Remphan he affirms to be the same with Saturn, adding, "that as the Israelites dwelt in the desert, driven out of Egypt, strangers and pilgrims divested of all things; free indeed, but preferring the bondage they had undergone to the kind of liberty they now enjoyed, they judged it for their interest to attach themselves in a more particular manner to the service of Saturn, the god of the poor, and of those wandering

people who had no settled habitation." In support of this idea of Saturn, he cites from Plautus (*In Pæulo*)—*Jewish Economy.*

Et hospitium tessera Saturni imago (hæc fere)
Inter nos: esto fides, &c.

And again,

Hospitium tessera mem cojus imago
Chiun (aut Saturnus) est.
Quæso induas, ut misericors me.

His comment is that Hanno (the person speaking here), carrying the image of Saturn, produced it as entitling to the rights of hospitality, because this god was considered as the protector of strangers.

All his proofs with regard to the tabernacle in general, Spencer applies to the ark in particular. With regard to its form, he affirms, that what are termed cists or coffers, were of great importance in the pagan religion, being used to preserve what were deemed the most sacred things belonging to their worship, and were carried in public processions by officers appointed to the service. With regard to its design, the resemblance to the pagan cists is obvious, as they were employed to impress the people with an idea of the mysteries contained in them. The very same term and titles are adopted in both cases, as ark of God, ark of the covenant, ark of the testimony; and that of Serapis was called "ark of the Lord." The materials too, both among the Israelites and the idolatrous nations, were costly and precious: hence Minutius Felix said, that the common people worshipped the images of the false gods, on account of the art with which they were made, and the splendour of the gold, silver, and ivory with which they were adorned. Spencer further intimates, that the differences observable between the Gentile and Israelitish arks establish the fact of the imitation; whereas the ark of the latter contained the most sacred symbols of religion, that of the former enclosed the most impure. The ark of Israel was to be carried by persons of the sacerdotal family only—the ark of the ancients was sometimes borne also by women;—the former was carried about with solemn ceremonies, those of the latter were childish and absurd—the former had cherubim, the latter no images but within—Israel had only one ark, the pagan nations had many. It is further alleged in support of the general argument, that the ark of Israel was conveyed by the command of David on a cart, and the pagan arks were carried about in a similar manner; and the Philistines, with the view of conciliating the favour of the God of Israel, placed the ark upon a *new cart*. The ark of Israel had a crown or golden border; which was precisely the case with the others. Euripides describes an ark crowned with flowers. Pliny asserts, that in ancient times none but the gods wore crowns. (lib. xvi. c. 40.) The same learned writer pursues a similar argument with reference to the *cherubim*, intimating that these hieroglyphics were in use previous to the Monastic period. Most of the statues or images of the Egyptians, he remarks, were of gold, in which they corresponded with the Israelitish cherubim; and the resemblance between the two people is discernible in several particulars—the turning of their eyes in worship to these images—consulting these statues, or in the case of the Israelites, the true God dwelling between the cherubim and the diversified figures of these hieroglyphics, and especially the forms of different ani-

* Pridmore's Connections, part I. b. 3.

† De Leg. Heb. Ritual. Diss. l. lib. 3.

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male which they assumed. So extraordinary a representation as the cherubim, he thinks, would not have been introduced into worship but for the prevalence of some general custom. The same he considers as similar in meaning to apes, an ox or a cow; and the known attachment of the Israelites for the images of that animal, he believes to have arisen from what they saw in Egypt. This subject is further pursued with reference to the mysteries included in them, and sustains his argument by numerous citations from Philo, and Justin Martyr, and others. He then views the cherubim in relation to the temple, where they were afterwards placed, producing several ancient testimonies to show that the Sabæans were the first who devoted houses to the gods, from which he infers that the tabernacle and its ceremonies were derived from that people. In both the tabernacle and temple, an apartment accessible only to the high priest was constructed, which Lucian says was the practice of the pagans. Other points of resemblance here are noticed; and as the cherubim were deemed the place where the deity dwelt and the chariot on which he rode, the idolatrous nations of antiquity maintained the same notion, who believed they could by certain ceremonies bring down their deities into their statues and images. These, with some other considerations not necessary to be enumerated at present, constitute the substance of the celebrated work of Spencer, which suggests, it must be admitted, some difficulties, but capable of a tolerably easy solution.

Answers to
Spencer

It is worthy of observation, that in all the citations of our learned author, there is not a single writer of equal antiquity with Moses, who was surely the person best qualified to ascertain the origin of sacred edifices, religious rites and ceremonies, and modes of worship. But his history does not afford any circumstantial evidence by which to determine the origin of the Egyptian worship, and that of other ancient idolatrous nations; so that the assumption that the ceremonies observed among the Israelites were in imitation of those of other countries, is entirely gratuitous and unsupported. Among the idolatrous services, however, of which the Jewish legislator has furnished an incidental account, nothing is reported of a court, of a holy place, of a most holy place, or even of an ark, properly so called. It has been deemed highly questionable, whether Amos, in the passage quoted from that prophet, referred to the idolatry committed in the wilderness, or, as seems most likely, to that of his own times; for it is strange, if there did actually exist among the ancient Israelites tabernacles dedicated to Moloch, the sacred historian should never mention or refer to them, especially as he treated every instance of idolatry with the utmost rigour, and denounced it in the severest terms. The account of Egyptian idolatry, given by Spencer, differs, moreover, from that of several other authors of distinction, who affirm that the Egyptians offered nothing but simple herbs to their gods, and sacrificed no animals; and that they believed in the opposing doctrine of the transmigration of souls. Should it even be ad-

mitted, that among the almost incalculable variety of observances practised in different nations, some particular resemblances might be detected, this is far from proving them to have been direct and designed imitations. Let a person, as Saurin well states it, compare the manner in which God is worshipped at Ispahan and at Rome, and he will discover some similarity between them; but who will venture to maintain that Rome has mimicked Ispahan, or that Ispahan has mimicked Rome? Some three or four hundred years hence, a critic arguing like Spencer, and comparing these various modes of worship, would be quite as much justified in representing that the religion of the Roman Catholics is an imitation of that of the Persians, or that the religion of the Persians is an imitation of that of the Catholics. The moment you suppose a religion, you think of sacred places, of external ceremonies, of emblems, and of symbols. Such establishments owe their origin to the very nature of things, and not to the particular genius of the people. Spencer compares some things, which evidently have no resemblance, and which his zeal has unwittingly forced into the service of his argument; and a palpable sophism pervades all his dissertations, which is, that in order to show that a custom owes its origin to a particular nation, which is not doubted, he proves that this custom was received at a certain time by that nation, which may be true enough, but it avails nothing to his purpose. For instance, he cites numerous authorities to prove that the statues of the Egyptians were made in the shape of various animals, and resembled the cherubim of the ark, but he does not adduce a single instance or authority to demonstrate that the Egyptians were the first who made use of such images. Finally, and solemnly, it is most evident, notwithstanding the ingenious arguments, or rather sophistries of Spencer to evince the contrary, that the introduction of idolatrous rites into the worship of the true God, so far from tending to extirpate, would have been the most direct and most certain method of establishing and perpetuating idolatry. The transfer of Egyptian ceremonies of worship into the religion of the tabernacle, would have been the means of impressing the Israelites with a veneration for their worship. They would have seen a system of worship consecrated by revival or adoption; and though it might have been with something of a purer form, or with corrections and modifications, still sanctified in its great essentials and principles, by use, impressed by an all-commanding authority, attractive by its superior antiquity, and losing even the most objectionable cast of its features by familiarity. Nay, it must have degraded the whole of their religion as a mere imitation, grafted upon the inventions of other nations. The only idea, therefore, suited to the dignity of Jehovah is, what is manifest enough to the impartial observer, in every institution of the Mosaic economy, that the whole was a system, new—original—glorious (though in an inferior degree to that which was destined to supersede it)—and divine.

Jewish
Economy.

DISSERTATION IV.

THE TEMPLE OF SOLOMON, WITH A VIEW OF THE JEWISH WORSHIP.

History.

Although chronological order might seem to require the topographical and historical details of the next section to be introduced in this place, the natural connection between the tabernacle erected in the wilderness, and the temple by which it was succeeded, sufficiently justifies the arrangement we have adopted, especially as both the one and the other intimately and equally concern the great subject of religion.

Consecration of the temple.

We have already, in a former article,* alluded to some remarkable circumstances in the construction of the temple of Solomon; and to these we shall now add a somewhat more detailed delineation. The temple was built upon a ground plot of six hundred cubits square. It was inclosed within a wall of six cubits in height, and six in breadth, and contained several distinct buildings, surrounded with cloisters, and supported by pillars of marble. Here was the court of the Gentiles, of the width of fifty cubits, adorned in a similar manner, which was separated from the court of the Israelites by a wall of five hundred cubits square. The court was a hundred cubits, paved with variously-coloured marble. It had four gates, one at each quarter, to each of which was an ascent of seven steps. The separation of this court from the court of the priests, was accomplished by a wall of two hundred cubits square, the court of the priests being a hundred cubits, surrounded with cloisters, and apartments where they lived. This court had only three gates, each with eight steps: there was no gate to the west. All these courts were unenclosed at the top, but the cloisters afforded a sufficient shelter. Opposite to the gate of the priests' court, in the court of the Israelites, was placed a throne for the king, to furnish him with accommodation whenever he came to the temple. The court of the priests contained the altar of burnt-offerings, with ten brazen lavers and a sea of brass, supported by twelve oxen. On the west side of the altar of burnt-offerings was an ascent of twelve steps to the temple, properly so called, which was formed of the porch, the sanctuary, and the holy of holies. The porch was twelve cubits in length, and twenty in breadth, having at the entrance the two celebrated pillars, Jachan and Boaz. The width of the gate was fourteen feet. The sanctuary or nave was forty cubits in length, and twenty in breadth. In this part stood the altar of incense, and here was the table of shew bread. It had ten golden candlesticks. The holy of holies was a square of twenty cubits, having the ark of the covenant, in which were deposited the two tables of stone, graven with the ten commandments and with four cherubims. Josephus states, that about the temple and against the walls, thirty small houses or cells were constructed, which served the purpose of so many buttresses, as well as ornaments; for there were three stories of these cells, one above another,

the second being narrower than the first, and the third than the second, so that their roofs and balustrades, being within each other, made three different terraces, on which a person might walk round the temple. These little houses were ceiled, and their walls wainscoted with cedar, and embellished with carving and fretwork overlaid with gold. Laury[†] observes, that the temple itself, strictly so called, had two stories, the upper of which was raised quite above these little houses and their roofs; for their roofs reached no higher than the top of the first story. The second story, which had no building adjoining to its side, made a large room over the sanctuary and the holy of holies, of equal dimensions with them; and it is no improbable opinion, that this was the upper chamber in which the Holy Ghost was pleased to descend upon the apostles in a visible manner. This upper room was appropriated to the pious laity, as a place for them to come and pay their devotions; and therefore it seems very likely that the apostles were here, with other devout persons, while the temple was full of Jews of all nations, who were come to celebrate the feast of the Pentecost, and that the persons below, hearing the noise which was occasioned by the shaking of the place, ran up to see the cause of it, and, to their great surprise, found the apostles distinguished from the other Jews about them, both by "the cloven tongues which sat upon each of them," and by the several different languages which they spoke.

Jewish Economy.

The foundation of the temple was begun at the bottom of the mount, to render it more secure; so that the sides were three hundred and thirty-three cubits, or six hundred and eight feet, in height, before they were raised to the level of the temple; and this afforded a most magnificent prospect to the city. The stones of this foundation, says Josephus, were not only of the largest size, but hard and firm enough to endure all weathers, and he proof against the worm. Besides this, they were so morticed into one another, and so wedged into the rock, that the strength and curiosity of the basis was not less admirable than the intended superstructure, and the one was every way answerable to the other.

The sacred vessels of gold and silver were so numerous, that they brought back five thousand four hundred, even at their return from the captivity, which were deposited in treasuries. There were also "holy chambers" (Ezek. xlv. 19.) for the sacerdotal habits, and store-houses, in which the offerings for the support of the priests and Levites, widows and orphans, were preserved. Other places were appropriated to wine and oil for the libations, suit for the sacrifices, and materials for the shew bread. There were, besides, eating-rooms for the priests and guards of the

Sacred vessels.

* Hist. chap. 3. Jewish Monarchy.

† De Tabern. lib. l. c.

History. Levites, lodgings for the musicians, and other rooms for different purposes, especially a hall for the council of seventy elders.

Sacrifices. Sacrifices were enjoined upon every solemn festival, the principal of which may be briefly introduced. On the first day of the great festival of Passover was to be offered a burnt sacrifice of two young bullocks, one ram, and seven lambs of the first year, with some other offerings of an inferior description: on the second day, besides the usual sacrifices, a sheaf of the first fruit of that year's harvest; and previous to the offering of the first sheaf, no corn was to be eaten. The first and last days were observed as sabbaths, with the sole exception that victuals might be dressed on the first day. The sacrifices appointed at the opening of the feast of Pentecost were, two loaves of the first ripe wheat, seven lambs of the first year, one young bullock, two rams for a burnt-offering, and the usual meat and drink offerings; a kid for a sin-offering, and two lambs for a peace-offering. The sacrifices peculiar to the feast of Tabernacles were, on the first day, thirteen bullocks, two rams, and fourteen lambs of a year old, all without blemish, and offered in a burnt-offering, with the customary meat and drink offerings, formed of a certain quantity of flour mingled with oil and wine; a kid for a sin-offering, in the name of all Israel; and the usual morning and evening sacrifices. On the second day they offered twelve bullocks, two rams, and fourteen lambs, with flour and wine, and a kid, as before. The same offerings were continued on the five succeeding days, excepting that the number diminished by one bullock every day. On the last day, which was the most solemn, they only presented one bullock, one ram, and seven lambs, besides a goat for a sin-offering, and the usual and voluntary sacrifices. The first fruits of things of later growth were now brought, which were occasionally so plentiful, that it became necessary to extend the period of observing the feast to one more day. Particular sacrifices were also prescribed for other festivals, as the feast of the Trumpets and of the New Moon.

Besides the presentations just mentioned, were some others: as the daily sacrifice, when four lambs were offered, two in the morning, and two in the evening; all of the first year, and without blemish. Wine and flour mixed with oil, were also presented for a meat and a drink offering. This was termed a *continual sacrifice*, as nothing was allowed to interrupt its regularity. The *peace-offerings* were to be voluntary, there being no obligation but of a general nature. The victim was to be brought to the door of the tabernacle, when the votary laid his hands upon it, and killed it; the priest immediately taking some of the blood, and sprinkling it upon the altar and round about, poured the remainder upon the ground. The fat, the kidneys, and the ramp, if a sheep or lamb, were then burnt upon the altar; the breast and shoulders belonged to the priest, and the rest to the owner, who was allowed to dress and eat it. These offerings were either votal, supplicatory, or eucharistical. The *meat and drink offerings* accompanied the burnt-offerings of every festival, the daily and all sacrifices made with fire, and consisted of a certain proportion of wine, oil, and fine flour, to every beast that was sacrificed. The offerings for cleansing were on various accounts. The person who committed a trespass knowingly or ignorantly, was to bring his offering

to the door of the tabernacle. It was to be a bullock, or goat, for a priest; a goat, sheep, kid, or lamb, for a layman. Should it happen that the individual was too poor to afford either, he was permitted to bring a couple of pigeons, or turtle-doves, or a small quantity of flour. The person having then laid his hand upon the victim's head, confessing his sin, offered it up, and the priest taking up some of the blood with his fingers, and applying it to the horns of the altar of burnt-offerings, poured forth the remainder at the foot. Then he took the fat of the caul, kidneys, and ramp, and burnt it upon the altar, praying for the offerer, and pronouncing his forgiveness. The flesh of this victim belonged wholly to the priest. Another ceremony was added for legal impurities, such as touching anything unclean, &c. namely, the ashes of the red heifer, reserved for the purpose. The high priest was to be careful that it was without spot or blemish, and had never been yoked. It was carried out of the camp, and there killed, when he made a sevenfold aspersion of the blood with his fingers towards the sanctuary; it was then thrown into a large fire with its skin, entrails, and a bundle of cedar wood, hyssop, and scarlet, and burnt to ashes; which ashes being laid up for use, all the persons who assisted in the service, were unclean until the evening. A person who contracted such pollution as to make him unclean seven days, was to be sprinkled with water, into which some of these ashes had been thrown on the third and seventh day. If not sprinkled on the third day, he was not considered clean till the tenth. Besides these, were some other offerings for cleansing in particular cases, such as two pigeons to be presented by a woman after child-birth, or of flour and oil, if unable to bring a lamb; and two sparrows by the leper after his cure. In these cases, one of the birds was a substitute for a lamb, for a burnt-offering, and the other for a sin-offering; wherein the priest sprinkled the blood upon the person, or house, seven times. The offerings of the *first fruits*, were required not only of the nation at large, on the great festivals before mentioned, but of every individual who had fields, orchards, and vineyards. The time and quantity are not precisely stated. When the person, coming to offer, arrived at the court of the priests, the Levites sang the thirtieth psalm, when the votary confessed in these words, "I do this day make a public acknowledgement before the Lord your God, that I am entered into the good land, which he swore unto our fathers that he would give us." At the time the priest assisted him to take the basket from his shoulders, and he closed his confession, while it was yet suspended, in the words prescribed by Moses, "A Syrian ready to perish was my father, and he went down into Egypt, and sojourned there with a few," &c. The basket was then placed by the side of the altar, and he offered the burnt-offering and peace-offering; then proceeded to feast with his acquaintances on his share of the peace and meat offerings. The offerings of the *first-born*, related to the first-born of men, of cattle, and of the fruits of the earth. Of the former, they were redeemed at the age of thirty, for five shekels, when they were presented to the priest, and the mother offered the sacrifice of her purification. The first-born of clean animals could not be redeemed, but were brought to the tabernacle, or temple, and killed, the blood being poured forth at the foot of the altar, the fat burnt on it, and the flesh given to the priest. If it had any natural defect, it could not

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be sacrificed. If it were an unclean beast, it might be redeemed, or with five shekels, or its neck might be broken by the owner. With regard to vegetable products, the fruit of the new planted tree was not to be gathered during the first three years: on the fourth, its productions were the Lord's, and they belonged to the priests, from whom, however, the owner might redeem it at a proper price. Afterwards it was wholly for his own use. There were four species of *tythes*:—those belonging to the tribe of Levi, which all attached to that tribe might eat, men and women, clean and unclean;—the tenths of these *tythes*, assigned to the priests;—a second tenth, which a laymen was required to appropriate, or exchange it for an equivalent in money, with an addition of a fifth part above the value; which was to be brought to Jerusalem to make a feast with for his friends, and the priests, and Levites;—and a *tythe* to be reserved every year, and consumed in feasts at home, to which the Levites, the poor, the fatherless, the widows, and the strangers, were to be expressly invited.

Day of expiation.

There is one solemnity which has not yet been introduced to notice, but the mention of which we cannot with propriety omit—it is the *day of atonement or expiation*. It was a day of fasting, humiliation, and confession, and was instituted principally to expiate the sins of the nation for the preceding year. This solemnity commenced on the evening of the ninth day of the seventh month, and continued till the ensuing evening; an interval wherein the people of Israel scrupulously, and under pain of excommunication, abstained from every description both of labour and of pleasure, and held a solemn convocation to offer a peculiar sacrifice by fire for their transgressions. On this day only throughout the year, the high priest entered into the holy of holies; for which service he prepared himself by various previous abstinences, and wore a particular kind of dress. As soon as he entered, it was his business to present a young bullock for a sin-offering, and a ram for a burnt-offering, on his own account and for his whole family, confessing their and his own sins.

Jewish Economy.

He then received from the heads of the assembly two kids for a sin-offering, and a ram for a burnt-offering, for the whole congregation. Two goats being placed before the tabernacle, the high priest cast lots to determine which should be sacrificed and which dismissed; and to the latter the term of *scape-goat* was applied. Taking his censer in one hand, and a quantity of fine incense in the other, to fill the place with the smoke so as to conceal the mercy-seat, he proceeded into the holy of holies; and having placed the censer on the altar, he withdrew and dipped his finger in the blood of the bullock which had been offered; and sprinkled it towards the mercy-seat seven times eastward. He then killed the goat for a sin-offering on account of the people, and sprinkled the mercy-seat with its blood; by which aspersions the tabernacle was purified from all the stain incurred by standing amongst a guilty people. The goat which had escaped was now brought to the high priest, when, laying his hands upon its head, he confessed both his own sins and those of the people, and immediately afterwards delivered up the *scape-goat* to a person appointed to take it and set it adrift in a desert place. These ceremonies being completed, the high priest thoroughly washed himself, and having put on the ephod, mitre, breast-plate, and the other priestly garments, offered a burnt-offering of a ram for himself, and another for the people. The assistants, together with the man who had carried away the *scape-goat*, were deemed unclean till they had bathed and washed themselves. On this same day, the high priest gave the solemn blessing prescribed by Moses, and pronounced the mysterious name of Jehovah. When he withdrew from the most holy place he walked backwards, keeping his face towards the mercy-seat, and bending towards the earth. All the rest of the day was occupied in prayers and self-denying services. The conclusion of the public solemnity was announced by sound of trumpet, when the people dressed themselves in clean or white linen and sat down to meat.

DISSERTATION V.

GEOGRAPHICAL AND TOPOGRAPHICAL ACCOUNT OF CANAAN, WITH A VIEW OF ITS EARLY POSSESSORS.

Various names.

Circumstances have contributed to affix a great variety of names to the country in which the Israelites settled. Its most ancient, and, perhaps, even still, its most frequent appellation, is that of *Canaan*, derived from the grandson of Noah, of that name, whose posterity were its inhabitants. *Palestine* is another title derived from the Philistines, when the Greeks and Romans called *Palestines*, who occupied that part of the land which bordered on the sea coasts. From the tribe of Judah, which was the most important of the twelve, who continued after the dispersion, and dwelt in the richest quarter, it obtained the epithet *Judæa*, after the period of the return from the Babylonish captivity. It has also been termed the *land of Israel*, obviously from that people having subdued it, and the *land of promise*, with reference to the remarkable pro-

mise of God to Abraham, which assigned this territory as in fee-simple, to the descendants of that illustrious patriarch. It has derived the most honourable appellation of the *Holy land*, from its having become, by the instituted worship of God, his peculiar dwelling; and from its having been subsequently distinguished by the residence, actions, miracles, sufferings, and final personal triumphs of the "holy child Jesus." Profane historians have blended it with the countries of Syria, Coelosyria, Phœnicia, and other contiguous places, as forming in their estimation an insignificant portion of them, and as it has been supposed, out of intentional contempt; but this, if it be indeed the fact, only evinces how ridiculous are the judgments, and how perverse the sentiments of mankind with regard to what is truly great and supremely honourable. The

History. mighty scenes which have been transacted within the limits of this country, are such as could derive no additional glory from any circumstances of an exterior nature, and would render even a barren wilderness, or a solitary rock of more real consideration than the most extensive region upon the page of history.

Boundaries. The northern boundary of this celebrated country was formed by the mountains of Antilibanus, or the province of Phœnicia; on the south was Idumæa, having on the line of separation also a ridge of mountains; on the east, the lake Asphaltites, the river Jordan, the sea of Tiberias, and the Samochonite lake; on the west, the Mediterranean sea. The extent has been variously computed, and if we reckon the utmost, it must appear comparatively small, when we recollect the descriptions we have of its population and natural opulence. These, however, are partly attributable to the care with which it was cultivated, and partly to the extraordinary blessing of Heaven upon its soil. It extends in length about two hundred miles, and from ten or fifteen, to eighty in breadth, the latter dimensions being at about the middle. Profane writers corroborate the Mosaic account of its fertility. Heecæus, an author of the time of Ptolemy I. mentions it as an excellent and fruitful province, well peopled. Pliny celebrates the course of the river Jordan, the palm trees, and other productions.* Some ancient writers, however, as Strabo, for instance, and some modern travellers, have expressed an opposite opinion, and even poured contempt upon this land as full of barren mountains and woods; but if this testimony may be considered as enhancing the almost miracle of its natural capacities to sustain a large population, it does not contradict the fact of its extraordinary fertility in particular places; and even some of the writers themselves, especially Jerome, while he descants upon its rocky character in general, and upon the frequency of the drought that prevails there, remarks also upon its productiveness. The Jewish legislator gives a detailed account of its fruits, and its oil, wine, and other produce; it is said to have exceeded all other countries. So rich was the soil, that it required no manure to force, or to sustain its vigour. The corn was both excellent in quality, and abundant in quantity. The plain of Jericho was remarkable for its palm trees, and for the balsam shrub held in so much repute among the Greeks and Romans, and several other nations. The grapes were large, and of a delicious flavour; and citrons, oranges, apples, and other trees were numerous. Honey was very plentiful. Trees of a large growth were numerous in all parts, as the cedar and the cypress, and fertile pasture-grounds overspread the plains and the banks of the Jordan. Great quantities of fish were found in the rivers and lakes.

Mountains. This country has been long eminent for several of its mountains, among which we may particularly specify the Libanus, or the Libanus and Antilibanus, situated on the northern side. The Libanus or Lebanon consists, in fact, of four ridges of mountains, rising one above another, of which the first and third are the most inhabitable and fertile; the last is exclusively cold, and covered with almost eternal snow. Libanus and Antilibanus are, in fact, two ridges; the former

name is applied to the western, the latter to the eastern. The mountains of Gilead and of the Moabites, Hermon and Arnon, are next in importance. Hermon is covered on its summit with a crown of snow: it was once celebrated for a temple much resorted to by the sons of superstition in ancient times; and Jerome reports that its snow was conveyed to Tyre and Sidon to be used in cooling liquors. Mount Tabor is possessed of singular beauty, and overspread with a perpetual verdure, rising in a conical form upon the northern side of the district of Ecdraclon, in the midst of an extensive plain, and in solitary grandeur. Josephus states its height to be thirty stadia or furlongs, having a plain of twenty-six stadia at the summit enclosed within a wall; but this elevation is disputed by modern travellers. Polybius mentions a city once built upon it; but it is rendered most famous by the circumstance of our Saviour's transfiguration, which has drawn multitudes of pilgrims to it in all ages. Its summit affords a splendid prospect of several celebrated hills and of the sea of Tiberias. Mount Carmel is situated on the coast, and extends eastward to the plain of Jezreel, and to Cæsarea on the south. A city has likewise been built upon it. The name it has obtained seems derived from its fertility, the word in Hebrew signifying the *vine of God*, and is generally used in Scripture to denote any very fruitful spot. As the residence of the prophet Elijah, who is believed to have dwelt in one of its caves, it has acquired celebrity among Jews and Christians. The narratives of the evangelical history have conferred a distinguished fame upon some other of the Judean mountains. Olivet, or the Mount of Olives, is situated within about a mile of Jerusalem, and is a ridge with three summits extending from north to south: from the central summit our Saviour ascended. The one towards the north is the most lofty, and is usually called the mount of Galilee; the other towards the south of the middle ridge is called the mount of Corruption or Offence, a name derived from Solomon having erected temples upon it to the Ammonitish and Moabitish gods, out of complaisance to his strange wives, and which the people justly regarded as a defilement. Mount Calvary or Golgotha, stood anciently within the walls of the metropolis, and was appropriated as the spot for the execution of criminals. Mount Moriah, on which the temple was built, stood in a south-eastern direction from Calvary, and is thought to have been the place where Abraham went to sacrifice Isaac, his beloved son. Mount Gibon was west of the city, and nearer Calvary. In this place Solomon was anointed king by the prophet Nathan and the high priest Zadock. Besides these were Ebal, Gerizzim, Sion, the mountains of the Desert in the south, the mountains of Ephraim and of the Philistines in the west, and the central cluster spoken of in Scripture as the mountains of Judæa.

The principal river of the Holy land is the *Jordan*, *River, &c.* the rest being scarcely worthy of such a term. The source of this river is to be found in the lake of Phiala, and it divides Judæa; its course is chiefly southward by west. After proceeding a few miles it runs through the Samochonite lake, then enters on the north side of the sea of Tiberias, and issues again near the city on the south side, and at length falls into the lake Asphaltites. It is deep, its waters turbid, and its general course is rapid. Formerly, it was said to be subject to

* Herod. ap. Joseph. cont. app. p. 1049. Pliny lib. 5. cap. 15, 15. Compare also Tacit. Hist. lib. 15, cap. 6. VOL. XX.

History. overflows about the time of the early harvest, or soon after Easter, owing probably to the rains and the melting of the snows; but the moderns affirm that this appearance has ceased. The plains on each side are in some places exceedingly beautiful; but from the sea of Tiberias, as far as the lake Asphaltites, or Dead sea, it is dry and barren, the heat being often intense. The other rivers or brooks are principally the Jarmuch, in the country of the Gergesenes, rising from the mountains of Gilead; Kinnoson, near Danasus, called also Abana; Pharpar, which flows from Mount Hermon; Kishon, which was in the tribes of Issachar and Zebulun; Arnon, originating in the mountains of Arnon, and running into the Dead sea; and Jabok, which falls into the Jordan. The deserts or wildernesses, seas, lakes, wells, and other geographical peculiarities alluded to in Scripture, and mentioned by modern travellers, we need not here specify, as the article CANAAN, in the Miscellaneous Division, will supply more detailed information.

Political changes.

At the period when the Israelites took possession of the land of Canaan, it was inhabited by several powerful nations, as the Amorites, the Perizzites, the Canaanites, the Hittites, the Hivites, the Jebusites, and the Girgashites. After the conquest it was divided by Joshua into twelve parts, corresponding with the twelve tribes of Israel, whose respective portions were determined by lot, with the exception of the tribe of Levi, which had no inheritance in the soil. The most remarkable change occurred, when the ten tribes were driven out and carried into captivity by the Assyrians. The Cushim came to possess their country, lived chiefly in the tribe of Ephraim and the half tribe of Manasseh. Judah continued in captivity seventy years; and the Greeks subsequently, of whom some were kings of Syria, reunited most of the country possessed by Israel to their crown, the tribe of Judah alone remaining after this dispersion.

To return to the Canaanitish nations. We propose furnishing the reader, under this division, with a very concise account of these and other tribes, who have been rendered conspicuous through some connection more remote or immediate with the Israelites, and the most important facts respecting whom we may here properly enough throw into the general stream of history.

§ 1. The Canaanites.

Origin.

The eleven sons of Canaan, the son of Ham, originated and impressed their names upon several nations or tribes, which, however obscure their history, have acquired a certain degree of importance from the circumstance before-mentioned of their coming in contact with the Israelites. These were the Hittites, the Jebusites, the Amarrites, the Girgashites, the Hivites, the Sidonians, the Arkites, the Sinites, the Arvadites, the Zemarites, and the Hamathites, of whom the five first inhabited the land of Canaan, which contained also the Perizzites, and what are properly termed the Canaanites. The many kings enumerated in the conquests of Joshua, belonged, doubtless, to one or other of these seven nations, besides, probably, others not particularly specified in that catalogue; all of whom are to be regarded not in the modern sense as comprehending the sovereignty of a large kingdom or empire, but rather of a city, town, or at most a petty district.

Within the territory of the seven nations, may, without hesitation, be assigned the residence of those whose names are recorded in the Abrahamic covenant, namely the Kenites, the Kenizzites, the Kadmmonites, the Hittites, the Perizzites, the Rephaimites, the Amorites, the Canaanites, the Girgashites, and the Jebusites.

Our information respecting the seven Canaanitish nations is extremely limited, amounting to little more than a knowledge of their origin.

The HITTITES were the descendants of Heth. (Ptolemy, lib. v. c. 16, 17. Joseph. Antiq. lib. xiv. c. 2.)

The JEBUSITES were so called from Jebus, the son of Canaan. They were of a warlike cast, and dwelt in Jerusalem and its vicinity till the time of David.

The AMORITES derived their name from Amorrhous, the fourth son of Canaan, and first peopled the mountains to the west of the Dead sea. They had, besides, establishments on the east of the same sea, between the brooks Jabbok and Arnon, from which fertile region they expelled the Ammonites and Moabites. During the sovereignty of Sihon and Og, Moses dispossessed them. The term *Amorite* is frequently used in the sacred writings; as synonymous with Canaanite. They were of a gigantic stature; and their territory was ultimately apportioned, in part (on this side Jordan) to the tribes of Judah, and in part (beyond Jordan) to the tribes of Reuben and Gad.

The GIRGASHITES, or GERGESITES, resided beyond the sea of Tiberias. The traces only of their name are discoverable in the town or city of Gergesa.

The HIVITES were descended from Hethum, a son of Canaan, and dwelt "from Hecurim unto Gaza," (Deut. ii. 23,) and were dispossessed by the Caphterim or Philistines. They also occupied Shechem, Gibeon, and other places. It is supposed by Bochart that Cadmus, who took a Phœnician colony into Greece, was a Hivite. The metamorphosis of the companions of Cadmus into serpents is founded on the meaning of the term *Hivite*, which, in the Phœnician language, signifies *serpent*.

The SIDONIANS, the inhabitants of Sidon, derived their name from Siden, the eldest son of Canaan, who founded their city. It is a place much celebrated for its trade and navigation. They worshipped Baal and Ashtaré.

Of the ARKITES we, in fact, know nothing worth recording. The same may be said of the ARVADITES.

The SINITES, so called from the eighth son of Canaan, resided near Arce, in Mount Libanus. Strabo refers to the fortress of Sinai. By Sinaiti the Arabic means the inhabitants of Tripolis, in Phœnicia.

The ZEMARITES descended from the tenth son of Canaan, who are believed to have inhabited Smyrna, a city of Phœnicia. The two Chaldee paraphrasers and Jerome say, they dwelt at Enches, in Syria.

The HAMATHITES originated in Hamath, a son of Canaan, and, according to Calmet, dwelt in the city of that name, on the river Orontes, in Syria. Josephus and others suppose Hamath to be the same with Epiphania.

The KENITES resided west of the Dead sea, and extended some distance into Arabia Petrea. In the time of Saul they were biroded with the Amalekites.

The KENIZZITES are supposed to have dwelt in the mountains south of Judæa.

The KADMOMITES lived beyond Jordan, east of

Isaiah Economy.

History. Phœnicia, about Mount Libanus. The Kadmonites were Iivites.

The PERIZITES, or PHERESY, were the ancient inhabitants of Palestine, blended with the Canaanites; but had no fixed habitation, as their name, significant of wandering or dispersion, imports. Some of them inhabited each side of Jordan, in the mountains and the plains. Solomon subdued the remains of the Canaanites and Perizites which the Israelites had not exterminated, and made them tributary.

The REPHAIMITES are believed to have descended from Rephah or Rapha. They are celebrated as giants. They are mentioned in the time of Abraham, as beyond Jordan, at Asheroth Karnaim. In Joshua's time some of their descendants were in the land of Canaan; and we afterwards hear of them at Gath, in the age of David. The valley of Rephaim, or Ginnai, is often mentioned in Scripture. In Greek it is called the valley of the Titans. It was near Jerusalem.

Government. All public business amongst these nations was transacted in popular assemblies, the kings universally consulting their people upon every important occasion. Of this we have several specimens in sacred history, which will be easily recollected. What were the particular laws of each petty district or sovereignty, cannot now be ascertained; but the kings, or rather chiefs, seem generally to have been independent of each other, unless at any time brought into a partial subjection by conquest or treaty.

Occupations and customs. The Canaanites residing on the sea-coast, to whom, as well as to the whole country, the terms Phœnicians and Phœnicia have been applied, were merchants; while those who inhabited the interior devoted themselves more exclusively to agricultural employments, the tillage of the land, and the rearing of cattle. They were, however, all united in the common cause when required to engage in military operations, and showed considerable skill in the use of arms, and of warlike chariots. They seem to have paid particular attention to the defence and fortification of their towns; a care naturally resulting from their liability to internal dissensions and external attacks.

Religion. During the early period of their political existence, and till the days of Abraham, they appear to have retained the true religion, of which we have a remarkable specimen in the brief account which the sacred historian furnishes of Melchisedek. That ruler, uniting, as was common in the patriarchal times, the princely and sacerdotal offices in his own person, is distinctly represented as "the priest of the most high God," which proves incontrovertibly the prevalence of the religion of Israel to some considerable extent among families, and perhaps tribes, now buried from view amidst the obscurities of history. It is pleasing to catch, even though it be only a momentary glimpse of such families or individuals who give birth to the interesting reflection, that as

Full many a gem of purest ray serene
The dark unfathomed caves of ocean bear,
Full many a flower is born to blush unseen,
And wastes its sweetness in the deep silent—

so, truth has in every age of the world found an asylum from the general pursuit of persecution in many a human being unknown to fame or to history, and shed a cheering illumination in many a dark and unexplored recess of the wilderness. After the period in question,

these nations degenerated, till they eventually incurred the displeasure of God to such a degree, as to induce the adoption of measures for their expulsion, and the transference of their country to the more favoured nation of Israel. The narrative of Moses alludes to their altars, images, and groves, the public tokens of their idolatry, which he commanded to be overthrown with a holy violence, while the people themselves were to be smitten, lest their superstition and crime should spread a pestilential influence around. They even sacrificed the fruit of their body to Moloch; and in their ordinary conduct rioted in all the excesses of uncleanness. Corrupt in doctrine, they were equally debased in character, and in abandoning the true religion, they parted with the sheet-anchor of their happiness and their safety, and became exposed to the dreadful storm of Almighty displeasure.

It has been before stated, that the Phœnicians were Canaanites by descent,* and we now add, that these people divided from each other in consequence of their multiplication at an early period; a part moved northward, and another part southward into Egypt, where, after creating a separate kingdom under Mizraim, they were torn to pieces, and finally dispersed by internal commotions.

History. The first principal event in the history of the Canaanites, seems to be the incursion of Chedorlaomer, king of Elam, into the vale of Siddim, who compelled them to pay tribute for twelve years; after which they revolted and became involved in another war, when Chedorlaomer again triumphed, and despoiled the country. In this conflict Lot was taken prisoner, and afterwards rescued by Abraham, as stated in the book of Genesis. After the period of the former transactions, Abraham was received among them with great courtesy, but a famine prevailing, he was compelled to retire into Egypt. He was, however, soon afterwards enabled to return, and found the Perizite in the land; the whole of which was now made over by a divine grant to the patriarch.

Prosperity, which has in all ages been the ruin of such myriads, spread, in a few years, its corrupting influence over the vale of Siddim, and by an extraordinary visitation of providence, its four cities, of which Sodom was the principal, were overturned, and the fire-smitten region converted into the lake Asphaltites, or Dead sea. Zoar, or the city of Bela, alone escaped. Excepting the treaty of Abraham with the Hittites, for a burial place, recorded in the 23d chapter of Genesis, nothing material occurred till the reign of Hamor, in Shechem, which was at the distance of a hundred and twenty-eight years. Having sold a plot of ground to Jacob, that prince's son availed himself of the intercourse that had been established, to cultivate an acquaintance with his daughter, Dinah, and to ruin her. Negotiations having been subsequently entered into, through the intervention of Hamor, with a view to the young transgressors being married together, Jacob adopted the singular stratagem of inducing the king, his son, and all the citizens to be circumcised, with the hope of obtaining intermarriages; the danger of which led the patriarch to attack them when suffering from the operation, who cut them off to a man.

The future circumstances of their history may be

* Hist. chap. 6.
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rapidly told. Upon the approach of Moses to the promised land, the Canaanites being joined by the Amalekites, attacked and repulsed the Israelites, who attempted to enter their land contrary to a divine injunction. About the same time, Sihon, king of the Amorites, invaded Moab and Ammon, and dispossessed them of their settlements on the other side Jordan, and the Dead sea. When Moses had a second time attained the south-eastern borders of Canaan, he was again attacked by Arad, who took many prisoners, but was at length utterly subdued. Sihon having rejected the application of Moses for a free passage, and even marched against him, was also wholly overthrown. Og, king of Bashan, the giant ruler of a large and wealthy district, upon endeavouring to stop Moses, lost his kingdom, which was transferred to Israel. Upon the entrance into the long promised land, the lives of Joshua and the Judges comprise the chief events of this period. Those who were vanquished and dispersed by Joshua, are supposed to have travelled towards Africa; and in their way are thought to have seized upon Lower Egypt, where they founded a monarchy of some continuance, but were at last driven into Africa. The history of the Canaanites is overspread with obscurity, from the time of the ruin of Jabin by Deborah and Barak; but it seems that they long continued in possession of certain portions of the country; for the Jebusites opposed David when he went to occupy the city of Jerusalem, which he assaulted and carried by storm. They were also attacked from other quarters, especially by the forces of Egypt, till in the reign of Solomon they were reduced to a state of absolute slavery. The Canaanites, properly so called, and comprised in the general name Phœnicians, continued to flourish on the sea coast, and acquired by their commerce and their ingenuity eminence among the nations.

§ II. The Moabites.

Origin.

Moab, the son of Lot, by an incestuous connection with his eldest daughter, was the father of the Moabites, who possessed a small tract of country called after them Moabitis, or the land of Moab, a part of Cælo-Syria, or as some assert, of Arabia. This people practised circumcision, and were under a monarchical government. Their chief occupation seems to have been the cultivating and grazing of the land. The Israelites were forbidden to seek their goods, and to intermarry with them to the tenth generation, although a friendship seems to have subsisted between the two nations.

Religion.

The Moabites were idolaters, as appears from the express testimony of Scripture, at least, after the time of Moses; previously they possessed the true religion, but corruptions gradually stole in, till they gained the entire ascendancy. They had two principal idols, Chemosh and Baal, or Baal-Peor, respecting which there exists a degree of uncertainty, some authors believing these to be only different names of the same god; but the contrary is the most probable. Peor was the name of a mountain, where the altars and groves of Baal were situated: the latter term signifies *lord*, and was the name of the sun. Vossius supposes Baal-Peor to have been the same with Bacchus, which seems countenanced by the fact of their worship being attended with obscene rites.

Jewish Economy.

Temples were erected to their idols in the cities, but they also sacrificed oxen and rams, and even human victims, in the open air, and on certain mountains appropriated to the performance of their religious ceremonies.

Enmity.

The Emims, a gigantic race, are considered as the original inhabitants of this territory, and were probably of the same origin with the Anakims and Rephaim, the descendants of Ham. At what precise period the Moabites disinherited these people, cannot be ascertained, but they became an easy prey after the incursions of Chedorlaomer. All their possessions, however, to the north of the River Arnon, were taken from them so early as the days of Moses, by Sihon, who totally vanquished the predecessor of Balak. This last prince was their ruler at the time when the Israelites encamped in their borders; and the Moabish king, whose jealousy and apprehensions were excited, instead of attempting, by conciliatory measures, to gain their friendship, or at least to secure their neutrality, endeavoured in the surest method he could imagine, to effect their destruction. The artifice he employed was indeed worthy of the baseness of his design, and bespoke the meanness of his character. He had recourse to the arts of necromancy and divination, offering Balaam, the most noted enchanter of the time, "the rewards of divination and the wages of unrighteousness;" and beseeching him to use his utmost art against the objects of his jealousy and aversion. "Come," said he, "I pray thee, curse me this people, for they are too mighty for me: peradventure I shall prevail, that we may smite them, and that I may drive them out of the land; for I wot, that be whom thou blessest, is blessed, and be whom thou cursest, is cursed."

It may serve to elucidate this request, to remark, that magic and divination were very extensively professed, and very generally credited in the remotest antiquity. Persons pretending to these occult sciences, were deemed capable of both inflicting and curing diseases, and of performing wonderful miracles by means of the subservient demons, with whom they were believed to have formed an association. It was supposed that they could produce earthquakes, destroy armies, and controul human destiny; in short, there is no excess of extravagance into which the superstition of mankind has not run, with regard to their mysterious agency; and in ancient times princes were accustomed to retain magicians about their persons, and generally to avail themselves of their incantations. The following is a form of curse which has been transmitted to us by Macrobius, and was made use of by the priest destined to the service, standing at the head of the army, and in the immediate presence of the principal officers. "Almighty father of gods and men, or if thou wouldst rather be addressed by the name of Jupiter, or if any other appellation be grateful to thine ear, pour out I conjure you upon this army the spirit of terror and dismay; deprive of the sight of their eyes all those who shall level their blows at us, our legions, or troops; spread darkness over our enemies, over their cities, over their fields, over their armies. Look upon them as a thing accursed; bring them under the hardest conditions that ever an enemy was constrained to undergo; as for me, to destruction I hereby devote them; my curse I pour upon them; and take this prince, these captains, this people to be witnesses of it."

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To a service of this kind, the confederated princes, Moab and Midian, invited Balaam, anxious to extirpate a powerful nation, brought into their vicinity, instead of being contented to strengthen their own defences against any violence or encroachment. The wizard received the messengers with the utmost courtesy, and after providing for them every accommodation, proposes to devote the night to mysterious consultation with the deity. A message from God, however, through some voice or vision, anticipated his inquiries by others respecting the deputation now lodged in his house, and by an interdiction against his purpose, on the most peremptory terms. Anxious to secure his wages, and, probably, to stimulate the applicants to more splendid offers, he makes a partial report, implying simply his disinclination to go. Upon this, a second embassy is dispatched, calculated to gratify his vanity by its splendour and his avarice by its unlimited offers. For a moment he refuses, and we cherish the hope that superior principles have gained the ascendancy; but, behold, while his words are specious, his actions are contradictory, for he tampers with temptation by receiving them into his house again, and giving them hopes of his obtaining a reversal of the decree. Balaam is now permitted to go—permitted in wrath; but in the folly and the wickedness of his spirit, he rises early to proceed on his journey, but is arrested in his course by a miraculous interference. The dumb ass speaks, and the mighty angel of a merciful, though insulted Providence, appears before him. With a heart, however, devoted to covetousness and vanity, he ventures, even after all, to proceed, and to use the emphatic language applied to Ephraim, he is “let alone.” But no sooner does the base enchanter sit down amongst his princely employers, than he confounds their expectations by an extorted declaration, that “he had no power at all to say anything.” After the festivity of the day, and the retirement of the night, Balaam is conducted to the high places of Baal, that he might see the utmost parts of the people, where aiding the superstition of the Moabish prince, instead of correcting it, he directs seven altars to be erected, and upon each a bullock and a ram to be sacrificed; thus endeavouring to sanction cursing and cruelty by the awful forms of religion. He directs Balak to stand by the sacrifice while he retires to a “high place” to watch for preternatural signs. It was here that “God met him,” and sent him back downcast, mortified, silent, crest-fallen, restless—to pronounce what he dared not refuse to do—a blessing instead of a curse. His enchantments were ineffectual—his artifices vain—his divination overturned—his ambition and avarice for ever blasted, and the eager and expectant monarch, with emotions more easily imagined than described, hears from his reluctant lips, “How shall I defy whom the Lord hath not defied? for from the tops of the rocks I see him, and from the tops of the hills I behold him; so the people shall dwell alone, and shall not be reckoned among the nations. Who can count the dust of Jacob, and the number of the fourth part of Israel?”

Balak, disappointed and mortified to the last degree, desires Balaam to proceed to another station, where the sacrifices are offered with the hope of changing the blessing into a curse. The impious wizard retires as before, but every foolish and wicked anticipation is in a

moment extinguished. “Rise up and hear, hearken unto me, &c.” Numb. xxiii. 18—24.

Jewish Economy.

We have entered at some length into this remarkable story, as not only forming the most striking incident in the history of Moab, but as being one of the most singular and instructing occurrences in the annals of the world.

The Moabites were the instruments of the second oppression of the Israelites, after their settlement in the promised land; for on the decease of Othniel, the chosen people having relapsed into idolatry, Eglon was raised up to inflict the proper punishment upon their apostasy. In conjunction with the Ammonites and Amalekites, he invaded Israel, and reduced it to subjection for eighteen years; from which they were only released by his assassination and the subsequent discomfiture of the Moabites by Ehud. At a later period, Saul carried on successful war against them, and afterwards David, being incited by a confederacy they had formed against him, defeated them in battle, put two-thirds of them to the sword, and reduced the rest to a tributary dependence and vassalage. They now became subject to Solomon and Rehoboam, till the revolt of the ten tribes, when they were tributaries to the Israelitish sovereigns, with inferior kings or chiefs of their own. Various petty wars were undertaken by them against the people whom they most disliked, and who had fastened the yoke upon their neck; and at certain periods they seem to have succeeded to a considerable extent, especially during the declension of the kingdom of Israel. The prophets mention several cities of the tribes of Reuben and Gad as in their possession, or the Ammonites their probable confederates. After the memorable overthrow of the army of Sennacherib, the Moabites frequently revolted, and were as frequently reduced, till they were finally subdued by Nebuchadnezzar, and ultimately merged in the greater empires.

§ III. The Ammonites.

The incestuous connection of Lot with his younger daughter originated the Ammonites, as a similar intercourse with the eldest had produced the Moabites. Ammonitis (for such was the name they impressed upon the district which they inhabited) was situated on the northern side of the land of Moab, and taken possession of by them, after expelling a gigantic race, called Zamzummim, who were the aboriginal inhabitants. Their government was kingly, and their occupations agricultural. They likewise practised circumscription. The conduct which Israel was required to observe with regard to them, resembled that which was commanded towards the Moabites. In both instances their prosperity was not to be molested, but they were not to be admitted into the congregation to the tenth generation.

Like the other surrounding nations, they were idolaters, and their chief gods were Chemosh, and Moloch who has passed under so many names. The Ammonites, it has been supposed, were worshippers of the sun.

We have just binned at their expulsion of the giants who first possessed the country which they peopled, and whose subjugation was doubtless facilitated by the conquests of Chedorlaomer. The date of these transactions is now lost in irremediable uncertainty; not so

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their overthrow in the days of Moses. Sihon, king of the Amorites, dispossessed and drove them to the more mountainous parts. They are known to have united with Eglou, and shared his successful achievements against the Israelites. About one hundred and fifty years afterwards they contended with the same people single handed, with the view of recovering, by a sudden incursion, their ancient territory, and succeeded so as to keep the people in subjection eighteen years. Three of the tribes, Judah, Benjamin, and Ephraim, were now sorely pressed by the victorious enemy. They applied to God, and, assembling at Mizpeh, sent an expostulatory message. The Moabitish king, however, persisted, after a second communication, in claiming the territory from which his countrymen had been driven, forgetting, as, too often conquerors do, their own original mode of obtaining an *untilled* possession. Conflict ensued, and the Ammonites lost twenty cities and their claim beyond the Jordan.

Another war was excited, and upon the same principles, in the days of Saul; at first with such success on the part of Nabash, king of Moab, that he besieged the city of Jabbeth and spread universal consternation on every side. The terror of the inhabitants only exasperated his cruelty, and he proposed, as the term of his desistance, that every individual should lose his right eye, and thus carry a stigma to his grave. They requested seven days to seek for a deliverer, which was granted, with the satisfaction on the part of the destroyer, of a conscious or fancied security. At the expiration of this short interval Saul attacked the camp, and not only overthrew, but literally slaughtered the enemy, and terminated the war. Hanun, the successor of Nabash, having foolishly and ungenerously provoked David (who had sent to condole with him for the loss of his father, and congratulate him on his accession to the throne), by treating his ambassadors as spies, shaving half their beards, and cutting away part of their dress, so as to disfigure and expose them, gave occasion to a war which, in its disastrous progress and calamitous end, brought entire ruin upon his kingdom. Hanun was slain, in the assault upon his capital, which being taken, the inhabitants were treated with marked severity, being led out to a kind of execution, horrible to name: they were harrowed, sawn asunder, hacked in pieces with axes, and passed through the brick-kilns. Other cities in his dominions which continued to resist, received a similar treatment.

Nothing further is heard of this people till the reign of Jehoshaphat, king of Judah, against whom they united with the Moabites and the inhabitants of Mount Seir. They afterwards became tributary to Uzziah, king of Judah, by right of conquest. In the next reign they rebelled, but were overthrown and compelled by Jotham to pay a large contribution.

Baalis was the last king of Ammon, who maintained a good understanding with Zedekiah, king of Jerusalem; but when destruction came upon him and his city, the Ammonites were so forward in their exultations as to incur a prophetic denunciation. Baalis, however, received the fugitive Jews into his protection, and sent one of them, named Ishmael, to go and slay Gedaliah, the Babylonian governor over the remnant of the Jews. This order he executed; but Baalis was soon attacked by the Babylonian general, who ravaged

the country, and carried him and his people into captivity. They are afterward mentioned as uniting with others to molest those who rebuilt the temple.

Living quietly under the great monarchies, they at length became important, and fought with Judas Maccabeus, but were repeatedly worsted, and fell a prey to the Jews. They are, however, afterwards mentioned in the second century of the Christian era, but at last are lost amongst the Arabians.

Jewish Economy.

§ IV. *The Midianites.*

The name of this people is derived from the fourth son of Abraham by Keturah, who was called Midian, and was sent, like his brethren, into the east, to be removed from Isaac. The Midianites were a numerous race of shepherds and merchants, and of roving habits. They are represented as very much addicted to splendour of dress, and they clothed their camels with gold chains or collars round the neck. From the extensive traffic which they carried on, and from what is reported of their acquaintance with letters, they are supposed to have had a competent knowledge of the arts of writing and arithmetic, and the sciences of geography, geometry, and astronomy.

Whatever might have been the original purity of Religion, their faith, such of them as lay contiguous to the Moabites evidently adopted their idolatrous creed and practices. They seem even to have surpassed that abominable people in their attempts to corrupt the Israelites during the period of the encampment in the plains of Moab: "And the Lord spake unto Moses, saying, vex the Midianites and smite them: for they vex you with their wives, wherewith they have beguiled you in the matter of Peor, and in the matter of Cozbi, the daughter of a prince of Midian, their sister, which was slain the day of the plague for Peor's sake." (Numb. xxv. 16—18.) Long after this northern district of Media, however, became sunk into the grossest depravity, the southern parts retained, excepting in the single article of circumcision, the true religion, of which we have a specimen in Jethro, who is styled the priest of Midian. Their government was monarchical.

The principal facts of their history are the following:—History. ing: The Midianites were in the earliest times blended with the Ishmaelites, and long afterwards with their posterity; and they were also amalgamated in so considerable a degree with the Moabites, that the Jewish legislator and historian almost viewed them as one. They were both united by the ties of consanguinity and the feeling of hatred to Israel. The Midianites were smitten in the Moabitish plains, in a conflict with Hadad the Horite. Mention is made of them as among the merchants who bargained for Joseph and took him away into Egypt. We have just alluded to Jethro, the Kenite, who dwelt among them in the south as their priest, and to whom Moses became allied by marrying Zipporah, his daughter, who also resided in his family till the period of his being miraculously called to be the deliverer of Israel. After the splendid successes of Moses in rousing the chosen people of God from the Egyptian bondage, Jethro went with his family to meet him in the wilderness, and was induced to join the party of his son-in-law and adopt his faith. He also very much contributed by his wise advice to facilitate the administration of Moses in civil concerns.

History.

The descendants of Jethro are introduced in the Scripture narrative at a subsequent period, as uniting, under the name of Kenites, with the children of Judah in their march from Jericho into the wilderness of Judah (Judg. i. 16.); and upon the capture of Hebron, they were rewarded with a considerable possession. Heber, who killed Sisera, and thus put the finishing hand to the victory of Deborah and Barak, belonged to this family, in consideration of which they were separated by Saul from the Amalekites, whom he was commanded utterly to extirpate. At length they were carried into captivity, with the ten tribes of Israel, by the Assyrians.

It has been stated that the Midianites residing among the Moabites, or close upon their borders, inherited their spirit, and joined Balak in the consultation of Balaam. Their conduct brought an attack upon them from a detachment of Israelitish troops, amounting to 12,000, and their defeat was signalized by the destruction of their cities and fortifications, the dispersion of their cattle, the captivity of their women, and the removal of their riches in gold, silver, iron, and other metals, which fell to the conquering foe. This, however, was only a branch of the nation; and a century and a-half afterwards we find them re-appearing with two kings, Zebah and Zalmunna, at their head, and warring against Israel in conjunction with the Amalekites and Arabians. Their success was great, and they hesitated not to profit by it to devastate the country during seven successive years (about a.c. 1245), and drive the Israelites into the mountains. In this critical emergency Gideon was raised up, and gave the final blow to their power, and slew the two hostile chiefs with his own hand. Notwithstanding this apparent annihilation of them a second time, they are spoken of at a distant period as industrious and opulent; but in the first century of the Christian era, they became entirely blotted with the Arabians.

§ V. The Edomites.

Origin.

The story of the twin brothers, Esau and Jacob, the sons of the patriarch Isaac, by Rebekah, is sufficiently familiar to every reader of the inspired records, and having been adverted to in a preceding part of our History, need not be repeated in this place. Esau was the father of the Edomites. After several vicissitudes and removals, at the age of a hundred and twenty years, he settled in the country of Seir, married, and adopted suitable measures for the permanent and peaceful residence of his posterity. The original inhabitants were the Horites, who were under the government of certain chieftains, known by the appellation of dukes, to whom the sovereignty descended by hereditary succession. The government of the Edomites was at first of a similar nature, but afterwards became monarchical. There is some evidence of their having acquired an early proficiency in astronomy and other sciences, as well as arts. They appear at first to have been a warlike people, and addicted to commerce; but their subsequent degeneracy may justify the representation of Josephus, who describes them as a race of robbers and incendiaries. Little, however, can be learned respecting them with any certainty. In point of religion they soon became idolaters, although the knowledge of the true God descended in the family, in consequence of its connection with Isaac. Circumcision, the distinguishing criterion of an Is-

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habits.

Religion.

raelite, was discontinued at no distant period from their origin; but they were eventually incorporated with the Jews by Hyrcanus, and of course re-adopted their religion.

Jewish
Economy.

History.

Esau, the progenitor of the people in question, is said to have settled under one of the Horite kings, and assumed no higher distinction than the ordinary one of patriarch of his own family. But as a change occurred in the Horite form of government, by its being divided into petty districts and sovereignties, or dukedoms, it seems most probable, without being absolutely certain, that the numbers and opulence of the descendants of Esau, enabling them to acquire a predominant influence, and, perhaps, inducing them to foment the divisions which took place, they rose into a more extended power, and became lords of one part of the country, which, henceforward, took their name. In process of time, the seven dukes who retained possession of the land of Seir, seem to have lost their dominion, by the superior power of the Edomites, who also expelled the Amalekites and became sole rulers. When the Israelites went into the wilderness, there were eleven dukes of Edom, who united under one king, for the purpose of more effectually defending themselves against the attacks to which they erroneously believed themselves exposed from Moses, who had, however, received an interdiction on this head from God himself. The king of Edom so far yielded to the suggestions of fear and jealousy, that when the Israelitish leader sent messengers to him to request a passage through his country, although he pleaded that they were brethren, and adverted to the marvellous guidance under which they were, as a nation, placed, yet positively refused the application, and warned them, in case of making the attempt, of the decisive hostility they were to expect. But although he marched his troops and assumed an attitude of defiance, he at length so far regarded their solicitations, or his own doubts, as to furnish them with what supplies his country afforded, upon payment being made.

The Edomites are henceforth buried in the obscurities of history, till the time of David, excepting that we have evidence of their extending their dominions and engaging considerably in mercantile transactions. After his victorious progress against the Syrians, Moabites, and Ammonites, David advanced against Idumea: eighteen thousand of them were destroyed in the valley of Salt, and the rest were either compelled to retire into distant countries, or to submit to the yoke of subjection. Many fled to the Philistines, whose strength they materially assisted. Hadad, their young king, was courteously received by Pharaoh, who gave him the queen's sister in marriage; but a state of dependence did not accord with his lofty spirit, and he plotted for an opportunity to recover his lost inheritance. Having, after some difficulty, persuaded the king of Egypt, he was allowed to return to Idumea, and made several vain efforts to regain his dominions; but as the royal family of Syria afterwards bore his name, it is thought that he established himself in that country. The kingdom of Edom continued, till the reign of Jehoshaphat, to be governed by the viceroys of the kings of Judah. They united with the Moabites and Ammonites in an attempt to surprise that monarch, but suffered immensely from the confusion which arose, when the two chief parties in this conspiracy fell upon

History. each other. In the reign of Jehoram, however, the Edomites assassinated the Jewish viceroy, and placed a ruler of their own choice in his situation. Jehoram marched against them, and was surrounded; but they were ultimately defeated, with great slaughter, and forced back into their entrenchments. Still they succeeded in their main purpose, and shook off the galling yoke of servitude; but we have no information either of their leader on this occasion, or of his successors. They suffered a disastrous defeat afterwards from Amaziah, the king of Judah, who slew ten thousand in the valley of Salt, and took an equal number of prisoners, and threw them down the precipices in the vicinity of Srah, their capital, which he carried by storm. The Edomites also engaged in an unsuccessful war with the Moabites, and became subject to the king of Babylon. At the period when the Jews were carried captive into that country, the malignant detestation of the Edomites was evinced in destroying such of them as attempted to escape, and in burning the remains of the temple. They would, had they been able, have levelled the entire city with the ground; and they slaughtered all the Israelites who unfortunately fell into their hands, uttering the most violent blasphemy against the God of Israel. The prophets were commissioned to retaliate upon this impiety, by predicting the desolation of their land, and the returning prosperity of that of their enemies. Soon afterwards they accordingly became dispersed, in consequence of the prevalence of intestine commotions; a considerable part of them settling in Judaea, while the remainder were amalgamated with the Nabatians. The name of Idumea was henceforth applied only to that part of the land which the refugees occupied, the lot of Simeon and Judah, the ancient kingdom now losing its distinctive appellation. After the time of Alexander they were under the dominion of the Seleucids, when their ancient and deep-rooted antipathy inducing them to war against the Jews, under the conduct of Gorgias, their city was at length taken and sacked by Judas Maccabeus, who also reduced their strong holds, cut off 20,000 in various assaults, and penned up a residue of 9,000 in two strong towers. From hence many escaped, by means of bribery; but this was at length detected by the general, and the castles forced. Their subsequent history is not very distinctly traceable. Their discontent and restlessness engaged them in numerous broils, till they were vanquished by Hyrcanus, who required them either to quit the country altogether, or embrace the Jewish religion. They chose the latter alternative, and submitted to circumcision.

§ VI. The Amalekites.

Origin, &c. The name of this people, as is obvious, is derived from Amalek, who was the son of Eliphaz, son of Isaac, by Timna, his concubine. The Arabians, however, deduce his genealogy much higher, and affirm, that in ancient times, the Amalekites possessed the country round Mecca, from which they were expelled by the Jorhamite king. Amalek was reckoned among the Edomite dukes, and succeeded Gatsam. Of their early separation from the family of Edom, we had no account; of their form of government all we can gather is, that they were under kings; and of their religion, we are guided, chiefly by probable conjecture, in assigning

to them the same idolatries which the Edomites practised, and an entire departure from the religion of their remote patriarchal ancestor.

Jewish Economy. The Amalekites, after being expelled by the Edomites, seized upon the country, which, after them, was called Amalekites, and seem to have made a remarkably rapid progress to the heights of power and splendour. They are well-known in the Sacred History, as the early and malignant enemies of the children of Israel, in the wilderness. They attacked the rear of the Israelitish army in its march from Rephidim to Mount Horeb, but though they had some temporary success, were ultimately defeated with great loss. They were afterwards engaged conjointly with the Canaanites in the attack upon Israel, which was a providential punishment for the disobedience of the chosen nation, in attempting to penetrate into the promised land, in violation of an express injunction from Heaven. They united against the Israelites with Eglon, the king of Moab, and the Ammonites, and afterwards with the Midianites, and in fact used their utmost efforts to exterminate that people, against whom they cherished such an inveterate and unconquerable hostility, but who were destined to so wonderful a triumph and establishment.

History now passes over in silence the story of their proceedings, till the age of Saul, who, contrary to the divine command, spared their comely, though tyrannic monarch, in a general massacre of his subjects. Samuel, however, bewed Agag, the name of this king, in pieces before the Lord. The feeble remains of the Amalekite army returning to their country, lived in peace till David obtained Ziklag for a refuge from his persecuting sovereign, and slaughtered them once more. Exasperated against their victorious neighbour, and foe, they made a descent upon Ziklag, and consumed it, carrying off the women, and the inhabitants. David, upon his return, hastened after them, and overtaking them in an hour of festivity, while celebrating their recent success, cut them off; four hundred only escaping upon the swift-footed dromedary. The finishing blow was given them in the days of Hezekiah, by the Simeonites, who took possession of their country.

§ VII. The Philistines.

The origin of this extraordinary people is to be traced to Mizraim, the son of Ham, the son of Noah, in the two branches of the Cushim and the Caphtorim. In the book of Deuteronomy they are mentioned by Moses as having expelled the Avites, even to Azzah or Gaza, where they settled.

Their most ancient form of government was monarchical, their kings being distinguished by the common appellation of Abimelech; but so early as the time of Moses, the government became aristocratic under five lords, who, though acting in concert, appear to have been in a degree independent of each other. They were afterwards again under the dominion of kings, but in what manner this second change was accomplished, cannot now be ascertained. These kings received the common appellation of Achish, as well as Abimelech, residing at first at Gath, afterwards at Ascalon, and finally at Gaza. This nation differed from the Israelites in regard to circumcision, and hence often incurred from them contemptuous epithets. Like the other nations, they gradually relapsed into gross

History. idolatry, and corruption of morals. Although they occupied a considerable inheritance in the promised land, they were never expelled, because they were not natives, but Egyptians, and to the former class only did the denunciations of expulsion refer. They were a warlike and an ambitious people, and so inveterately attached to their idolatrous worship, and so hostile to the Israelites, that the successes of their enemies did not dishearten or convert them. In consequence of the accession they received from the influx of the Edomites fugitives in the time of David, before mentioned, they rose to great distinction, and acquired a high repute as merchants. They are said also to have been an ingenious people, and to them is ascribed the invention of the bow and arrow.

Religion. That they were uncircumcised has been just stated; but during the period of their first kings, they practised the Jewish rites: afterwards their idolatries were numerous. Each of their five cities is represented as having an idol of its own. At Gaza, Marna or Marnas was worshipped, which is said to have become afterward the Cretan Jupiter. Dagon was adored at Asdod, and he was their principle and most honoured divinity; to him was ascribed the invention of agriculture. Baalzebub was the god of Ekron. Derceton is believed, upon the authority of profane history, to have been the goddess of Ascalon; and, perhaps, Ashtaroth, or Astarte, of Gath. Their temples were large and spacious, and their religious services attended with great pomp. It was common to carry their gods about with them to the wars in which they were engaged, and to present them with the principal part of the spoils.

History. The Philistines came originally from Egypt, but at what period is not certain; and having dispossessed the Avites, or Avims, occupied a fertile and pleasant district. Their king, Abimelech, in the time of Abraham, had some transactions with that patriarch, particularly with reference to Sarah, which are related in the Scripture book of Genesis. The son of Abimelech, who retained his father's name, dwelt also at Gerar, and like his father, was an excellent and conscientious prince. He had also transactions with Isaac, with reference to his wife Rebekah, of a nature very similar to those of his paternal predecessor with Abraham, and which tend to show the high honour, hospitality, and ebullency that prevailed among that people. Isaac afterwards having been exposed to some vexatious contentions and removals, was visited by Abimelech, in company with Abuzzath, and Phicol, the captain of his host, with a view of entering into a covenant of friendship, which was accordingly ratified, upon the simple condition of Isaac and his posterity using the Philistines and their posterity, in the same manner as Abimelech and his people had used the patriarch and his family.

Little or nothing is now heard during a long succession of years; but the form of the Philistine government seems to have undergone a change, and they cherished a decided and extreme aversion against the Israelites. After the death of Joshua, the tribes of Simeon and Judah captured the three principal places of Gaza, Ascalon, and Ekron, but they were soon repossessed of them, whether by treaty or seizure is unknown. Three hundred and twenty years after this period, we find the Israelites were in subjection to the Philistines, till they were released by the heroism of Shamgar. In the time of Jephthah, they again op-

Jewish Economy. pressed Israel, in conjunction with the Ammonites. A similar superiority was obtained during forty years, when Samson arose, and broke, by repeated victories, the yoke of servitude; when, at length, he pulled down the pillars of the house in which the Philistine lords were assembled, involving at one blow himself and them in destruction. The Israelites availed themselves of the consternation which was necessarily produced in the country, and marched immediately to Ebenezer, while the Philistines prepared for the anticipated conflict, by encamping at Aphek. On this occasion the Israelites were worsted, and 4,000 slain. The ark of God was conveyed to the Israelitish camp, which occasioned the chosen people great joy; but, in a second encounter, 30,000 Israelites were slain, the ark taken, and the two priests, Hophni and Phineas, the sons of Eli, slain. Carrying the ark in triumph to Ashdod, they placed it in the temple of Dagon, their chief idol; but Dagon fell before it, and after being replaced, fell again, with his head, hands, and feet broken off. As these happened to lie upon the threshold, their priests avoided ever afterwards treading on the threshold. The country of the Philistines was now smitten with a terrible plague, and they resolved to detain the ark no longer, justly attributing this calamity to its continuance among them. They resolved, therefore, on its removal to Gath, where similar visitations of Providence afflicted the people; upon which it was sent to Ekron, whose inhabitants exclaimed that it was sent to destroy them. They accordingly consulted the lords of the Philistines with regard to the proper measures to be adopted for restoring the ark to its place. The ark was then sent into the country, where the fields were, in consequence, overrun with mice; and thus finding, that wherever it abode the country was visited with instant calamity, they followed the advice of their priests and divines, and dismissed it to the original possessors.

Some years afterwards, when the Israelites assembled at Mizpeh, suspecting that the intention was to free themselves from bondage, the Philistines marched towards them, and the terrified Israelites applied to Samuel to intercede with heaven on their behalf. A storm of thunder and lightning dispersed the Philistine army at the moment of their intended attack upon their enemies, of which Israel taking advantage, overthrew and pursued them with tremendous slaughter, and for a time broke the detested yoke of subjection. The Philistines, however, soon recovered themselves, and even attained to a greater power than before: they assembled a large force to fight with Jonathan, the son of Saul, who had surprised Gaba, one of their fortresses, and ravaged the country from Michmash; but Jonathan, accompanied only with his armour-bearer, slew a number at their out-post, and Saul, availing himself of the confusion, discomfited and pursued them even to Ajalon. In a few years they renewed the conflict, by pitching their hostile tents on a mountain opposite to one where the Israelites were encamped. It was on this occasion the memorable encounter took place between David and the gigantic Goliath, at whose fall the Philistines fled in consternation, and were pursued with great slaughter to the gates of Gath and Ekron. They were afterwards again vanquished by David, when a considerable change was made in their government, the rule of the lords being

History merged into the more extended authority of a king. When David fled from Saul he was brought before this sovereign, whose name was Achish, but who dismissed him as insane; and afterwards the Philistines prevented Saul from seizing his persecuted subject, in the wilderness of Maon, but they again retreated before Saul. At length they received David and his family into protection, assigning him a residence at Ziklag, and the Philistines deemed it better to suspend their resentments than hazard his return. But when Achish took him in his train against Saul, and promised him distinction in his service, the Philistine lords were offended, and insisted upon his dismissal. David accordingly returned to Ziklag, while Achish advanced against Saul with his Philistine army. A battle was fought in Mount Gilboa, in which Israel was completely defeated, and Saul and Jonathan slain, the former by his own weapon. The triumphant foe cut off Saul's head on the following day, and stripped him of his armour, which they dedicated in the temple of Ashtaroth. David was now crowned king in Hebron; but though the Philistines remained quiet during his contest with Ishboeth, a son of Saul, they renewed their hostilities when they found that all Israel and Judah yielded to his sceptre. They were, however, most completely defeated, with the loss of their baggage and gods. To redeem the latter they again marched to battle, but were again defeated, and pursued with great slaughter to Gaza. Soon after this they were invaded by David, who captured Metheg-Annah. To a considerable period of quiet at length

succeeded another war with Israel, and in four different conflicts their gigantic leaders were slain, their strength exhausted, their spirits broken, and they now became tributaries to David. The Jewish Economy.

Several years after these transactions (n. c. 953), the Philistines were besieged in Gibeon by Nadab, the Israelitish king, and the same city was again invested afterwards by Elah, king of Israel, to whom it was considered as belonging, though the Philistines seized and kept it notwithstanding repeated efforts to regain possession. Though the Philistines courted the favour of Jehoshaphat, by paying him a voluntary tribute, they raised the standard of revolt against Jehoram, his son, rified his palace, nearly annihilated his family, and secured a multitude of captives. They were at length, however, invaded by Uziah, king of Judah, who dismantled some of their chief cities, and huilt others in their subjugated territory to overawe them. But in the reign of Ahaz they resumed their arms, and obtained a signal success, reducing a number of cities, and adding a considerable part of Judah to their territory. Soon afterwards Hezekiah abundantly retaliated, and overran all their country. They were also attacked by the Assyrians, Ashdod their chief city taken, and the country converted into the seat of war between the Egyptians and Assyrians. Henceforward they became tributaries to the superior powers. The Egyptians seized Gaza and a large portion of their territory, and in the end they were, according to prophetic intimations, utterly annihilated.

DISSERTATION VI.

THE JEWISH SYNAGOGUES.

It is the opinion of Spencer, Vitrina, Reland, and of the learned in general, that the institution of synagogues for worship originated in the reading of the law publicly after the collection of its volumes by Ezra, and that consequently there were no such places of solemn assembly previous to the Babylonish captivity. Some of the Jews themselves have expressed a conviction that this is the fact, and the Scriptures give no intimation of their existence antecedent to that time. Aware at length of the great importance of such a measure, and perceiving that many of their calamities arose from the transgressions of the people, which often resulted from their ignorance of the sacred code, it was adopted as a rule that a synagogue should be erected in every place where ten persons of sufficient age and leisure could be found to attend. This was the number which they deemed requisite to constitute a congregation, and to no fewer was the law to be publicly read. These synagogues were eventually multiplied to a great extent, so that one or more was to be found in every town of Judea.

It has been justly observed, that there was this remarkable difference between the tabernacle or temple, and the synagogues which were erected in succeeding times: in the latter God was merely worshipped; in

the temple he was not only worshipped, but resided in an extraordinary manner.

The services of the synagogue were orderly and impressive. Of these the prayers formed an essential part; and these are prescribed in their liturgies. Originally they were few in number, but devotion perhaps at first, and superstition afterwards, contributed to increase them, till at length formality and tediousness were the principal concomitants of their worship. The Shemoneh Eshreh, or eighteen prayers, said to have been introduced by Ezra and the great synagogue, are considered as the most solemn part of their devotional service. To these a nineteenth was added in a latter age, with a particular view to Christians whom it is intended to designate and denounce. Prideaux has given a translation of these prayers, which we shall insert as an interesting piece of antiquity.

"1. Blessed be thou O Lord our God, the God of our fathers, the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, the God of Jacob, the Great God, powerful and tremendous, the High God, bountifully dispensing benefits, the Creator and Possessor of the Universe, who rememberest the good deeds of our fathers, and in thy

* Outram de Sacrificiis, cap. lii.

History. Iove sendest a Redeemer to those, who are descended from them, for thy name sake, O King, our Helper, our Saviour, and our Shield. Blessed art thou O Lord who art the Shield of Abraham.

" 2. Thou O Lord art powerful for ever. Thou raisest the dead to life, and art mighty to save, thou sendest down the dew, stillest the winds, and makest the rain to come down upon the earth, and sustainest with thy beneficence all that live therein; and of thy abundant mercy makest the dead again to live. Thou lookest up those that fall; thou curest the sick; thou lookest them that are bound, and makest good thy word of truth to those that sleep in the dust. Who is to be compared to thee O thou Lord of might? and who is like unto thee O our King, who killest and makest alive; and makest salvation to spring up as the herb out of the field; Thou art faithful to make the dead to rise again to life. Blessed art thou O Lord, who raisest the dead again to life.

" 3. Thou art holy, and thy name is holy, and thy saints do praise thee every day, Selah. For a great King and an Holy art thou O God. Blessed art thou O Lord God most Holy.

" 4. Thou of thy mercy givest knowledge unto men, and teachest them understanding; give graciously unto us knowledge, wisdom, and understanding. Blessed art thou O Lord, who graciously givest knowledge unto men.

" 5. Bring us back O our Father to the observance of thy law, and make us to adhere to thy precepts; and do thou O our King draw us near to thy worship, and convert us unto thee by perfect repentance in thy presence. Blessed art thou O Lord, who vouchsafest to receive us by repentance.

" 6. Be thou merciful unto us, O our Father, for we have sinned; pardon us O our King, for we have transgressed against thee. For thou art a God, good and ready to pardon. Blessed art thou O Lord most gracious, who multiplieth thy mercies in the forgiveness of sins.

" 7. Look we beseech thee upon our afflictions. Be thou on our side in all our contentions, and plead thou our cause in all our litigations; and make haste to redeem us with a perfect redemption for thy name's sake. For thou art our God, our King, and a strong Redeemer. Blessed art thou O Lord the Redeemer of Israel.

" 8. Heal us O Lord our God, and we shall be healed. Save us, and we shall be saved. For thou art our praise. Bring unto us sound health, and a perfect remedy for all our infirmities, and for all our griefs, and for all our wounds. For thou art a God who healest and art merciful. Blessed art thou O Lord our God, who curest the diseases of thy people Israel.

" 9. Bless us O Lord our God in every work of our hands, and bless unto us the seasons of the year, and give us the dew and the rain to be a blessing unto us upon the face of all our land, and satiate the world with thy blessings, and send down moisture upon every part of the earth that is habitable. Blessed art thou O Lord, who givest thy blessing to the years.

" 10. Convoke us together by the sound of the great trumpet, to the enjoyment of our liberty, and lift up thy ensign to call together all of the captivity, from the four quarters of the earth into our own land.

Blessed art thou O Lord, who gatherest together the exiles of the people of Israel.

" 11. Restore unto us our Judges as at the first, and our counsellors as at the beginning, and remove far from us affliction and trouble, and do thou only reign over us in benignity, and in mercy, and in righteousness, and in justice. Blessed art thou O Lord our King, who lovest righteousness and justice.

" 12. Let there be no hope to them who apostatize from the true religion; and let heretics, how many soever they be, all perish as in a moment. And let the kingdom of pride be speedily rooted out, and broken in our days. Blessed art thou O Lord our God, who destroyest the wicked, and bringest down the proud.

" 13. Upon the pious and the just, and upon the proselytes of justice, and upon the remnant of thy people of the house of Israel, let thy mercies be moved O Lord our God, and give a good reward unto all, who faithfully put their trust in thy name, and grant us our portion with them, and for ever let us not be ashamed. For we put our trust in thee. Blessed art thou O Lord, who art the support and confidence of the just.

" 14. Dwell thou in the midst of Jerusalem thy city, as thou hast promised, build it with a building to last for ever, and do this speedily even in our days. Blessed art thou O Lord, who buildest Jerusalem.

" 15. Make the offspring of David thy servant speedily to grow up, and flourish, and let our horn be exalted in thy salvation. For we hope for thy salvation every day. Blessed art thou O Lord, who makest the horn of our salvation to flourish.

" 16. Hear our voice, O Lord our God, most merciful Father, pardon and have mercy upon us, and accept of our prayers, with mercy and favour, and send us not away empty from thy presence O our King. For thou hearest with mercy the prayer of thy people Israel. Blessed art thou O Lord, who hearest prayer.

" 17. Be thou well pleased O Lord our God with thy people Israel, and have regard unto their prayers: restore thy worship to the inner part of thy house, and make haste with favour and love to accept of the burnt sacrifices of Israel, and their prayers; and let the worship of Israel thy people be continually well pleasing unto thee. Blessed art thou O Lord, who restorest thy divine presence to Zion.

" 18. We will give thanks unto thee with praise. For thou art the Lord our God, the God of our fathers for ever and ever. Thou art our Rock, and the Rock of our life, the shield of our salvation. To all generations will we give thanks unto thee, and declare thy praise, because of our life, which is always in thy hands, and because of our souls, which are ever depending upon thee, and because of thy signs, which are every day with us, and because of thy wonders, and marvellous loving-kindnesses, which are morning and evening and night continually before us. Thou art good, for thy mercies are not consumed; thou art merciful, for thy loving-kindnesses fail not. For ever we hope in thee. And for all these mercies be thy name, O King, blessed and exalted and lifted up on high for ever and ever; and let all that live give thanks unto thee. Selah. And let them in truth and sincerity praise thy name O God of our salvation, and our help.

History.

Selah. Blessed art thou O Lord, whose name is good, and whom it is fitting always to give thanks unto.

"19. Give peace, beneficence, and benediction, grace, benignity, and mercy unto us, and to Israel thy people. Bless us O our father, even all of us together as one man, with the light of thy countenance. For in the light of thy countenance hast thou given unto us, O Lord our God, the law of life, and love, and benignity, and righteousness, and blessing, and mercy, and life, and peace. And let it seem good in thine eyes to bless thy people Israel with thy peace at all times, and in every moment. Blessed art thou O Lord, who blestest thy people Israel with peace. Amen."

The preceding petitions were directed to be offered by every person of age, of either sex, and of every condition in life, in the morning, afternoon, and evening of every day, either in public or private. They were, and still are, indeed, considered only as the basis of prayer in general; not intended to supersede, but rather to regulate the drift of other petitions which the worshipper might think proper to superadd, and which occasioned, in process of time, so great an accumulation as to render the synagogue services wearisome in the extreme. Long and formal prayers can never atone for the absence of a genuine ardent feeling.

Reading the Scriptures.

Another important part of the worship consisted in the solemn reading of the Scriptures. Portions of the law and the prophets were regularly selected for this purpose, and publicly pronounced for the instruction of the people. What is called the Kiriath Shema formed also a part of the public reading; that is to say, three portions of Scripture were selected. The first from the commencement of the fourth verse of the sixth chapter of Deuteronomy, to the conclusion of the ninth verse; the second from the beginning of the thirteenth verse of the eleventh chapter of Deuteronomy, to the close of the twenty-first verse; and the third from the beginning of the thirty-seventh verse of the fifteenth chapter of Numbers to the end of the chapter. This reading is accompanied with prayers and benedictions, and is regarded as next in importance and solemnity to the nineteen prayers already cited. It is to be practised twice every day, or morning and evening, by the males of free condition; women and servants being exempted from all obligation to this duty.

Exposition.

In addition to the exercises of devotion, the word of God was publicly expounded in the synagogues, and the people addressed them in set and serious discourses. Exposition was particularly attended to at the time when the Scriptures were read; and preaching, after the reading of the law and the prophets was concluded. The posture assumed during the reading of the Scriptures was that of standing, it being deemed most reverential: in discoursing from the suggestions of their own minds they sat.

Time of service.

The synagogues were regularly opened for public service three days in a week, besides on the fasts and festivals, and three times on the appointed days, that is, morning, noon, and night. Monday, Thursday, and Saturday were the days in question; the last of which was the Sabbath. They affirm the following reason for this appropriation of time: that as the Israelites were in great distress on travelling three days in the wilderness without a supply of water, they ought not to remain during three successive days without the hear-

ing of the law, which they consider to be prefigured by water. The manner of attending to this part of the service is thus described by Frédeux:

Jewish Economy.

"The whole law, or five books of Moses, being divided into as many sections or lessons as there are weeks in their year (as hath been before shown), on Monday they began with that which was proper for that week, and read it half way through, and on Thursday proceeded to read the remainder; and on Saturday, which was their solemn Sabbath, they did read all over again, from the beginning to the end of the said lesson or section; and this both morning and evening. On the week days they did read it only in the morning, but on the Sabbath they did read it in the evening as well as in the morning, for the sake of labourers and artificers, who could not leave their work to attend the synagogues on the week days, that so all might hear twice every week the whole section or lesson of that week read unto them. And when the reading of the Prophets was added to that of the law, they observed the same order in it. As the synagogue service was to be on three days every week for the sake of their hearing the law; so it was to be thrice on those days for the sake of their prayers. For it was a constant rule among them, that all were to pray unto God three times every day, that is, in the morning at the time of the morning sacrifice, and in the evening at the time of the evening sacrifice, and at the beginning of the night, because till then the evening sacrifice was still left burning upon the altar. It is certain that it was anciently among God's people the steady practice of good and religious persons to offer up their prayers to God thrice every day. This we find David, and this we find Daniel did. For the former says (Psalm, liv. 17) 'Evening, morning, and at noon will I pray.' And the latter tells us, that notwithstanding the king's decree to the contrary, 'he kneeled upon his knees three times a day, and prayed, and gave thanks unto his God, as he did aforetime.' By which it is plainly implied, that he did not only at that time thus pray, but that it was always his constant custom so to do. They having had no synagogues till after the Babylonish captivity, till then they had not any set forms of their prayers, neither had they any solemn assemblies for their praying to God at all, except at the temple only. That was always the house of prayer, so Jewish, and so from him our Saviour calls it, and to this use Solomon consecrated it, and there the times of prayer were fixed to the times of the morning and evening sacrifice, and the ordinary time of the former was at nine in the morning, and of the latter at three in the afternoon; but on extraordinary days, as Sabbaths, festivals, and fasts, there being additional sacrifices, additions were also made to the times of offering them, and both the morning and the evening service did then begin sooner than on other days. As soon as they did begin, the stationary men were present in the court of Israel, to offer up their prayers for the whole congregation of Israel, and other devout persons, who voluntarily attended, were without in the court, called the court of the women, praying for themselves. But neither of these had any public forms to pray by, nor any public ministers to officiate to them herein, but all prayed in private by themselves, and all according to their own private conceptions."

History.
Mode of
worship.

There was a considerable diversity between the mode of conducting the worship of the tabernacle and the temple, and that of the synagogue. The ministration was not, as in the former cases, limited to one particular order or tribe, but every one was admitted to the performance of this duty, who qualified himself by learning its requirements. There were, however, persons appointed to minister in every separate synagogue, who were solemnly designated to their office by the imposition of hands. These were elders or rulers of the synagogue (*Archidiaconos*), one of these was the minister of the synagogue, whose office it was to present public prayers for the whole congregation; who, as the representative and messenger of the rest, was denominated *Sheliach Zibbor*, or angel of the church. This distinguished individual did not always officiate personally; others of sufficient age and gravity were sometimes allowed to occupy his place, and for the time acquired his appellation. The deacons possessed the next rank to the *Sheliach Zibbor*. Their name in Hebrew (*Chazanim*) signifies *occurents*. They were also ministers, and besides had the charge of sacred books of the Scriptures, and of the public liturgies, and of all the vessels belonging to the service of the synagogue, under the general superintendence of the chief ministers. They also overlooked the rulers of the synagogue when they read the book of the law and the prophets, correcting them if they committed any mistakes, and receiving the book from their hands when the reading was concluded. As there was no fixed minister anciently, the rulers of the synagogue, when the time for public reading arrived, called out to some one to officiate; a priest first, and then a Levite, if such were present, and then any other Israelite, till the number seven was completed. Hence every section of the law was divided into seven parts, each reader having his assigned proportion. The interpreter held the next official rank to the chazanim. His duty consisted in interpreting the lessons into Chaldee, as they were read to the congregation in Hebrew. The benedictions were pronounced by priests, or if none were

present in the congregation, the *Sheliach Zibbor* took that office.

With regard to the general arrangements in the synagogues, there was a pulpit or desk in the middle, whence the book of the law was solemnly read, and where the preacher stood to address the multitude. At the most elevated part, towards the east and opposite the door, was the chest or press containing the book of the law, carefully preserved in fine embroidered cloth. The women sat alone, in a gallery which was enclosed with lattices, whence they could see and join the worship without themselves being at all exposed to view.

The synagogues were commonly erected within the walls of the cities. As the Jews imbibed an opinion that it was dishonourable to God to have his house inferior, or even only equal to that of any private individual, they were usually more lofty in their construction than any ordinary building. In distinction from the proscenium or places of prayer, they were roofed in and covered, thus resembling those places of solemn religious assembly which have since obtained among all civilized nations.

It is notorious that the Jews, subsequently to the Babylonish captivity, were to a remarkable degree hostile to every species of idolatry, although previous to that event they were extremely addicted to it. If the general opinion be correct, that the public reading of the law was regularly observed after that captivity and not before, this circumstance is sufficiently explained; since nothing can have so great a tendency to enlighten the mind and preserve it from the corrupting influence of error as familiarity with the word of God; and this by improving the faith will gradually ameliorate the moral condition of a people. When the temple of Jerusalem, or the cities of the Levites alone were the appointed places of public worship, religion was either wholly neglected, or negligently performed; but when synagogues became dispersed in every corner of the land, they were the means of diffusing truth, and exciting a proper feeling, stimulating to holy service and leaving into a pious mass, the community of Israel.

Jewish
Economy.

DISSERTATION VII.

CONSIDERATIONS ON THE PROBABLE INTENTIONS OF PROVIDENCE WITH REGARD TO THE LIMITED SCALE OF THE JEWISH ECONOMY.

It is impossible to advance in our inquiries far beyond the simple detail of facts, without being involved in an inextricable labyrinth of doubt and perplexity. Reason is only a feeble taper, and sheds but an uncertain and twinkling light upon those regions which lie beyond the precincts of ascertained science or immediate revelation; and consequently we must rest satisfied in the present inferior condition of our being, either with a total ignorance, or, at best, with a hypothetical and speculative knowledge, graduated into varying degrees of probability, of many most interesting subjects of investigation. Nor ought we so much to murmur at this constitution of our nature as to cherish a grateful feeling towards the author of our existence, for the importance of the knowledge he has

communicated, and the superiority of those faculties with which he has endowed us, and by which we are enabled perpetually to advance in wisdom, and to anticipate the brighter discoveries of another world, for which we shall undoubtedly be capacitated. The barriers are, indeed, now impassable; but religion certainly assures us that the day will come when they shall be thrown down, and the human mind placed in those circumstances of unfettered freedom which will present no obstacles to its best speculations and eternal improvement.

In contemplating the Jewish economy as a whole, we have been led to the preceding observation, by finding that a difficulty almost instantly occurs, which perhaps is not very soon to be satisfactorily explained and

History. fully obviated. At the same time it would be unwise and unphilosophical, in the highest degree, to indulge a feeling of despondency. It would, moreover, be unchristian; because, although it may not have pleased Almighty wisdom to obviate by anticipation every probable subject of perplexity that might occupy the human mind, by a direct and formal statement, moral speculations are not interdicted where they may be unsuccessful, and may, and certainly do, often tend to cast an incidental light upon what is frequently in itself dark and mysterious. If we cannot fully explain parts of the economy of Providence, and if no reasons have been assigned for many of its operations, we are more than justified in seeking to ascertain them, if for no other purpose than to gain some satisfaction in our own minds with regard to these proceedings. The difficulty just adverted to in reference to the Jewish economy, is that of the *very limited scale of its operations*, which were restricted to one particular nation, and that, in comparison with others, an insignificant one. So far from aiming at universality, many of the laws of heaven were clearly of an opposite tendency, and, in fact, it is most evident, as we have repeatedly had occasion to remark, that great pains were taken to separate the people of Israel from the rest of the world, and to preserve their rites and observances within their own boundaries; for some such reasons perhaps as the following:

Inconveniences avoided.

1. In order to avoid those extreme inconveniences which must necessarily have resulted from a different arrangement; and which, indeed, would have rendered such an establishment of religion altogether impossible, had it aimed at universality. It was essential to this system, and especially for the purpose of producing those impressions for which it was intended, that the people whom it embraced should assemble in a central and authorized place of worship, having all the remarkable circumstances attaching to it which are recorded of the Israelitish tabernacle. There the prescribed orders of priests were to officiate, and the ceremonies of divine service to be regularly performed, the smallest deviation from which was severely punished. The perpetual and punctilious exactitude of religion thus exhibited daily, and in detail, before the people, was highly calculated to produce the feelings of reverence and obedience, which were further enforced on the one hand by all the solemn sanctions of law, and on the other by all the glory of a personal manifestation of deity. The Jewish economy, in its early stages, moreover, required precisely such a character as Moses, whose personal qualities should ensure the affection of the people, whose birth should legitimate his influence, and whose sanctity and express appointment to the work he had to accomplish should give him an access to the Supreme God, equally sublime in its nature and beneficial in its tendencies upon himself and the Israelitish nation.

Let us then suppose, that instead of limiting the economy to the particular people in question, it had spread its plan over the surface of the globe, and advanced its claim to an universal observance. What must have been the result? Plainly this—that whoever would render acceptable worship to the Supreme God, must have repaired to the tabernacle in the wilderness, travelling all the lengths of the most distant regions to bring their offerings to his altar, and procure all the

public and private acts of religion. The consequence must evidently have been to subvert the entire order of society, and, in fact, to render impossible of performance what was solemnly required. The true character of the Jewish nation would have at once ceased, as well as the offices of Moses, the priests, and principal leaders. They would have been no longer a people gradually conducting through a scene of extraordinary vicissitude, and by a miraculous guidance, from the state of Egyptian bondage to the land promised to their illustrious ancestors, and reassured to them; since, had the same economy been authoritatively imposed upon every kingdom and nation, the peculiarities of their case must have been merged in the equally extraordinary circumstances of the entire population of the earth.

Jewish Economy.

If it be alleged that Providence might have multiplied its tabernacles, its altars, and services, and priests, and legislators, and manifestations of every kind, proportionally to the extent of the plan upon which it designed to operate—that a place of central worship might have been erected in every district—that a cloud of glory might have descended in every region—and a Moses and an Aaron raised up in every land;—this is true, considered as a question of *possibility*; but what would have been the effect? No other surely than the establishment of a totally different system, and, in some respects, upon very different principles to that of the Mosaic dispensation; for that dispensation accommodated itself to the Jew, as a Jew, having special regard to the circumstances and character of individuals so descended; and it was founded upon promises and predictions which primarily concerned the people of Israel, and presupposing a different state of society from their own in surrounding nations. Providence, therefore, could have manifested itself in a miraculous manner to every nation, and established “ordinances of worship” for “all things are possible with God;” but this is to say, that the world might have been differently circumstanced, or differently governed—a question which, to add nothing further, has no claim upon our present consideration. Taking the fact as it is recorded, we are simply to ascertain the reason, and, therefore, repeat the statement which the preceding observations tend to confirm and illustrate, that by limiting the scale of the Jewish economy, inconveniences were avoided which, under other circumstances, would in reality have had the effect of nullifying altogether the chosen system and arrangement. Its difficulties must have multiplied, till the plan had ceased to exist.

2. The limitation of the actual sphere of the Jewish economy to the particular people of Israel, afforded an opportunity for a full exhibition, and for a consequent and complete disavowal of the claims of false gods. Had Providence at once interposed to crush their worship and annihilate their images all over the earth, and upon the ruins of every form of superstition and idolatry, established a more perfect system of faith, no doubt their claims would have ceased, and their falseness have been proved by their debasement. But in addition to the fact that God never acts with even an apparent precipitancy in carrying into execution any of his measures, but in the general administration of human affairs sees fit to mature his purposes in a manner equally gradual and effectual—unfolding, as it were, the bud of his designs, sometimes in the lapse only of months

Opportunity for the disavowal of false gods.

History. and years, and sometimes not till after the slow revolution of centuries—he it recollected that the best method of exhibiting to the world the folly, feebleness, and impidity of idolatry, was to allow it to exert all the influence of which it was capable for a time, to erect its temples, and to multiply its worshippers. Idolatry was allowed a certain theatre, and indeed a very extensive one, for its operations—it was permitted to acquire a very considerable ascendancy over the human mind in general—to obtain a decided footing on every land—and this by limiting the sphere of the Jewish economy—by confining its wonderful communications and its influence to a few people. The whole world was for a period “let alone,” there being no direct interference with their prejudices or their practices—they were suffered to “go after” the idols to which they had “joined themselves,” and without any providential disturbances to continue in the condition in which they delighted, that of “lying in wickedness.” God had not, nor has he in any age so abandoned the world as to leave it wholly destitute of celestial illumination—of a pure and acceptable form of worship;—the light has never been extinct—the temple of the Lord has never been raised to the foundations—although there have been seasons of lamentable defection from the truth, and even of still more lamentable corruption—but at the time in question mankind were in a state of great darkness, and, with the single exception of the people of Israel, proceeded to the most deplorable lengths of idolatrous impity. Man was sunk under the dominion of his senses, and God, as by an almost universal consent, expelled from his own world. Idolatry had, therefore, ample space and equal opportunity to display its real character, which could not have been the case, had the divinely authorized system of religion given to the Jews been at once universally established.

And let us inquire what was the actual result of this reign of the so called divinities? Was this dominion favourable to the happiness of mankind? Did it contribute to the dignity of human nature, or to the real exaltation of a creature who had departed from God? It is needless to particularize what every page of profane history exhibits, and what we have often, and must again frequently notice. It is needless, as disgusting, to dwell upon the horrid scenes that were in every age transacted among the heathen, in the groves and temples of their idols; and but for the truth of history, and the purpose of illustration, we should willingly blint from our page, and obliterate from our memory, all traces of those follies and crimes, those impurities and bestialities, which have so degraded the very name of man.

“When men were exalted into gods,” says Dr. Greaves (Lect. on the Pentateuch), every, the basest passion and the foulest vice found an example in justify, and a patron to protect it. Gods, whose characters and actions had been impure, revengeful, and cruel, were honoured by adopting as parts of their worship, impurity, cruelty, and bloodshed. Demons who were worshipped not from love but fear, not because beneficent but malignant, it was naturally supposed could be appeased or conciliated only by the suppliant inflicting sufferings and death, even on the object whom he held most dear. Hence every abomination of the Lord which he hated, did the heathens do unto their gods, so that even their sons and their daughters did they burn in

the fire to their gods.’ (Deut. xii. 31.) In truth we know, from other sources than the Scripture, that theft, bloodshed, and cruelty; that incest, adultery, and unnatural crimes were sanctioned by the example of the heathen gods, and even consecrated as parts of their worship; we know that every species of wickedness was practiced in the temples of some, and that human sacrifices blud upon the altars of others, and this in the most polished and celebrated nations of antiquity; amongst the Egyptians and Assyrians, the Chaldeans and Phoenicians, and from them were these abominations transferred to Greece, and Carthage, and Rome.” And the words of Cicero (De nat. Deorum) are remarkable: “Exposui pene non philosophorum iudicio s-d delirantium somnia, nec enim multa absurdiora sunt que postarum vocibus fass, ipsa suavitae noverunt; qui et ira inflammatos et libidine furentes induxerunt deos; feceruntque ut eorum bella, pugnas, prelia, vulnera, videremus; odii proterea, dissidia, discordias, artus, interitus, querellas, lamentationes, effusas in omni intemperantia libidines, adulteria, vincula, cum humano genere concubitus, mortalesque ex immortalis procreatos, cum postarum autem errore conjungere licet portenta magorum, Egyptiorumque in eodem genere demantiam, tum etiam vulgi opinionones que in maxima inconstantia, veritatis ignorantia versantur.”

How different, and how superior, was the Mosaic economy! Imperfect as it was in comparison with the nobler dispensation it prefigured, it was nevertheless “glorious.” No human sacrifices blud upon Jewish altars—no Bacchanalian revelries polluted their religious solemnities—no vices were consecrated as objects of adoration by their ritual no ridiculous or obscene images occupied the niches of their house of worship, nor obtruded into their public walks or private dwellings; but “holiness to the Lord” was the characteristic of their economy. Places and persons were consecrated to his service—legislation and religion went hand in hand; and vice either dared not to intrude, or if she did, her hated form was recognized at once by the faithful delineations of prophets, and seized and sacrificed by the strong arm of legislation. That the actual state of the Jewish nation was less exalted in piety and virtue than under all the circumstances we might be induced to anticipate, is to be attributed to the propensity to imitate the idolatries of the heathen which they so long and so unobscuringly retained; but so far as they did conform to the divine law, they acquired a superiority of character to other nations; and the tendency of all its observances, was not like those of the Gentile nations, to lower them in the scale of dignity and worth, but to enhance their happiness, by enhancing their real excellence—to make them respectable, wise, and good, by leading them to respect themselves and to reverence and serve the true God. While, therefore, the true religion and every form of false worship were suffered to exist contemporaneously, by the former being confined to one small people, the contrast is the more striking—the darkness and the light more distinctly traceable—and the effect upon the reflecting mind consequently the more powerful.

3. It is probable, that a further reason might have influenced the conduct of providence, in confining the Mosaic economy, and all its extraordinary appointments and communications, to the single people of the Jews, arising out of the predestined superiority of the Christian dispensation. To the latter was assigned the

Jewish Economy.

The glory of universality reserved for the gospel.

History

honour and distinction of being an universal religion, superseding alike the prefigurative ceremonies of the former period, and the first established faith, and the idolatries of the Gentile world. It was befitting the character of the son of God, that his religion should surpass in the extent of its influence, as it did in the sublimity of its principles, every other; and that its high claims should be recognized, and its dignity consulted, by allowing it the unrivalled distinction of universality.

So deeply rooted were the prejudices of the first converts to Christianity, and even of its apostles themselves, that they were both slow and reluctant to admit the benevolence of its plan, and the comprehensive liberality of its author. Nor ought it, perhaps, to be much wondered at, that a certain narrowness of view and feeling should have been superinduced by the extraordinary history of their nation, and the early prepossessions in which they were educated in favour of their own country, which had been so privileged and patronized by Heaven. Whatever of true religion existed, was found among themselves; and of its truth they had the most incontestible evidence in the authenticated revelations of their eminent men, and the accomplished predictions of their prophets. There is something peculiarly forcible in the words of God to Abraham, to which frequent references are subsequently made by Moses:—"A father of many nations have I made thee. And I will make thee exceeding fruitful, and I will make nations of thee, and kings shall come out of thee. And I will establish my covenant between thee and me, and thy seed after thee in their generations, for an everlasting covenant, to be a God unto thee and to thy seed after thee. And I will give unto thee and thy seed after thee the land wherein thou art a stranger, all the land of Canaan, for an everlasting possession; and I will be their God (Gen. xvii. 8-18). Their great legislator and historian impresses upon them, by a solemn appeal, considerations of their grandeur and distinction as a people, which he is solicitous they should never forget; but, on the contrary, cherish the sentiment as a motive to obedience, and a reason for preserving a total and marked separation from all other nations. "For," says he, "what nation is there so great, who hath God so nigh unto them as the Lord our God is, in all things that we call upon him for? And what nation is there so great, that hath statutes and judgments so righteous as all this law which I set before you this day?"—"For ask now of the days that are past, which were before thee, since the day that God created man upon the earth, and ask from the one side of heaven unto the other, whether there hath been any such thing as this great thing is, or hath been heard like it? Did ever people hear the voice of God speaking out of the midst of the fire, as thou hast heard, and live? Or hath God assayed to go and take him a nation from the midst of another nation, by temptations, by signs, and by wonders, and by war, and by a mighty hand, and by a stretched out arm, and by great terrors, according to all that the Lord your God did for you in Egypt before your eyes? Unto thee it was shewed, that thou mightest know that the Lord he is God; there is none else beside him. Out of heaven he made thee to hear his voice, that he might instruct thee; and upon earth he shewed thee his great fire; and thou heardest his words out of the midst of the fire. And

because he loved thy fathers, therefore he chose their seed after them, and brought thee out in his sight with his mighty power out of Egypt."

Such, then, being the representations of the most eminent individual of their country, who wrote, too, under the express influence of inspiration, and such the statement, of which the annals of their history furnished no less than a miraculous attestation—can it be surprising that, even at the commencement of the Christian age, and among the first propagators of the religion of Jesus, the limited views of providence should still be believed to be a principle of the divine administration, and a strong reluctance should be felt against including the hitherto rejected Gentiles in the privileges of the new-born dispensation? Jesus had even commissioned them to "go and teach all nations," and, during the course of his personal ministry, had given several intimations of his purpose to diffuse his gospel, with all its concomitant blessings, to an illimitable extent; and yet we find that so distinguished an apostle as Peter started at a vision which directed him to visit a Gentile worshipper, and was with difficulty persuaded to renounce his Jewish prejudices. In obedience, however, in an unequivocal communication of the plans of Providence, he at length accompanied the messengers of Cornelius to Cæsarea, where he thus avowed himself to the people assembled together: "Ye know how that it is an unlawful thing for a man that is a Jew to keep company or to come unto one of another nation; but God hath shewed me that I should not call any man common or unclean." (Acts x.) These principles were soon afterwards more fully understood, when Paul became "a burning and a shining light," in conveying the tidings of salvation; without any limitation or restriction. It is, therefore, the peculiar glory of the Christian religion, and appears such especially as viewed in contrast with the Jewish, to overstep the geographical boundaries of the ancient faith, and to scatter the freely imparted blessings of the gospel with an unsparring liberality. The honour of this comprehensive character was reserved to the course of providence for this religion, the last and the best; and in contemplation of this triumph of Christianity, no less than because of the peculiarities of the preceding dispensation, the first, and during a long period, all the communications of heaven were carefully limited to the Israelitish community. To participate the privileges of religion, it was requisite to prove their birth, or to seek naturalization; whereas, since the introduction of the new and nobler economy, "it is come to pass, that whosoever calls upon the name of the Lord shall be saved." The highest authority pronounces that "the hour cometh when ye shall neither, in this mountain, nor yet at Jerusalem, worship the father"—that the hour "now is, when the true worshippers shall worship the father in spirit and in truth; for the father seeketh such to worship him." (John iv. 21, 23.) The religion of Jesus is moreover adapted to the influence it is destined to acquire; meeting the exigencies of man; obviating the disadvantages of his moral condition; providing for his most pressing necessities; and dissipating his worst apprehensions: in a word, it is not the religion of the *Jew*; it is the religion of *MAN*—holding in one hand the cup of consolation, to soothe his sorrows; and in the other the sceptre of dominion, to sway his destinies.

Jewish Economy.

ZOROASTER.

FLOURISHED ABOUT A. M. 3494, B. C. 510; TO A. M. 3524, B. C. 480.

Biography.

From
A. M.
3494.
B. C.
510.
to
A. M.
3524.
B. C.
480.

Conjecture
of Isaac.

Names of
Zoroaster.

Number of
Zoroasters.
Dr. Hyde.

Histria.

Dr. Pri-
doux.

On the threshold of this inquiry, we cannot forbear to notice the almost singular conjecture of a learned prelate of France, that Moses was Zoroaster; or that a fictitious personage, under that name, was invented by the Persian magi to give a sanction to the theological system which they had borrowed from the religion of Moses. We refer to M. Huet, in his "Demonstratio Evangelica" (Prop. iv. c. 5). On this conjecture, a learned countryman of the prelate, M. de Pastoret, in his "Zoroastre Confucius et Mahomet Comparé" (Ed. ii. p. 3), has thus anticipated all which we could say on this subject. "Entraîné par un esprit systématique, ce savant prélat ne veut voir que Moïse dans Zoroastre. Cette prétention, contraire à la croyance de tous les peuples et de tous les siècles, ne mérite pas même qu'on lui fasse l'honneur de la combattre." (That learned prelate, led astray by an attachment to system, could see only Moses in Zoroaster. Such a notion opposed to the belief of all people, and all times, scarcely deserves the honour of being combatted.)

It is then to be regarded, as generally agreed, that an extraordinary person, who after the Greeks is called Zoroaster, and whom the Persians have named Zerdusht, or Zaratush, flourished in the reign of Darius Hystaspes. That he introduced various important changes in the religious rites, institutions, and manners of the Persians, is also fully admitted. There are, however, previous inquiries of some importance, on which there has been no small disagreement among the learned, respecting the origin of the name Zoroaster, and the number of persons, some in very remote antiquity, to whom it has been applied.

Dr. Thomas Hyde, the Laudian Professor of Arabic, at Oxford, who died in 1702, had published in 1700 a very learned work, entitled, "Veterum Persarum et Parthorum et Medorum Religio Historia." In this work (to the Oxford edition of which, in 1760, we shall have occasion frequently to refer), Dr. Hyde maintains that the theological legislator of the Persians, who will occupy our principal attention in this article, was the only Zoroaster, however various authors may have professed to find the name, and thus to multiply the individual in very different periods of history. He thus expresses his confidence on the subject (p. 312): "Auctores avidè ascripserunt Zoroastri nomen: de ceteris tamen seculis et patribus errando, usum, eundemque hominem in plures multiplicando. At quisquid dixerint, ille fuit tantum unus, isque tempore Darii Hystaspis, nec quis nominis plures unquam existit." (Authors have seized with avidity the name of Zoroaster; and, by mistaking his age and country, have multiplied one man into several men. But whatever they may affirm, there was only one, and he appeared in the reign of Darius Hystaspes: nor was there really any other of his name.)

Dr. Hyde has been followed by Dean Prideaux, in

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his Connection (p. i. b. iv. an. 486), where he concludes, on the unanimous agreement of all "the oriental writers, that there was but one Zerdusht, or Zoroastres;" that this was "the famous prophet of the Magians, and that the time in which he flourished was while Darius Hystaspes was king of Persia." Sir Isaac Newton also, in his Short Chronicle, appears to acknowledge no Zoroaster, except the one whom he describes as flourishing An. 512 a. c., and in concert with Hystaspes, the father of Darius, effecting a great reformation in the worship of the Persians. He also, in his Chapter of the Empire of the Persians (Chron. p. 348), conjectured respecting Zoroaster, that "from his conversing in several places he is reckoned a Chaldean, an Assyrian, a Mede, a Persian, a Bactrian." A modern writer, whom we have already quoted, M. de Pastoret (Zoroast. p. 7), coincides in opinion that there was but one Zoroaster. This he determines on the unanimity of the oriental historians. "Tous le placent dans le même temps et sous l'empire du même roi." (All place him in the same time, and under the reign of the same king.)

It is urged on the other side, that the Greek and Latin writers describe several Zoroasters; of whom Mr. Stanley, in his Chaldaic Philosophy, enumerates no less than six. Some of those authors have, indeed, indulged to great extravagancies in determining when the Zoroaster flourished of whom they write. Pliny (l. xxx. c. 1) having quoted Eudoxus, who placed the time of Zoroaster "sex milibus annorum ante Platonis mortem" (six thousand years before the death of Plato), goes on to describe Moses, as having appeared "multis milibus annis post Zoroastrem" (many thousand years after Zoroaster). Plutarch, in his Isis and Osiris, speaks of "Zoroastres the Magian, reported to have lived five thousand years before the Trojan times." Diogenes Laertius, in his Proemium, says, that "from the magi, of whom the chief was Zoroastres," whom he calls the Persian, "to the taking and destruction of Troy, were five thousand years, by the computation of Hermodorus the Platonic; though Xanthus the Lydian reckons from Zoroastres to the descent of Xerxes not above six hundred years." Justin places Zoroaster eight hundred and fifty years before the Trojan war.

"Of Zoroaster," says Sir Walter Raleigh (World, h. i. c. xi. a. 1), "there is much dispute; and no less jangling about the word and art of magic. Arnobius remembereth four to whom the name of Zoroaster or Zoroastres was given; which, by Hermodorus and Dinon, seemeth but a cognomen, or name of art, and was as much as to say *astronomer cultor*. The first, Arnobius calleth the Bactrian, which may be the same that Nicurus overthrew; the second, a Chaldean, and the astronomer of Ninus; the third was Zoroaster Pamphilius, who lived in the time of Cyrus, and his familiar; the fourth, Zoroaster Arameus, the nephew

Zoroaster.
From
A. M.
3494.
B. C.
510.
to
A. M.
3524.
B. C.
480.
Newton.

M. de Pas-
toret.

Greeks and
Latins.

Raleigh.

Biography. of Hostians, which followed Xerxes into Greece.

Suidas remembereth a fifth, called Persomedus Sapiens; and Plato speaketh of Zoroaster, the son of Ormazdes.

"Some eastern writers," says Mr. Richardson (Dissert. p. 231), "place Zerdusht thirteen hundred years after the flood. Some make him the disciple of Elijah, or Elisha; others of Ozair, Ezra, or Esdras. Some consider him as Abraham; others as the usurper Zohak; and some, according to D'Hérbelot (from the name Mikhgush, which occurs in the Turkish Montekheh), have conceived him to have been Smerdis Magus. But the greater number make him contemporary with Kishtak, king of Persia, and consequently suppose him to have lived near five hundred years before the Christian era."

Mr. Bryant, in his Analysis of Ancient Mythology (Ed. iii. pp. 388, 389), says of Zoroaster—"The ancients who treated of him have described him in the same foreign light as they have represented Perseus, Dionaeus, and Osiris. They have formed a character, which by length of time has been separated and estranged from the person to whom it originally belonged. And as among the ancients there was not a proper uniformity observed in the appropriation of terms, we shall find more persons than one spoken of under the character of Zoroaster; though there was one principal, to whom it more truly related. It will be found that not only the persons originally recorded and revered, but others, by whom the rites were instituted and propagated, and by whom they were in after times renewed, have been mentioned under this title: priests being often denominated from the deity whom they served."

"Of men styled Zoroaster, the first was a deified personage, revered by some of his posterity, whose worship was styled magia, and the professors of it magi. His history is therefore to be looked for among the accounts transmitted by the ancient Babylonians and Chaldeans. They were the first people styled magi; and the institutions of those rites which related to Zoroaster. From them this worship was imparted to the Persians, who also had their magi. And when the Babylonians sunk into a more complicated idolatry, the Persians, who succeeded to the sovereignty of Asia, renewed under their princes, and particularly under Darius, the son of Hytaspes, those rites, which had been in a great degree effaced and forgotten."

Mr. Bryant conjectures that "the Persians were originally named Persians, from the deity Perez, or Parez, the Sun; whom they also worshipped under the title of Zor-Aster." Hence (p. 890) he disputes the conclusions of Hyde and other learned men, "that the two names" Zerdusht and Zoroaster were "the same." He, on the contrary, supposes that "one of the magi, named Zerdusht, who is supposed to have first formed a code of institutes for the Persians, was one of those magi, or priests," who, "in different parts of the world, were denominated from the rites of Zoroaster, which they followed."

Those, however, who have attended to this subject, most commonly acquiesce in the opinion that there were certainly two persons at least of the name of Zoroaster, who appeared in very distant ages, and that the Zerdusht of the Persians rather revived the religious rites taught by the Chaldean Zoroaster than became the inventor of a new religion. Dr. Thomas Barne, in his *Archæologie Philosophique* (1692, p. 26)

says, "Magorum princeps et coryphæus erat Zoroaster; at multi testantur auctores; sed in hujus Zoroastri vel Zoroastorum historiâ parum conveniunt. Alii unum, alii duos, alii multos constituent. Constat videtur primò, duos fuisse, minimùm, Zoroastros, utroque sapientiæ nomine et doctrine magicæ, celebres; alterum Chaldeum, aut Bactrianum, cujus plures auctores meminerunt; alterum Persam, vel Medo-Persam, de quo non dubitatur. Secundò, constare mihi videtur, horum duorum res, etates, dogmata, patrias scriptas, alia, sæpe confundi et permisceri, tam ab antiquis, quàm à recentioribus." (Zoroaster was the prince and chief of the magi, as many authors testify, but they differ much in the history of this Zoroaster, or of the Zoroasters. Some reckon one, some two, and others several. It seems to be certain, first, that there were, at least, two Zoroasters, both eminent for wisdom and magic; one a Chaldean, or Bactrian, mentioned by many authors. The other a Persian, or Medo-Persian, concerning whom there is no doubt. Secondly, I clearly perceive that the affairs, ages, opinions, countries, writings, and other circumstances of these two, are often confounded and blended together, both by the ancients and moderns.)

Of the same opinion respecting two Zoroasters, was Moyle and that acute investigator of ancient history, Mr. Walter Moyle. In an unresolvable controversy with his uncle, Dean Prideaux, he quotes, among other authorities, a passage from Nicolaus Damascenus, which "has escaped all the modern critics." Damascenus says "that the Persians, when they were burning Cronus (see our page 271), be thought themselves of the oracles of Zoroaster, which forbade such a profanation of fire;" and adds, that "it was an ancient prohibition." Mr. Moyle seems to have rejected the notion of a Chaldean Zoroaster, yet "supposed two Zoroasters: the first, the founder of the Persian sect; and the second," so far as the authority of the eastern historians may be received, "the reviver, or reformer of the same sect." The result of this discussion was the candid admission by the learned dean, "that there were two Zoroasters, the elder of which was the founder of the magian sect, and the other the reformer; and that this was the Zerdusht of the Persians," an admission which ought to have been noticed by those who published the law editions of the Connection. See *Moyle's Works*, 1726, pp. 1-76; or *Life of Prideaux*, 1748, pp. 123-137.

Thus we have arrived at the same conclusion with the late Dr. Enfield, in his valuable *History of Philosophy* (i. 32), that "if in the midst of so much uncertainty any thing can be advanced with the appearance of probability, it seems to be this: that there was a Zoroaster, a Perso-Median, who flourished about the time of Darius Hytaspes, and that besides him there was another Zoroaster, who lived in a much more remote period, among the Babylonians, and taught them astronomy." Dr. Enfield adds, that "he was the father of the Chaldean astrology and magic."

Three centuries ago an expectation was excited among the learned, of some curious information respecting the religious and philosophical system of the Chaldean Zoroaster. Raleigh, who wrote his history about 1611, mentions in the section we have already quoted, "those books of one Zoroaster, found by Picus Mirandula, written in the Chaldean tongue, and

Zoroaster.
From
A. M.
3494.
—
B. C.
510,
to
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Archæologie.

First Zoroaster.

Misreading of Zoroaster.

Two Zoroasters.

Raleigh on Mirandula.

Biography. the comment in the same language." John Picus, prince of Mirandula, a prodigy of learning, died at Florence, in 1494, at the early age of 32. Dr. Thomas Burnet (Arch. p. 23) quotes from the works of Mirandula, printed in 1601, the following account of these supposed Chaldean MSS. which he had communicated to his friend Marcellus Ficinus, a protégé of the illustrious family of Medici. "Chaldaici hi libri sunt, si libri sunt et non Thesauri. Audi inscriptiones, Patris Ezer, Zoroastri, et Melchiar, Magorum oracula, in quibus et illa quoque quam apud Græcos mendosa et nulla circumferuntur leguntur integra et absoluta. Tum est in illis Chaldæorum sapientium brevis quidem et salebrosa, sed plena mysteriis interpretatio. Est itidem et libellus de dogmatibus Chaldaicæ Theologiæ. Tum Persarum, Græcorum et Chaldæorum in illam divinam et locupletissimam enarratio. Vide, Marcell, quæ inasperata mihi bona irreperunt in sinu. Cur non ego et cornu copiam jam mihi nactus videar?" (These are Chaldean books, if we may not rather call them treasures. The titles are, the Oracles of Father Ezer, Zoroaster, and Melchiar, the magi; wherein are also to be found, whole and complete, those things which are handed about among the Greeks, faulty and imperfect. There is likewise in them an interpretation of the Chaldean wisdom, short indeed and crumbed, but full of mysteries. As also a small treatise concerning the dogmas of the Chaldean theology: with a divine and very copious exposition thereon, of the Persians, Grecians, and Chaldeans. Behold, Marcellus, what unexpected riches have fallen into my hands; may I not reckon myself possessed of the horn of plenty.)

Dr. Burnet, writing two centuries after the death of Mirandula, adds "Magna he sunt, sed hi thesauri Chaldaici nontum comparuerunt." (These are great words, but the Chaldean treasures have not yet appeared). Mr. Stanley, as quoted (Bib. Univ. vii. and v), says, that these MSS. were found in Mirandula's study, after his death, but so injured and unintelligible that they could not be deciphered. To supply the loss, he has given extracts, in his History of Philosophy, of those pieces, entitled, "Oracles of the Magi" who succeeded Zoroaster, on which several of the learned were employed, as commentators, during the sixteenth and following century.

Dr. Enfield, however, justly concludes, that "all the writings which have been ascribed to the Chaldean Zoroaster are unquestionably spurious;" and as to the magic which he invented, that it "was probably nothing more than the performance of certain religious ceremonies, by means of which, good demons were supposed to be premittit upon to communicate supernatural properties and powers, to herbs, stones, and other natural bodies, or to afford assistance in other miraculous ways to those who invoked them. In war, it was supposed that, by the help of magic, the forces of an enemy might be routed, or an army struck with a general panic, as is said to have happened to Ninus, in his war with the Bactrians. In this art, the kings of Chaldeæ and Persia were instructed, as one of the most useful instruments of government, among a people whose ignorance and credulity rendered them proper subjects of imposture." Thus "the Chaldean magic was a very different thing from a knowledge of the real properties of bodies; and though some acquaintances with the notions of the heavenly bodies was necessary for astrolo-

gical calculations, it cannot be inferred, either from their magical or astrological arts, that the Chaldeans were eminent masters in any branch of natural science." (Hist. of Phil. i. 34). Yet some rare genius would now and then improve his knowledge to rule over the ignorant, as the enlightened Baptist Porta understood, more than three centuries ago. In his *Magia Naturalis*, published about 1596, he says of magic (l. i. c. 1), "Doctæ rerum admiuicula, et earum mutua ac opportuna applicatione, opera efficiere, quæ vulgus putat miracula, omnem admirationem, humanumque captum excedit. Ideo maxime in India et Ethiopia vigeat, ubi animantium, herbarum, lapidum ceterorumque ad id spectantium multa suppetebat facultas." (It teaches the nature and suitable conjunction of substances by which effects are produced, which the vulgar deem miraculous, and wonderfully exceeding all human capacity. Hence it abundantly prevailed in India and Ethiopia, where it was greatly assisted by the extraordinary qualities of animals, plants, stones, and other substances).

On returning to the Persian Zoroaster, whose history will occupy the remainder of this article, we find great uncertainty and disagreement as to his birth-place or parentage, though it seems generally admitted that he flourished in the sixth century before the Christian era. Some of the orientals with whom the late M. Anquetil appears to coincide, have described Féridoun, an illustrious prince of Persia, celebrated for legislative wisdom, as the ancestor of Zoroaster. Dr. Hyde had before noticed that opinion, which he rejected, though he concluded that he was a Persian, whose parents were in humble life. On the testimony of Abulpheda, he describes Urm, or Urmia, a town amidst the Gordian mountains, as the birth-place of Zoroaster. Pridcaux, who generally follows Hyde, here differs from him, and inclines to the opinion that Zoroaster was born in Palestine, of Jewish parents.

According to the tradition preserved among Zoroaster's followers, his birth was preceded by wonderful presages, announcing the celebrity to which the future child should attain, and immediately followed by amazing prodigies. The magi, it is said, fearing that this infant would prove a severe reformer, cast him into a fire, from which he escaped without injury. He was then thrown among ferocious wild beasts, who gazed upon him with harmless reverence. His constitution also resisted an attempt to poison him. Indeed, says M. de Pastoret (Zoroast. p. 6), "Il est peu de miracles dont ses disciples n'aient conté son enfance, ou son berceau" (there are scarcely any wonders ever pretended with which the votaries of Zoroaster have not adorned his birth or his infancy). But it is of more importance to inquire how Zoroaster acquired that knowledge, address, and influence, which enabled him to surmount the disadvantages of an obscure condition, and to become the religious legislator of Persia.

If Zoroaster were not born in Palestine, he appears to have passed his early youth there, and is said to have procured his subsistence by becoming the servant of a Jewish prophet. To this connection, Dr. Hyde (p. 316) attributes the first formation of Zoroaster's design to assume the character of a divine legislator, and his opportunities of preparation for such an attempt. "A talis Prophetæ miraculis fuerit stimulatus ad simulâ patrândum, et provida multas astutias studuerit, prompto ingenio, et forti imaginatione et naturali au-

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Hyde

dacit et confidentia adjutus; nam si non fuisset suda et intrepidus, totius nationis religionem, suo modo reformare non tentasset." (By beholding the miracles of a prophet he would be stimulated to an imitation of them. Hence he would employ himself in arduous contrivances, aided by a ready invention, a powerful imagination, and a natural boldness, and confidence. For had he not been bold and intrepid, he had never made the attempt of moulding to his purpose, the religion of a whole nation.)

Who was the prophet to whom Zoroaster was a servant has been much disputed. He was Elijah, according to Abulpharagius, who relates a story of leprosy inflicted on Zoroaster by his master, and thus seems to confound him with Gehazi. This representation is quite inconsistent with the supposed time of Zoroaster. Others have described his master as one of the disciples of Jeremiah, while others again conjecture that he was Oseer, or Eodras. To the latter opinion Hyde (p. 318) seems to incline; while Prideaux considers the time of Zoroaster as best agreeing with that of a disciple of Jeremiah, whom he conjectures to have been Ezekiel, or Daniel; the last he thinks most probable. The learned historian adds, somewhat coarsely, "no doubt his seeing that great good, and wise man arrive at such an height and dignity in the empire, by being a true prophet of God, was that which did set this crafty wretch upon the design of being a false one, hoping that by acting this part well, he might obtain the same advancement, and by pretending to that which the otherwally was, arrive to the like honour and greatness."

Leaving Palestine, Zoroaster came, according to Bundhî, a Mohammedan author, quoted by Hyde, into the country of Adorbovargian, which has been also generally considered as his birth-place. There, at first, he secluded himself from society, and improved his solitude, by maturing the knowledge he had acquired, and preparing for the bold and hazardous attempt to alter the religious rites and institutions of his country. This retirement was called, by the disciples of Zoroaster, his journey to the throne of Ormuzd.

Quitting his solitude, in the thirty-first year of Darius, whom the Persians call Gushtâsp, which was in the year 490 before the Christian era, he is supposed to have been first introduced to the king at Persepolis. His access to the court was, no doubt, facilitated by the patronage which Hytaspes, the father of Darius, had afforded him. Dr. Hyde, in his twenty-fourth chapter, has minutely described, from various oriental writers, the surprise of the king when he first heard of Zoroaster's pretensions to a divine commission, the opposition of the priests, and the trials to which the pretended prophet was now subjected, as to his power of performing marvellous works. According to one writer, he had so far availed himself of his acquaintance with the Jewish Scriptures, as to assume the character of the prophet like unto Moses. Dr. Hyde thus introduces the quotation from this Mohammedan biographer of Gushtâsp (p. 321). "Cum autem astutus ex lege Moysi, ei sat bene notâ, didicerat Deum promissis Israelitis quod eis suscitaturus esset virum ad instar Moysi, cui auscultaturi essent, ille nimis arrogantia et vanitate inflatus, se illum virum esse opinatus est, idque alius insinuaré voluit, quasi ex stellis hoc didicisset." (Understanding from the law of Moses, with which he was very conversant, that God had pro-

phesied to the Israelites that he would raise up to them a prophet like unto Moses, to whom they should hearken; and being puffed up by excessive vanity and arrogance, he professed to be that prophet, and wished to have it understood that the stars had so instructed him.)

By whatever means Zoroaster acquired this confidence of the king, and surmounted the opposition of the priests, his projects appear to have rapidly succeeded. If, indeed, as Dr. Hyde conjectures, he died before Darius, he had employed only four or five years in establishing his religious system. According to one account, he lost his life in a battle which he had urged Darius to wage against a king of Touran, who had refused to embrace the new system of faith and worship. Yet the author of the Alexandrian Chronicle, as quoted by Dr. Hyde (p. 330), gives a very different account of the death of Zoroaster. He says, "Quod Zoroaster precatus est, ut moriturus fulmine itens interiret: et Persis denuntiavit, ubi ignis celestis consumperit, ossium meorum crematorium cineres servare; et quando hoc facitis, regnum a vobis non auferetur: quod fecerunt. Ille autem, invocato Orione a celesti flamma depastus interit." (Zoroaster prayed that he might die by a stroke of lightning; and said to the Persians, when the celestial fire shall consume me, preserve the ashes of my burnt bones; and while you remember this, the kingdom shall not be taken from you. This command they observed. As for Zoroaster, inroking Orion, he was consumed by a celestial flame.)

The years of Zoroaster's life have been equally disputed with the circumstances of his death. Dr. Hyde says (p. 330), "Shahristani dicit cum anno ætatis xxx. in missione a Deo (ut prætendebatur) adiuvare Gushtâspem. Sed deinde paucis annis occisus fuit. Si hoc verum sit, obit juvenis. At ex sequentibus verbis in libro Zendavesta, colligo eum ad senilem ætatem vixisse: nam in nuptiarum officio inter plurimas alias benedictiones, quas sacerdos nuptiis præcatur, legitur. Sicut Zaratushra longevi ætate." (Shahristani says, that he was in the thirtieth year of his age when he presented himself before Gushtâsp on his pretended divine mission; and a few years after he was slain. Were this true, he must have died young. But from the following words in the book Zendavesta, I find that he lived to old age; for in the office of marriage, among several other benedictions which the priest bestows on the newly married, there is the following: Be ye long-lived like Zaratushra.)

We should now proceed to inquire into the alterations which Zoroaster produced in the opinions, rites, and customs of the Persians. But there is a previous inquiry, which disputes among the learned in modern times have rendered necessary respecting the authenticity of writings, still existing in the east, and attributed to Zoroaster. These writings compose the Zendavesta: a copy of which the late M. Anquetil brought into Europe in 1771, and published in a French translation. The Sadder, a Latin translation, of which Dr. Hyde has annexed to his Historia, is, according to his preface, a collection of rules and precepts drawn from the Zendavesta, about the year 1500, for the use of the magi, by a deâstr, or priest, eminently versed in the Persian language.

Dr. Hyde was certainly no common authority on Hyde, any question connected with oriental literature. Yet

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we cannot read without surprise, some of the opinions of this Christian writer, respecting the purity and perfection of the ancient religion of Persia, the authenticity of the writings attributed to Zoroaster, and the honour scarcely to be distinguished from a divine mission, which he assigns to him, though a false prophet (quævis pseudo propheta). These sentiments appear in his preface, but are more fully expressed in the dedication to Lord Somers. The passage is so extraordinary, and the work now become so scarce, that we cannot forbear to quote the learned writer's own words, where he describes the purpose which he expected to effect, by the publication of his history of the religion of the ancient Persians.

"Cum talis historia lace donaretur publicæ, dicta gens à Græcorum et Muhammedanorum officiis ac calumniis liberata et vindicata esset; cùmque semper ab ipso diluvio veri Dei cultum tenuisse et firmè ab illis temporibus (quod à pacis speratum aut creditum), rectè constitutum Ecclesiam cum bonè regulatâ hierarchiâ habuisse comparet. Ad hæc aut, quævis primitivam suam puriorum religionem interpolando, multas, processu temporis, admiscuerint superstitiones, hæc tamen ratione refutatur vulgatus ille error virorum doctorum superioris sæculi, istum populum fuisse merè idololatricum, quæque linguam et litteras prorsus exolevisse et scripta monumenta intercidisse ac perisse, et de his omnibus, quasi de rebus internuntiis, conclusum fuisse credendum. Cum è contra, dicta eorum ecclesia (ex quo humanum genus à Noacho reparatum) Deicola semper existerit; et præsertim in Medicis moarchio initio maxime florens, triplici sacerdotum et presulum atque archipresulum ordine, ab illis temporibus usque ad Yesdegherd altimum (circa millesimum abhinc annum), tanquam sol in sua abside, fulserit, sanæ religionis authenticos libros, at vivas et perennantes tabulas, summâ curâ conservans. Et quæ sanè hæc tunc quæ hæc noscimus; cum suorum rituum tenacissima, et ad hoc usque diem vigilantissima in custodia sui prophete codicum, in quibus (præter alia curiosa) latere creduntur de Messia prophetum plures quàm quas hæc noscimus; cum vetus Testamentum non fuerit ei ignotum, et is (quævis pseudo propheta) peculiaribus quibusdam revelationibus adjunctus videatur. Et hinc factum est, ut post Christum hæretici hoc sobolescent, prætulerint se habuisse Zoroastri revelationes de Christo; genuinum codicum loco, exhibendo notios et spurios, ex suo cerebro confictos, quos, sub ejus nomine, ignaro populo talium avido obtrudebant. (The publication of this history may serve to disabuse and vindicate, from the falsehoods and calumnies of Greeks and Muhammedans, that nation which has always from the time of the deluge itself, maintained the worship of the true God, and from nearly the same period (what few expected or believed possible), appears to have possessed a rightly constituted church, with a well regulated hierarchy. However their pure religion may have been, in the lapse of time, corrupted by the addition of many superstitions, yet the common error of learned men in the last age may be satisfactorily refuted, those who believed that people to have been wholly idolatrous; that their language and literature had become obsolete, that their written monuments had utterly perished, and that all which respected them must be reckoned among the things lost and forgotten. Yet, on the contrary, their church

(from the time when Noah became the restorer of the human race) has always retained the worship of God. It greatly flourished in the beginning of the Median monarchy, shining like the sun in his bow, with its triple order of priests and prelates, and also arch-prelates, from those times even to the last Yesdegherd (about a thousand years ago); preserving with the greatest care, the authentic books of their religion as living and permanent records. And thus truly to our time (though in a less flourishing condition), this church is most tenacious of its rites, and even to this day most vigilant in preserving its prophet's writings, in which (besides other things very curious) there are thought to be contained many prophecies of the Messiah hitherto unknown; since he was well acquainted with the old Testament, and (though a false prophet) seems to have been favoured with some peculiar revelations. Hence the fact that heretics, after the time of Christ, being aware of this, pretended to be in possession of Zoroaster's revelations concerning Christ, but producing instead of the genuine writings, those which were counterfeited and spurious, which they readily imposed on an ignorant and credulous age. It appears, from the British Biography (vol. p. 82), that Dr. Hyde, Dr. Hyde's at the time of his death, was projecting, among other profoundly learned works, the publication of "the theological mathematical, medical, and physical works of Zoroaster, or Zerdasht, in Persian and Latin." What these works were, or on what evidence the learned professor was convinced of their authenticity, cannot now be known, as Dr. Hyde's valuable manuscripts were suffered to be dispersed; and were probably destroyed.

During half a century from the appearance of Dr. Bassege, Hyde's history, the question respecting Zoroaster seems generally to have been left exactly where the researches and arguments of that learned writer had placed it; except that James Bassege, in "L'Histoire des Juifs," 1716 (b. iv. ch. xii. a. 13), had considered his Arabian and Persian authors as too modern to discover to us the religion of the ancient Persians. It was not till 1765 that there arose in a neighbouring kingdom a desire to investigate at their source the literary and theological antiquities of Persia. The late M. Anquetil du Perrou, oriental interpreter to the king of France, and member of the Academy of Inscriptions, undertook a voyage into the east for this express purpose. He occupied eighteen years in this pursuit, and at length brought before the public the result of his labours, in three large quarto volumes, containing, with a life of Zoroaster and his own remarks, a French translation of the manuscripts he had procured, and which he had deposited in the royal library at Paris. Referring to this publication, Sir John Shore (Lord Teignmouth) says of Sir W. Jones, in the *Discours* prefixed aouth to the first volume of his works, "The vanity and puerility of Anquetil du Perrou, with his illiberal reflections on some of the learned members of the university of Oxford, extorted from him a letter, in the French language, which has been admired for accurate criticism, just satire, and elegant composition." This juvenile production of the accomplished writer, which first appeared in 1771, and which we had occasion to quote (p. 343), has never been translated. It forms the concluding article of his works (vol. iv), and we now refer to it and to his Dissertation written in 1789, to ascertain

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Sir W.
Jones.

the judgment of one so competent to give an opinion respecting the authenticity and value of the writings thus attributed to Zoroaster.

In his *Lettre* (p. 585), the writer speaks to the following purport. The curiosity of the public, and of the learned, respecting Zoroaster, had ceased, on seeing some fragments of his supposed writings, in the *Sadder* and other books, written in Persian by the magi. There were also already many treatises attributed to Zoroaster, or Zaratust, translated into modern Persian: these contained that legislator's supposed conferences with Ormuzd, prayers, dogmas, and sacred laws. Some learned men, who had read those translations, maintained that the originals were of the highest antiquity, because they contained many dull passages, mistakes, and contradictions; but we conclude, for the very same reasons, that they are quite modern, or, at least, that they are not the productions of a man of genius, and a philosopher, such as Zoroaster is described by historians. At p. 596, speaking of the late Arabic Professor, Dr. Hunt, and his supposed acquaintance with the ancient languages of Persia, he says, he is persuaded, as well as we are, that no one does, or ever will know them, at least, that all those histories, poems, and religious writings are irretrievably lost which the Caliph Omar and his generals so furiously destroyed. At p. 605, the letter writer quotes a specimen of the first supposed work of Zoroaster, from the French publication, describing it as a tedious liturgy, connected with absurd ceremonies, the undoubted rhapsody of some modern Guebre. At p. 607, &c. are extracts from the *Pazend*, on the qualities of the dog, described as an absurd rhapsody unworthy of a philosophic legislator. Upon the whole, the letter writer concludes (p. 609) that Zoroaster would have been destitute of common understanding, had he really written what M. Anquetil has ascribed to him.

Sir W.
Jones's Dis-
sertation.

From Sir W. Jones's Dissertation, written in 1789, it does not appear that he had materially altered his opinion as to the supposed writings of Zoroaster, translated by M. Anquetil. Of the translator, however, he speaks (p. 190) as of one "who had the merit of undertaking a voyage to India, in his earliest youth, with no other view than to recover the writings of Zaratust, and who would have acquired a brilliant reputation in France, if he had not sullied it by his immoderate vanity and virulence of temper, which alienated the good-will even of his own countrymen."

Mr. Rich-
ardson.

Mr. Richardson, who also criticised these supposed writings of Zoroaster, says in the Dissertation already quoted (p. 343), speaking of Zoroaster (p. 12), as represented by Hyde, "those fragments of his supposed works which the learned Doctor has given us, under the title of the *Sadder*, are the wretched rhymes of a modern *parsi destour* (priest), who lived about three centuries ago: from that work we cannot then have any thing authentic of the genius of the lawgiver; whilst the publications of M. Anquetil du Perron carry palpable marks of the total or partial fabrication of modern times, and give great weight to the opinion of Sir John Chardin: that the old dialect of Persia (excepting what remains in the present language) is lost; and that apparently no books now exist in it."

Mr. Richardson proceeds to sustain his opinion, by remarks on the language of M. Anquetil's *Zendavesta*,

and then offers, as a last reason, the "uncommon stupidity of the work itself." He adds, "the Zaratust of Persia, or the Zoroaster of the Greeks, was highly celebrated by the most discerning people of ancient times; and his tenets, we are told, were most eagerly embraced by the highest in rank, and the wisest men of the Persian empire. But could his success have possibly been so remarkable, had his religion breathed only the most jejune puerilities; without one ray of genius to rescue it from contempt, without a sentiment that could elevate the soul, or give one dignified idea of Omnipotence." He gives, as an instance, a passage in the *Vendidad Sade*, where "Ormuzd (Omnipotence) and Zoroaster are introduced in dialogue. The lawgiver wishes to know how a man should get rid of a demon called Daroudj Neosoch, supposing him, in the shape of a fly, to have taken possession of the crown of his head. Ormuzd directs him to wash the part, which would drive the fiend between the eye-brows; from thence he is to be forced, by another solution, to the back of the head; from that to the ear, then to the nose, the mouth, the chin; till at length we find him stationed on the left foot." Mr. Richardson gives the sequel of this dialogue, which is in the same strain, quoting the French of M. Anquetil (vol. i. pt. ii. p. 341) with his own English translation, and justly concludes, "can human credulity suppose this to be the composition of Zoroaster, or of any man who had pretensions to common sense?"

Mr. Richardson further says (p. 25), on considering the effects of the Mahometan conquest, by the victory of Kaddesia, in 636, "that the original works of the Persian lawgiver have long ago fallen a sacrifice to the ravages of time, and of conquest; that the publications of M. Anquetil have no pretensions to authenticity; and that nothing now remains, bearing the names of those celebrated books, but the absurd ceremonials of the modern Guebres." He adds, that "the Persia of Guzerat even acknowledge, that so far from now professing the ancient books of Zoroaster, they have not so much as one single copy saved by their ancestors from the general wreck in the seventh century."

To these objections of oriental scholars, so conver-
sant with these subjects, we are not aware that there has been any reply. M. De Pastoret, a member of the same academy with M. Anquetil du Perron, in the work which we have more than once quoted, and which was crowned by the Academy of Belles Lettres, in 1786, has entirely declined, or, perhaps, would not venture, to notice the objections raised against the work of his associate. He continually quotes M. Anquetil du Perron's *Zendavesta*, and even (p. 91) relates the rhapsody of the dog, as if no doubts had ever been entertained respecting these supposed writings of Zoroaster.

It is still more surprising that Sir John Malcolm, in his late splendid and interesting "History of Persia," should have been equally silent on this subject. In his seventh chapter "On the religion, &c. of the inhabitants of Persia, before the Mohammedan conquest" (p. 181), he pays a deserved respect to the opinions of Sir W. Jones, on the authenticity of the *Dabistan*, yet (p. 193) he quotes the *Zendavesta*, which "Anquetil du Perron has translated," as "certainly the most authentic source from which we can

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derive information upon the religion of Zoroaster," as if it had never been described as a modern compilation.

Having now mentioned, as the subject required, the critical doubts which may be fairly indulged as to those writings which learned moderns have attributed to Zoroaster, we proceed to state what has been related by the ancients respecting the works of the Persian prophet; or rather to gather up the very few fragments of early opinions on this subject which have escaped the ravages of time. Piny, whom we have before quoted, says that Zoroaster composed two millions of verses, which were explained by Hermippus. According to the Arabian writers, Zoroaster delivered a book to the magi, consisting of twelve volumes, each of which consisted of the entire hide of a bull; these immense rolls have been attributed to the large size of the Persian characters. According to Suidas, there were books by Zoroaster upon Gemes, on Astronomical Predictions, and four books concerning Nature.

Among the small remains now found in the writings of the Greeks, respecting the works and opinions of Zoroaster, the largest is a passage by Plutarch, to which we have already referred for his extravagant computation of the time of Zoroaster. In his life of Numa, he has named with that king the lawgivers Minos, Zoroaster, and Lycurgus; but in his and Osnis, he professes to describe the leading doctrines of Zoroaster the magus, though he certainly lived long enough after the time of Zoroaster to misunderstand his system. He says, however, that of his two principles, that magus, called Oromazes the good one, God, and Arimanus the evil one, Demon, the first resembling light, and the other, darkness; and that Mithras, or the Sun, was placed between them. He adds, that Zoroaster first taught men to make vows, and offer thanks to the one, and avert, by sacrifice, the displeasure of the other.

Plutarch next attributes to Zoroaster the origin of the following strange ceremony. They beat a certain plant called homoni in a mortar, and call up Pluto and the Dark; and then mix it with the blood of a sacrificed wolf, and convey it to a place where the sun never shines, and there cast it away. He then describes, as the opinions of Zoroaster's disciples, which they had learned from their master, that of plants, some opportunist to the good God, and others to the evil Demon; and also of animals: dogs and fowls belonging to the good, and water animals to the bad; for which reason they esteem him happy who destroys them. That Oromazes springing from pure light, and Arimanus from thick darkness, they are at perpetual war. That Oromazes made six gods the authors of benevolence, truth, justice, wisdom, wealth, and the conscious pleasure of doing good; and that Arimanus made the same number, with contrary qualities, to oppose them. That, after this, Oromazes, having first trebled his own magnitude, mounted up as far above the sun, as the sun is above the earth, and so bespangled the heavens with stars; but one star, called Sirius, he set as a sentinel before all the rest. That, after he had made twenty-four gods more, he placed them all in an egg-shell; but those which were made by Arimanus, being of the same number, breaking a hole in the egg-shell, bad things were blended with good. But the time is approaching, when Arimanus, who by means of these evil gods, brings upon the earth

plagues and famines, must be himself utterly destroyed; when the earth, become a plain, there will be one life, and one happy society of mankind, of a common speech.

This narration is neither very intelligible nor interesting; but it may serve to show how the opinions of Zoroaster were described in the first century of the Christian era. The account is closed by Plutarch, with a reference to the authority of Theopompus, a disciple of Socrates, who flourished five hundred years earlier than himself. Theopompus affirms that, according to the magi, each of these gods subdues, and is subdued by turns, for three thousand years; and that for three thousand years more, they fight to destroy each other's works, but that at length Pluto shall be subdued, and mankind shall be happy, and neither need food, nor yield a shadow. And that the god who projects these things, doth for some time take his repose; but yet this time is not much to him, although it seems so to man, whose sleep is but short. Such, concludes Plutarch, is the mythology of the magi.

The following fragment has been translated from Eusebius. Eusebius, who professes to find it in a collection of physics attributed to Zoroaster, probably the four books concerning Nature, before mentioned on the authority of Suidas. "God is the first, incorruptible, eternal, unbegotten, indivisible, most like himself, the charioteer of every good, one that cannot be bribed, the best of things good, the wisest of things wise. He is, moreover, the father of equity and justice, self-taught, self-existent, infinitely perfect, omniscient, and the sole ruler of nature." Besides these fragments, one from Eubulus, quoted by Porphyry, and some scattered passages in Platonic authors, there appear to be no remains of Zoroaster, except in the writings of the East, and the institutions which have in some degree continued to our times. To these subjects we must now confine our attention.

Sir W. Jones says, that Zoroaster "reformed the old religion by the addition of genii, or angels, presiding over months and days; of new ceremonies, in the veneration shown to fire, of a new work, which he pretended to have received from heaven; and above all, by establishing the actual adoration of one Supreme Being." He had in his service, "as a Persian reader, a learned follower of Zerdasht, who died at Calcutta, and is described (Diss. i. p. 201) as "a pure theist," who "strongly disclaimed any adoration of the fire or other elements: he denied that the doctrine of two coeval principles, supremely good, and supremely bad, formed any part of his faith."

Yet, if the writings ascribed by the modern Persians to Zoroaster do justice to his opinions, he considered the events of the world as produced by the jarring influence of opposite principles, each with the power of creation. But that the Source of good alone, the great Ormuzd, was eternal, and must, at last, prevail, after a war of twelve thousand years. Light was the type of the good, darkness of the evil spirit. "Hence," says Sir John Malcolm (i. p. 194), "the disciple of that prophet, when he performs his devotions in a temple, turns towards the sacred fire that burns upon its altar; and when in the open air, towards the sun, as the noblest of all lights, and that by which God sheds his divine influence over the whole earth, and perpetuates the works of his creation." Zoroaster is,

Zoroaster.
From
A. M.
3494.
B. C.
510.
to
A. M.
3524.
B. C.
480.

Theopompus.

Biography. said to have described the Deity by a term which signifies boundless time; and to have represented him as first creating water, light, and fire; and then from fire and water combined the god, or principal Ormazd. How Arimanius was created, does not appear.

According to Zoroaster, says Beausobre (*Hist. des Manich.*, p. 164), God who is self-existent, before all ages, formed the world, of pure and happy spirits, the same as the monks of the Manichæes, the intelligences of Plato, and the angels of the Jews and Christians. Three thousand years after that first work, God sent his will, under the form of a glorious light, and which appeared in the figure of a man, accompanied by seventy of the most honourable of the angels; then were formed the sun, the moon, the stars, and men.

Beausobre.

Three thousand years after, evil appeared, when God formed this lower world, bounded by the vortex of the moon, where the empire of evil and matter ceased. The magi thought matter animated, and having the power of producing from itself an infinity of beings, partaking of the imperfections of the cause which produced them. This matter lay in the lowest region.

Original bull.

From several of the books attributed to Zoroaster, M. De Pastoret describes (p. 23) his notion of an original bull (un premier taureau), from which animals, vegetables, and the human race have sprung; the latter from his legs (de sa jambe). The description of the resurrection, ascribed to him (p. 26) from the Béhémédesch, we cannot venture to translate. It is indigently minute. One opinion, however, is, that it will occupy fifty-seven years, during which all the dead shall be raised; their souls first, and afterwards their bodies, in the same manner as they were first united.

Resurrection.

When this account closes with the solemn declaration that "chacun verra le bien ou le mal qu'il aura fait" (every one shall behold the good or evil he has done), we cannot help suspecting that the works attributed to Zoroaster have been interpolated from the Christian scriptures. For the veneration paid to fire, and the other elements—the character and influence of the magi—the peculiarities of the religious and civil institutions ascribed to Zoroaster—the encouragements of marriage—the system of morals, and the penal sanctions, for these we must refer especially to the Zoroaster of M. de Pastoret, which probably contains the fullest information on this curious subject, to be found within a moderate compass, in any modern language. We remark further, that this learned academician in his comparisons, gives Zoroaster the superiority over Confucius and Mahomet as a legislator; but makes him yield to Confucius as a moralist, and to Mahomet as the founder of a religion.

Pastoret's comparisons.

Those who estimate highly the merit of Zoroaster, under the latter description, have supposed that the system he established was presently corrupted, and that it is ill represented by the present Guebres. Herbelot, as quoted by Lardner (*Works*, iii. p. 421), relates, after the "eastern authors," that Mani, who is said to have lived in the third century, "having gained some esteem, began to gather together a number of disciples, who opposed the worship and ceremonies of the religion of Zoroaster, which the Persians professed at that time." How that religion was professed in Persia, in the century preceding the Mahomedan conquest, and with what singular customs it was connected, we learn from the *Bibliotheca Literaria* (No. ix. p. 22), published

in 1724, by Mr. Wasse, where is "an Historical Account of some part of the Emperor Justinian's Life, abridged from the Greek," by the learned editor himself. Speaking of Mermerces, a Persian general, who, A. D. 552, carried on the war of Chosroes against Justinian, the historian (p. 40), thus writes:

"He died at Mechiasta, a city of Iberia, where his body was entombed in wild beasts and fowls of the air, according to the custom of Persia. And it was an honour that they waited for his death, for in lesser men that labour under any distemper in the army, supposed to be incurable, the way is to expose the patient in the open fields, a prey to ravens and vultures; only they set bread and water by him, and leave a staff in his hand, that he may defend himself; but the sooner he is devoured, the greater opinion do they conceive of his virtue. If he happen to recover, then he is abhorred of all; and his own relations will not suffer him to come near them, till the magi, by some particular ceremonies, expiate the sin of recovery, atone for his return to life, and restore him to this world."

"This practice," adds the historian, "is the more remarkable, because all the adjacent countries use either urn-burial, or deposit the body entire in tombs and coffins as we do; but the Persians have laid aside their ancient usages, and embraced those of Zoroaster, or as they call him, Zarades, the son of Oromasda, who lived in the time of Hystaspes; but which of that name and family is now unknown. At present, they are generally Manichæes, and worship two independent principles, the first of which, Hormisdates, is, according to their notions, author of all good, as the second is of evil; him they style Arimanius. The greatest festival they celebrate is called, in honour of the former, *Avân-pour Kaûr*, the destruction of evil; in this they kill a great number of serpents and wild beasts, and bring them to the magi, as a token of their piety."

About a century after the date of this description, many of those who professed to maintain the religion of Zoroaster quitted Persia, on the Mahomedan conquest, and settled about Surat, in the East Indies; there, Sir Thomas Herbert, in 1632, found their descendants. He has described their opinions and customs (Harris, i. p. 414), and evidently considered them as worshippers of fire, in the pyres, or fire-temples, which had escaped the rage of persecution. Thus, Tavernier also, who travelled in 1673, esteemed the Gurs, or Guebres, whom he found in the province of Kerman, though, according to Hyde (p. 111), they resented the imputation. He adds, a conversation which a friend, by his desire, had held with their priests. He asked whether, in their worship, they addressed their prayers directly to the fire. He answered never, but always to Almighty God. But, as Mr. Farmer remarks (*Worship of Hum. Spir.*, p. 57), "the remains of the ancient Persians, in different parts of the east, are under peculiar temptations to represent their worship as consistent with the divine unity, because the Mahomedans, though indulgent to all other religions, detest, and persecute idolaters, and the worshippers of fire." For this opinion, he quotes Sir W. Jones, who adds, "Si quelques familles de ces malheureux trouvoient le moyen de se retirer dans L'Inde, ils ne pourroient conserver que quelques traditions imparfaites au sujet de leurs anciennes loix."

Zoroaster.
From A. M. 3494.
— B. C. 510.
— A. M. 3524.
— B. C. 480.

Followers of Zoroaster.

Their settlement at Surat.

Mani.

CONFUCIUS.

—
FLOURISHED ABOUT A. M. 3454. A. C. 550.

Biography.

A. M.
3454.
—
A. C.
550.

CONFUCIUS is the name by which the great Chinese philosopher *Confu-tsi* has been so long known in European literature, that it might savour of affectation were we not to employ it in relating what is known of the life and doctrines of this celebrated man. It appears that he was born at *Chen-Ping*, about the year A. C. 550. To those who have credulously believed in the extreme antiquity of the Chinese empire, and in the great progress which its inhabitants had made in art, science, and literature, above two thousand years earlier, it cannot but appear remarkable that no monuments remain of any extraordinarily eminent person before the time of *Confucius*; and this surprise must be greatly augmented, when we come to consider the very meagre productions extant as the foundations of his celebrity. A little reflection on the probable state of China at the period when *Confucius* lived, will, however, serve to remove any surprise that may be entertained on either of these accounts. It has been shown in our *Introductory Chapter on History*, that the Chinese originally consisted of wandering tribes, which, having been induced to settle on the fertile banks of some great river, probably the *Huang-Ho*, had there become agricultural, and consequently populous, had grown formidable by union, gradually enlarged their dominion, acquired the rudiments of letters and arts sufficient to reduce their savage neighbours to their power, and at length, about six or eight hundred years before the Christian era, had become united under a regular government, with laws similar, perhaps, in rudeness and brevity, to the fragments which have come down to us of the laws of *Numa Pompilius* and of the twelve tables. Even these circumstances are sufficiently curious, if they took place, as there is great reason to believe they did, without the intervention of foreign conquerors, or of a class of priests or philosophers from foreign countries. In those parts of the world where civilization has been undoubtedly of the longest continuance, we find traces of continual intercourse between the different races and nations. War and commerce have been the handmaids of philosophy and religion.

No traces of
intercourse
with other
nations.

*Græcia capta feram victorem cepit, et artes
Involuit agresti Latine—*

and in more modern times, a connection originally begun with the coasts of Africa, for the abominable purpose of trafficking in the persons of the natives, has ended in the establishment of a society for the express purpose of liberating their bodies from oppression, and their minds from ignorance and heathenism. But hitherto the progress of the Chinese has been wholly their own. They have received nothing from their neighbours but a superstition which they despise, and confine to the lowest classes of their people; and though, at various periods, since the beginning of the fifteenth century, some of their emperors and great men have shown a

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disposition to listen to the truths of Christianity, they have generally fallen back to the narrow and exclusive policy of discouraging all foreign intercourse, a policy which, as it originated in an unfounded self-conceit, so it must perpetuate error, and lead to ultimate degradation.

In the time of *Confucius*, this policy either did not exist, or, if it existed, was not, in appearance, very blamable; for the Chinese could have no knowledge of any other nations, who were not far from their interiors in all kinds of useful information. Of the great empires which then existed in the more western parts of the world, they were totally ignorant; they could not even imagine that such regions existed; for they knew not the form of the earth, and had not the means of exploring the paths of the ocean. They seemed to themselves to live in the centre of light and intellect, surrounded on all sides by mere barbarians and savages, to whom they might communicate instruction, but could learn nothing from them; and whom they had no occasion to fear, but might, at their leisure, subdue and render tributary.

We are not, however, to suppose that their superiority over their neighbours in all the arts of peace and war, was so great as the expressions of even their best writers, when rendered into the European languages would give us room to believe; and the reason for this is well explained by *M. De Guignes*. "One of the causes," says he, "which have led the Chinese into great errors with regard to the ancient state of their country, is the having given to their ancient characters the acceptance which they did not acquire till later times. The characters which are now translated by the words *emperor, province, city, and palace*, meant no more in former times than *chief of a tribe, district, camp, and house*; but these simple meanings flattered the vanity of the Chinese very little, and they therefore preferred employing terms which might represent their ancestors as rich, powerful, and instructed in the arts; and their empire as vast and flourishing in the very first moments of its foundation. It is necessary, therefore, to distrust all these new denominations, and never to pronounce on their accuracy without having first carefully consulted the original text."

It is to be observed, that the earliest books now extant in China, are themselves of very doubtful antiquity, and that the earliest date which can be assigned to any of them, is not prior to the year A. C. 250. Those which pretend to an earlier composition, and particularly the works attributed to *Confucius* himself, have undoubtedly undergone great interpolation. Nevertheless, these are the works on which we are expected to rely for the early history of China, for at least two thousand seven hundred years before they were written! The most reasonable exposition of the Chinese chronicles, fixes the reign of *Fo-Hi*, two thousand nine hundred

Confucius.

A. M.
3454.
—
A. C.
550.

Time of
Confucius.

The superiority
ascribed to
the Chinese
through the
antiquity
of language.

Books now
extant.

Biography.
A. N.
3454.
B. C.
550.

Extra-
vagant pre-
visions of
the Chinese
chronolo-
gist.

Meng-tse's
account of
the empire
under Yao.

Fe-Hi sup-
posed iden-
tical with
Noah.

Fallacy of
this.

De Halde.

and fifty-three years before Christ; but almost every incident which is recorded between that time and the age of Confucius, proves the absolute state of barbarism from which the Chinese had but just emerged at the latter period. *Fe-Hi*, it is said, taught the arts of hunting and fishing: in other words, the time in which this imaginary person lived, was when the Chinese, or the most civilized of their tribes lived in the hunter state, as the North American Indians do now. *Shang-Nong*, one hundred and twenty years afterwards, established fairs and markets; thus we pass rapidly over the shepherd state, and come down to that of agriculture and commerce. *Wang-Ti*, two hundred years later, invented bells, boats, chariots, gowns, and caps: that is to say, men lived in towns, and adopted the customs common in that stage of society. That even this progress is too rapid, is manifest, because we find the Chinese historians describing the state of the country under Yao, three hundred and forty years subsequently, in the following terms: "The country presented only a desert, and the men were half savages. The empire was not yet formed; the lowlands were covered with stagnant water, the remains of inundation; those parts which were not still submerged, were covered with trees and bushes, and had become the haunt of innumerable wild beasts. Yao set fire to the forests, in order to clean the ground and to dislodge the fierce animals: he dug canals to drain off the water into the rivers, and so convey it to the sea. Chinn was at this period only a residence for serpents and dragons; the men who inhabited it had no fixed dwelling-places, but were compelled to shelter themselves on trees when in the low country, and in caves when they were among the mountains." Such are the terms in which *Meng-tse*, a Chinese philosopher, describes the state of his country, at a period many centuries subsequent to the time, when, according to some authors, it was a flourishing, populous, and refined empire!

There is so total a confusion in the dates of the early Chinese history, that some writers have supposed *Fe-Hi* to be identical with *Noah*, while others have imagined Yao to be that patriarch. There was a deluge in the time of Noah, and there was an inundation in the time of Yao; and the terms which have been used by some of the Chinese historians, as descriptive of the latter event, have been either so much exaggerated originally, or so much misunderstood by subsequent expositors, as to be supposed applicable to a general submersion of the surface of the whole earth beneath the waters. De Guignes, however, has completely demonstrated the absurdity of this application, and has shown that the original terms convey no other idea than that of the overflowing of some great river, occasioned by the fall of a rock, which blocked up its course, or by some convulsion which turned the stream from its usual channel.

In order to produce an impression that the empire of China was of vast extent in the time of Yao, it is stated that he divided it into nine *cheu*. "Every one of these *cheu*," says De Halde, "consisted of ten *shu*, every *shu* of ten *tu*, every *tu* contained ten towns, every town five streets, every street three *ho-ki*, every *ho-ki* three *ling*, every *ling* nine *king*, every *king* a hundred *mu*, and every *mu* contained 240 paces in length, and one in breadth." This continual subdivision of land, as it is a thing utterly impracticable in point of fact, so

the assertion of its existence only proves the account to be wholly imaginary. The word *cheu* is explained somewhat differently, in a Chinese dictionary named *Tching-te-tong*, according to which, it signifies 500 houses or families, so that the great empire of Yao would be reduced to 4,500 families; and as it is admitted that families in China do not average more than four souls each, the population of this mighty empire would be reduced to 18,000 persons! Dr. GUIGUES, however, has explained the matter satisfactorily. The word *cheu*, according to him, signifies an island, or tract of habitable land, surrounded by water; and it so happened, that in the territory governed by Yao, there were nine of these districts, which that monarch drained, or protected by dikes against future inundation. Father Ko, the missionary, contends that these works of the emperor, or chieftain Yao, were very limited in extent, and that he ruled over a very narrow territory. Above eight hundred years after their erection, according to the Chinese annals (viz. a. c. 1401), we read of an emperor proposing to his subjects to abandon their dwellings and remove to another situation, "according to the custom of their ancestors." This fact could only have happened in a state of society when men had, within living memory, quitted the hunter or shepherd state, and betaken themselves to agriculture. If in their new employment they happened to meet with some great inconveniences, arising either from the fault of the seasons or of their own ignorance, they might in a moment of vexation propose to recur to their old wandering way of life; but to suppose that a great emperor, residing in a magnificent palace, and ruling over a number of large cities, should gravely recommend to his subjects such a step, is to suppose that his imperial majesty had already taken leave of his senses. Sixty-nine years after this curious proposal, however, we find another emperor actually abandoning his palace to go and live at the foot of a wild mountain. Again, two hundred and twenty-four years later, we find *Tchou-Kong*, the brother of the emperor *Fou-Fong*, going to fix upon the site of a new town, which is built in five days! Nothing can more manifestly prove that the towns of China in those days were like those of our British ancestors in the time of Julius Caesar, or like those of the Hottentots in the present day, surrounded, perhaps, by a ditch or some rude kind of defence against savage beasts, or men no less savage.

If we look at the more minute pictures which the historians give of the modes of living in these early ages, we shall find them all pointing to the same result. The Emperor Yao is described as inhabiting a mere cabin, the roof of which was covered with thick mud and earth; and the rain made the grass grow upon it. The only entrance was by a door fronting the south, and admitting visitors into a large walled court, which served as a hall of audience, and also as a sort of market-place. At the opposite end stood a sort of shed, where the weights and measures for the market were kept; beyond this there was another open court and last of all, the humble dwelling of the emperor raised a little above the level of the ground: the steps leading to it were simply made of turf, and bordered with a row of trees to shelter his imperial majesty and his courtiers from the heat of the noon-day sun, whilst they discussed and settled the great affairs of state.

Conclusion.
A. N.
3454.
B. C.
550.

De Guignes.

B. C.
1401.

General
barbarism
of the Chi-
nese at this
period.

Yao's pa-
laced.

Biography.

A. M.
3454.
B. C.
550.
The Shu-
King.

The emperor's subjects lived still more simply than their sovereign. Some of them dwelt on the tops of the mountains, and others lived in caves. The habits of life of their great men, as described in the *Shu-king*, reputed a work of almost sacred antiquity, are at least as rustic as those which we find in the *Odyssey*. *Heou-tai*, who is regarded as the founder of the *Tcheou* dynasty, appears to have been employed, like another Cincinnatus, at the plough, and in all the most fatiguing exercises of husbandry. For his services as director of agriculture to the Emperor *Yao* (which services, as they are described, were pretty much the same as those of a modern farm-buff), he was rewarded with permission to occupy the district of *Pia*, a tract of land in the province of *Sara-si*, about seven leagues square, possessed by some tartars, who lived by feeding hogs on the mountains. It is hardly possible to read the account given of *Heou-tai*, and not to call to mind *Eumæus*, the faithful feeder of hogs to King Ulysses, whom Homer calls *ἄρκαρ' ἄρκαρ' ἄρκαρ'*, "the noble swineherd," and *ἄρκαρ' ἄρκαρ'*, "a prince of men," and whose great merit consisted in having built, by his own labour, a spacious sty, in which he kept six hundred sows. It appears, too, that in the time of our Saxon ancestors, the king's *stye-ward* was a very important personage, whose office being afterwards pronounced *steward*, gave name to the royal family of *Stewart* which so long possessed the Scottish and English thrones. A similar circumstance occurred in China; for the descendants of the *stye-ward*, *Heou-tai* continuing in possession of their little territory of *Pia*, and possibly adding to it some adjoining lands, were, at length, powerful enough to wage war against the emperors of the *Chang* dynasty, to overcome them, and found a dynasty of their own, named *Tcheou*, or *Chou*, which is said to have lasted for eight hundred and seventy-six years; viz. from the year b. c. 1122 to the year a. c. 246.

General
consistency
of the
Chinese
chronology.

In referring to these dates, we would not have it understood that we think them at all to be relied on, and still less those of an earlier period. The writers who proceed on the idle assumption of a Chinese empire, founded immediately after the confusion of languages, suppose *Fo-Hi* to be Noah, and leave his pretended successors, *Shang-Nong* and *W'ang-Ti*, to be accounted for as may be thought most agreeable. This brings them down to the Emperors *Yao* and *Shun*, whom they chuse to pitch upon as leaders of the wondrous colonies which marched direct from the plains of Senaar to the banks of the Yellow river, and there found themselves at once sovereigns of a mighty empire. From the time of Shun, the empire, say they, ceased to be elective, and then began the hereditary dynasties, of which the first was that of the *Hia*, which began either in the year a. c. 2207, or 2198, or 2025; for a century or two is of no great moment in such matters; it, however lasted till the year a. c. 1767, when it was succeeded by that of the *Chang*, which reigned six hundred and forty-four years uninterruptedly, and then gave way to the dynasty of *Chou*, which continued eight hundred and seventy-six years, and under which Confucius was born. It is not very probable, that the first one thousand nine hundred and sixty-one years of this hereditary monarchy should have produced only three dynasties, and the next two thousand and sixty-four to the present time, no less than nineteen; and if this account has not probability to recommend it, has cer-

tainly very little else. It is said to be established by the Chinese annals confirmed by astronomical observation. Let us inquire into these facts. First, what are the Chinese annals? Certain books printed on paper, of no very durable substance. It is not pretended that any of the books actually existing are of very great age, probably not more than two or three centuries at the very utmost. It is suggested, however, that they have been copied from more ancient editions on silk; but none of these silk books exist, or are positively known to have ever existed. Again, it is said that prior to the reign of *Yen-Ti*, who died in the year a. c. 157, the Chinese wrote with pointed iron styles, on the leaves and bark of trees. Whether they did so in the time of *Yen-Ti*, we have no very satisfactory means of knowing, but that they did, before the invention of paper, is very probable; for some of the oriental nations do to this day, and manuscripts of this kind are to be found in the Bodleian and other public libraries in Europe. We are not, indeed, aware that any Chinese books so written are extant; but we may reasonably conclude, that they were the originals from which the most ancient of the present histories were with more or less fidelity copied. At what period either paper or printing was first introduced into China, it would be utterly in vain to inquire. Respectable writers have supposed that both these events occurred before the Christian era: we confess that we should place them nearly a thousand years later; but the whole subject is very much in the dark, and it is not on such data as these, that the authenticity or correctness of the Chinese annals can be at all ascertained. Father Trigault, one of the first Christian missionaries to China, and who wrote A. D. 1615, affirms that the Chinese cannot produce proof of any edition having existed before A. D. 1100. Some of the Chinese historians admit that printing was not practised till the reign of *Ming-Tsang*, about A. D. 926. The art, as still practised in that country, is very far inferior to the ingenious invention of Fust and Scheffer, to which we owe the present productions of our press. It is a mere stamp, such as was used by the Romans to mark their wine casks, and for many similar purposes, and was probably adopted by the Chinese from the Indian mode of stamping cottons. If neither the paper nor the printing will help to ascertain the antiquity of any given work, will the form of the characters, or the dialect in which it is written? As to the form of the characters, all that can be said is, that some are certainly more ancient than others. There are at present thirty-two different hands or types in which literary works are written or printed in China; and some of these are so much more rude and simple than the others, and approach so nearly toward picture writing, that we cannot well be mistaken in attributing to them considerable antiquity; but their exact age, it must be very difficult to determine, since there are no ancient inscriptions on brass or marble, no coins or medals, no writing, in short, of undoubted antiquity, with which they may be compared. The spoken language, it is well known, has no connection of sound with the written language; and besides, the spoken dialects of the different provinces vary extremely, nor can any one, except the court dialect, be understood all over the kingdom, and that only by the literary class. The whole proof of the age of these annals, therefore, must arise from the style of their composition, or the subjects of which they treat. As to

Confucius.

A. M.
3454.
B. C.
550.

Construction
of the
early books.

Paper and
printing
early known
to the Chi-
nese.

What their
early plac-
ing truly
was.

Spoken
language.

Biography.

A. M.
3454.
—
E. C.
550.

Astronomical
observations
of the
Chinese.

The Chron-
ology of
Confucius

B. C.
722.

Entire un-
certainty of
the Chinese
annals.

style. Mr. Marshman, the latest and one of the best critics in Chinese literature, states, that on comparing a collection of the discourses attributed to Confucius, with two commentaries on them, the one published fifteen hundred years after the supposed date of his death, and the other much later, the only difference he could discover between them and the original, consisted in the former being rather less concise. Now this may have happened, from the language having been written and spoken for more than two thousand years without undergoing any material change; but it is certainly much more likely to have happened, either from successive corruptions of the original text of the books attributed to Confucius, or from absolute fabrication of works in his name. It only remains, then, to determine the age of these writings, by the subjects of which they treat.

Of these, the most important for ascertaining the real dates of events, are undoubtedly the astronomical phenomena which happen to be recorded, and particularly the eclipses. It was for some time contended, that the Chinese had observed an eclipse in the reign of *Chang-Heng*, a. c. 2169; but this has been for some time given up; for it appears, that the supposed record mentions neither the year nor the month of the event; nor is it very clear whether the word which is rendered an eclipse, has any such meaning. The *Chou-tseu*, an historical work, attributed to Confucius, does, indeed, mark the eclipses with some degree of regularity; but that work only begins in the year a. c. 722, prior to which time the author himself confesses that there is no certainty in the Chinese history; and, moreover, on examining the work carefully, it appears, that three eclipses are mentioned which never occurred at all, and two, which though they really took place, could not be seen in China. The natural inferences to be drawn from this fact are the same as before, viz. that the text has been either interpolated, or forged. This work, however, bears the venerable name of *Confucius*, and the next great historian to him is *Se-ma-tseu*, to whom we may judge what credit is due, when we find him attributing to the empire of *Huang-Ti* (a. c. 2637), on extent and a splendour almost beyond conception, and certainly beyond what it at any time, ancient or modern, ever attained. And how should *Se-ma-tseu* have known the fact, if it had been true? Confucius, in the sixth century before Christ, could not go back more than two centuries before his own time with any confidence; three centuries after Confucius, all the books, or, to speak more properly, all the bundles of inscribed wood which served for books, are said to have been burnt by a certain wicked emperor, named *Shi-Huang-Ti*, and two centuries later *Se-ma-tseu* collected their ashes, out of which history, like another phoenix, arose in new brilliancy and beauty!

It is not to be denied that the Chinese are an ancient people; but the proofs are not to be found in their miserable annals; the best proofs are the *ignorance* and *corruption* which they exhibited five centuries and a half ago, when they were first visited by Europeans, and which they retain to this day with little variation.

In pursuing the history of such a people, we fall unavoidably into anachronism at every step. We trace their fables backward into perfect night; and even from the time of their most celebrated sage, by whose name we have designated this article, the path is by no means clear; his name seems the only land-mark in

the early records of this empire upon whose existence and general pretensions all historians are agreed, and it is a name which occupies a vast moral space in its history; but in estimating his merits as a moralist and philosopher, we must apologize once for all to the reader, not only for occasionally travelling to remoter ages to illustrate the existing situation of his country at the period of his birth, but for many allusions to the effect and extent of his influence upon the minds of this singular people to the present day. There is no other method of doing justice to our subject.

Every thing leads us to believe that the first Chinese came from the heights of Tartary, and established themselves in the modern province of Szechuan, on the banks of the different streams which fall into the *Huang-Ho*, or Yellow River, where a rich alluvial soil tempted them to abandon the pastoral for the agricultural state. In this manner, various tribes seem to have formed different kingdoms, which gradually coalesced into larger empires; but *Kathai* and *Manj*, that is, northern and southern China were not united till the time of *Kohai Kise* (a. n. 1279). The traces of the Tartarian origin of the Chinese are very discernible. The most remarkable is the imperial symbol, a dragon. Of the notion of this fabulous animal, it would, perhaps, be difficult to discover the origin. Perhaps it originated in the crocodile, which is found in some of the Chinese rivers, as well as in those of India. When Indian superstition peopled the sky with monsters, the great dragon of the waters, perhaps, received his wings, as fit appendages for an inhabitant of those airy regions. Be this as it may, the dragon was certainly a Scythian, that is, Tartarian symbol in the earliest ages. It became the standard of the ancient Persians, and probably from them, by various descents, gave the name to our present *dragons*. The Scythians had a superstitious veneration for the number *nine*; so have the Chinese. The reason of this seems to be, that their notions of number are derived from a very barbarous age in which men counted by *threes*. On examining the numerals of different savage nations, it seems that some count only by threes, others by fives, and the most ingenious by tens. The Chinese architecture, such as it is, is manifestly taken from the erection of tents; and the opening of all the great palaces is to the south, as was the custom of the Tartars with their tents. It seems probable, however, that the Chinese separated from the Tartarian stock before the latter had received the division of time into weeks, which division, among the idolatrous nations, was uniformly combined with the worship of the planets, or their presiding divinities. The Chinese, it appears, never worshipped the separate planets, nor ever used the hebdomadal division of time.

If any government was ever founded on parental authority, it must have been the Chinese, for the emperor seems to unite in his person the respect due to a father and to a sovereign. It is not possible to say how far this principle may have gone in early times; but it is more probable that the king or emperor was originally a sort of elective magistrate, to whom was confided the chief direction, not only of the military and civil, but also of the religious affairs. Possibly the customs of different tribes in China were originally different in this respect. It is said that there are some traces in the early Chinese history of a high priest

Confucius.

A. M.
3454.
—
B. C.
550.

The present
empire not
united until
A. D. 1279.

Foundation
of the poli-
tical struc-
ture.

Biography

A. M.
3454.
B. C.
550.

The Chou
dynasty.

Structure
of the pre-
sent lan-
guage.

called *Tai-Chi-tsing*, and also of an established priest-hood. It is indeed difficult to conceive a nation emerging from barbarism without such a body, and therefore we may believe them to have existed in China, and to have lost their power, which left to the civil magistrates the exclusive direction of religious affairs, or rather of religious ceremonies. If any such conclusion took place, all memory of it is lost in the night of time. It would seem that in the time of Confucius, who certainly flourished under the *Chou* dynasty, the government had long been an hereditary monarchy, and that the literary class to which he belonged, had been placed under legal regulation and entrusted with the chief civil offices in the state; both which circumstances imply a considerable progress in civilization, when compared with what we have already observed of the previous state of manners. The arts, however, were still in their infancy, which the remarks of De Guignes on the written language of the Chinese sufficiently prove. In this language a certain character stands for a particular object or conception of the mind, another character for another, and the union of the two for a third. It must certainly have happened, that when any two characters were first united, the new character formed by their union expressed an object or notion common to both; and it can only have been by subsequent and gradual changes of meaning, that it came to signify something extremely different. Some of these compounds still retain an obvious allusion to their primitives; thus the characters *field* and *man* mean a *field-man*, *countryman*, a *farmer*; the characters *not* and *straight* mean *crooked*, *pervious*, &c. In others the allusion is less obvious; and therefore we must presume that they refer to particular circumstances in the ancient state of the people, which have now ceased to exist. Thus, when we find that the characters *dog* and *covering* united signify a *family*, we cannot but conclude, that when this character was first introduced, Chinese families in general lived, as our Irish peasantry now do, in the same apartment with their pigs. The written language of the Chinese not being alphabetical, but verbal, must necessarily have undergone changes exactly similar to those which our spoken language has suffered. Thus, an English writer, meaning to express this same notion, *family*, will beg to be remembered to his friend's *fire-side*, because, in our mode of domestic life, the family is most frequently collected by the *side* of the *fire*. If we used the verbal writing of the Chinese, the combined characters of *side* and *fire* would signify a *family*, and would come to be so employed, even in our settlements within the tropics.

Nor is it only in compound words, that the written language of the Chinese is liable to changes which very much pervert the historical conceptions of an inexperienced reader. The same circumstance necessarily arises from the gradual transitions of meaning, through which simple terms often proceed. It is thus that the English word *knave*, from meaning simply "a boy," has come to signify "a fraudulent person;" so the Latin *castrum*, a camp, pronounced by our Anglo-Saxon ancestors, *caester*, has come to signify the city of *Caeter*. So in Chinese, the character signifying *writing*, has come to mean painting, drawing, and embroidery; and hence we are told, that these three latter arts flourished in the earliest epochs of the

Chinese monarchy. The character rendered *palace*, means "a house of two stories;" that expounded *collage*, a "sheepfold." We are told, that the emperor *Hwang-Ti* coined money; and that his empress, a very ingenious lady, discovered the arts of rearing silk-worms, spinning their webs into thread, manufacturing that thread into stuff, and of the stuff making handsome silken robes and garments of all sorts; but it unfortunately happens, that the character signifying *money* nowhere occurs in history before the time of the *Chang* dynasty, and that all the words into which the character of *silken* enters, are subsequent to the commencement of the succeeding dynasty of *Chow*. In like manner, though this same *Hwang-Ti* (who at the most moderate calculation, lived about three hundred years before the deluge), found out, among his various discoveries, the art of *dying*; yet there was no character to express the colours used in dying until some 15 or 1600 years afterward. He moreover was a great astronomer, and caused to be made a *celestial sphere*. But the word which is rendered "sphere", might more properly be rendered "the cover of a pot"; and the utmost that we can reasonably infer from it is, that some ancient chieftain of one of the tribes, which afterwards coalesced into the Chinese monarchy, possessed a rude chart of the appearance of the visible heavens, serving to indicate the relative situation of the most distinguishable of the fixed stars. This is the more probable, inasmuch as the same prince is said to have instituted sacrifices to the Lord of heaven, or God of the firmament, a personification evidently resembling the *Idra* of Hindoo mythology. It is now pretty well known, that all the pretended astronomical observations of the Chinese, in early ages, were absolute forgeries; that on the arrival of the Jesuits in that country, they found no person there capable of calculating an eclipse; and that though they met with some astronomical instruments at Nankin, these must necessarily have been brought thither from a distant country, as they were only adapted to the latitude of 36° N.; whereas, Nankin is in 32°. M. de Guignes remarks, that astronomy could not have made much progress among a people who considered arithmetic as a sort of magic; for the character which expresses *numbers*, is composed of the figure which represents "a demon", redoubled. It is thus, that our rude ancestors spoke of "grammartye", and "ars metrique", (grammar and arithmetic), as synonymous with necromancy, and other imaginary supernatural arts. *Hwang-Ti*, we are assured by some writers, had so high a respect for the science of astronomy, that he established not merely astronomical professorships in his universities, but seats in his cabinet for certain great ministers of state, whose sole business it was "to observe the motions of the celestial bodies." It is a lamentable degradation of this magnificent narrative, to find that the character which is explained "observing the stars", really means no more than "examining the lots"; and that the whole business which these worthy gentlemen had to perform, was to see whether the stars were lucky or unlucky. To this hour, indeed, the Chinese are merely *astrologers*, and not astronomers. They consult the stars for their guidance in all affairs, public and private. They have a code of laws very sagaciously drawn up by the wise emperor *Kong-ki*, to which both the stars and the star-gazers must necessarily conform; and they have

Confucius.

A. V.
3454.
B. C.
550.

Early acts
of the Chi-
nese.

The Jesuits
discovered
astronomi-
cal instru-
ments in
China.

The Chinese
are
not astro-
nomers.

Biography. a body of official soothsayers, for the good of the state, who are bound to predict right, under pain of the bastinado. Luckily, the persons who enjoy these honourable posts, keep up a good understanding with the Mandarins, whose business it is to compare the predictions with the events, and consequently the balance of debtor and creditor, between fortune and the fortune-tellers, is always struck in favour of the latter. This gross and senseless superstition has prevailed in China at all times, and with all classes of people. The great emperor *Kien-Lang*, the first man of science in his dominions, would not step out of doors on the 4th of February, 1795, under the persuasion that the eclipse, which had just happened, presaged some great misfortune to him, in case he quitted his palace!

General state of knowledge before Confucius' time. It has been supposed that the Chinese, before the time of Confucius, understood the use of *burning glasses*; because the character *kouên* or *kunn* is explained "to light any thing at the fire of the sun;" but this compound character does not contain the simple character signifying "the sun;" and the better commentators expound it "to light a fire for the regulation of time," a custom which seems consistent with the habits of a rude and uncalculated age, and resembling what we are told of King Alfred, who measured the time of his studies by the burning of a watch-candle.

The few particulars which we have here noticed, may serve to afford a general notion of the state of knowledge in China, when Confucius first appeared. A full and accurate delineation of the country, its manners, customs, and institutions, cannot now be obtained: few documents exist to furnish out such a detail; and of those few, the greater part consist of obvious exaggeration and falsehood.

Birth-place of philosopher. The birth-place of Confucius was at *Shan Ping*, in the kingdom of *Lu*, the present *Shan-Tung*; and, from different circumstances, it is probable that this kingdom was in a great measure independent of the neighbouring kingdoms of *Tai*, and of *Siu*. It is asserted, that Confucius was of a family descended from *Ti-Ye*, the twenty-seventh emperor of the second race; but as we have no great faith in the Chinese genealogies of that period, we shall place this circumstance among the fictions of his followers in later times, to do honour to the memory of their master. He was undoubtedly of the literary class from which the mandarins are chosen; and it is said, that from his infancy he distinguished himself by his remarkable progress in philosophy.

Class. Certain it is, that he made those advances in rank and dignity, which in China could not be made without much study, and an acquaintance with the works of his predecessors in different branches of learning. He became, say his biographers, one of the first mandarins in the kingdom of *Lu*. It is difficult to ascertain whether the distinction of orders was so minute and exact in the time of Confucius as it has since become. The Chinese authors, indeed, attribute this distinction to *Yao*; but his history is altogether fabulous. That monarch appears in their oldest histories to have been clothed with a simple garment of linen in summer, and of lamb-skin in winter. This fact is convincingly proved by the form of the characters employed to express his dress; since they are only compounded of the more simple characters signifying *flax*, and *wool*. It is not easy to believe that such a sovereign could have been

able to institute nine orders of literary, and six orders of military mandarins, and to distinguish not only each order, but the separate classes of each order, by the quality of their dress, the symbolical figures embroidered on it, and the jewels by which it is ornamented. Such, however, is the modern custom, as described by D'HARLELOT in the article *Six*, the Arabic name for this country. The mandarins of the literary class are distinguished by the figure of a bird, as the swan, eagle, peacock, &c.; those of the military class by a beast, as the lion, tiger, leopard, &c. These figures, embroidered in silk and gold, are worn on days of ceremony by the officers of the different ranks, on two square tablets, one on the back the other on the breast; besides which, each has in his cap a distinctive jewel according to his dignity; but the most honourable figure is the dragon, this being, as we have already mentioned, the imperial symbol. It is embroidered on the robes of the emperor, and of the mandarins belonging to the three highest literary and four highest military orders, with this essential distinction, however, that the feet of the emperor's dragon have five claws, and those of the mandarins only three! The *holies* too, who are not less tenacious of rank than their husbands, wear on their dresses (says this author) the same symbols of their respective dignities. As the emperor's dress forms an essential part of this system, and as the whole seems to be connected with the arts of embroidery and the manufactures of silk, it is tolerably certain that the system could not have existed before the time of the *Caru* dynasty, when the character expressing *silk* first came into use.

It is not very improbable, that about this period, China was somewhat similarly situated with Greece; and that each consisted of several independent states; and that the philosophers, or literary class, were in each a distinguished body of men: among whom Pythagoras, in Greece, and Confucius in China, were the most eminent. The religious system to which Confucius adhered, was either that which the government of his day supported, or that which eventually became predominant. We shall have occasion to speak more particularly of it hereafter; but at present, we only notice it as one of the circumstances which tended to bring him into general notice, and to give his opinions that weight and influence with his contemporaries, which insured their subsequent celebrity.

Early part of his life. The early part of his life, as recorded by his followers, is probably little better than a mere romance. However, it may be proper to notice its prominent traits. He was but three years old, says the tale, when he lost his father, *Chou-Leang-Ho*, who had enjoyed the highest office in the kingdom of Long, but who died in a state of honourable poverty, leaving young Confucius to the care of his wife *Ching*, and his father *Coom-Tse*. The young philosopher, we are told, took no delight in playing like other boys, a very bad symptom, as we should have apprehended, of the vigour of his intellectual faculties; but which is, of course, recorded to his honour. He was remarkably grave and serious in his deportment, and endeavoured, say his biographers, to imitate in all things his grandfather! For this old gentleman he entertained an extraordinary degree of veneration; but nevertheless, he one day ventured to reprove him with much philosophic dignity. The occasion was as follows. *Coom-Tse* was

Confucius.
A. M.
3454.
B. C.
550.

China compared with Greece at this period.

Early life of Confucius.

Biography.
A. M.
3454.
—
B. C.
550.
Incredible
anecdotes
of him.

sitting absorbed in a melancholy reverie, in the course of which he fetched several deep sighs. The child observing him, after some time approached him, and with many bows and formal reverences spoke thus: "If I may presume, without violating the respect which I owe you Sir, to inquire into the cause of your grief, I would gladly do so. Perhaps you fear that I, who am descended from you, may reflect discredit on your memory by failing to imitate your virtues." His grandfather astonished, asked him from whence he had learned to speak in such a manner. "From yourself, sir," replied the boy. "I listen attentively to your words: and I often hear you say, that a son who does not imitate the virtues of his ancestors, deserves not to bear their name." The result of this sage discourse is not mentioned; but it is manifestly a story fabricated to hold him up to admiration among a people whose single virtue appears to be that of filial affection for their parents. Another story is told to exemplify his veneration for the ancients. After the death of *Coen-Tse*, which happened when Confucius was a mere child, the latter pursued his studies under one *Tseu-Sze*, a learned doctor, by whose instruction he was soon enabled to read and comprehend many ancient works, long since lost. This progress he had made at the age of sixteen, when he fell into company with a person of high rank, and more than twice as old as himself. The great man who did not entertain so high a respect as Confucius for the works in question, declared that they were obscure and not worth the trouble of studying. Whereupon our young student sharply reproved him, saying, "the books which you despise are full of profound knowledge, and their obscurity is a recommendation to them. In consequence of this, they can only be understood by the wise and learned. If they were plain and intelligible to the people in general, the people would despise them. It is very necessary to the subordination and tranquillity of society, that there should be degrees of knowledge which render the ignorant dependant on the wise. As society could not exist with equality of power, so it could as little exist with equality of knowledge; for every one would wish to govern, and no one would be willing to obey. I have heard from a low ignorant person the same observation which you now make, and it did not surprise me from him, but I am astonished to hear it from a person of your rank and dignity, who ought to be so much better informed." The story goes on to say that the mandarin, incensed at the rebuke, and unable to reply to it by reasoning, would have fallen upon the young logician and given him a sound beating, if he had not been prevented by those who stood by.

His marriage.

Early marriages are common in China, and Confucius, who seems to have had a peculiar aptitude for conforming to established customs, took to himself a wife at the age of nineteen. By her he had one son, named *Pe-Yu*, who died before his father, at the age of fifty; but left a son named *Tseu-Tse*, who grew up in the path pointed out to him by his grandfather, became very learned, and attained to the highest honours of the state. Confucius, who seems to have entertained no great regard for the fair sex, soon divorced his wife, for no other reason than that he might attend the better to his books, and put in practice the grand scheme which he had conceived for the reformation of philosophy. All these events are stated to have occurred

before this extraordinary personage attained the age of twenty-three; and the biographers do not seem at all aware of the inconsistency of the tale. According to them, this is not an instance of a very young man having attained extraordinary powers of intellect by the native force of genius alone, which, however improbable, is still within the bounds of possibility; but it is of one who had acquired a profound knowledge of law, antiquities, and philosophy, from the writings particularly of the Emperors *Yao* and *Shun*, who lived one thousand seven hundred years before his time. The very materials on which these works are supposed to have been written, and still more the verbal characters in which, if they ever existed, they must necessarily have been composed, render it physically impossible that any person should, from such sources, acquire at so early an age that degree of information which could only justify him in attempting to frame a general system of knowledge. Human strength would sink before the mere labour of decyphering so many thousand characters, of which the generality, it is admitted, had become obscure even to the learned of that day; and with the infinite advantage of alphabetic characters, and the facility of consulting the great diversity of printed books in all languages to be found in our modern libraries, a young man of twenty-three, who should set himself to project a scheme for a general reformation, would only exhibit an instance of consummate conceit and self-conceit.

Discarding these idle fables, we may reasonably believe, that Confucius, from his youth upwards, displayed great talent and indefatigable perseverance in studying the obscure records of his own and the neighbouring states, and the enigmatical sayings of the old sages who preceded him. The distinctive feature of his mind, however, seems to have been a turn for reflection and self-examination, which, when pursued with sincerity, must necessarily lead a man to discover the superior importance of the moral part of his nature. Such was the path which Socrates followed in Greece; and Confucius has been, perhaps not undeservedly, styled the Socrates of China. The Grecian sage examining the trifling disputes, the sophisms, and the logomachies of those who in his day called themselves sages, or sages, soon discovered, that the greater part of their pretended knowledge, was but a splendid ignorance, that looking only on the forms and external surface of things, they never penetrated to the contemplation of true and substantial existence; that they had become more cunning, but not more wise,—more ostentatious in their professions, but not better in their conduct. Socrates, therefore, laboured incessantly by discourse with his numerous disciples, to teach them the essential importance of cultivating self-knowledge, and at the same time the great difficulty of attaining to any thing deserving the name of absolute wisdom. Hence he called himself, not *sage*, but *philosopher*; not a sage, but a friend of knowledge; and the system, of which he became so distinguished a teacher, was in consequence denominated *philosophy*. Confucius, in like manner, appears, from all the concurring accounts of his life, to have been followed by a great number of disciples, on whose minds the simplicity of his precepts and the purity of his conduct made a deep impression. Like Pythagoras, he made frequent and long journeys, for the purpose of acquiring and com-

Confucius.
A. M.
3454.
—
B. C.
550.

Knowledge
attributed
to him.

Apparent
truth.

Biography.

A. M.
3454.
n. c.
550.

The strange reason assigned for his removal from Lu.

Classes of his disciples.

His moral system.

Religion.

communicating knowledge. Like Plato, he mixed with the world, and gave counsel to princes; and his behaviour corresponded with his doctrines. It is recorded of him, that having attained an eminent post in the kingdom of Lu, and finding that the morals of that court were corrupted by debauchery, in consequence of a number of concubines having been sent as a present from the king of Tsi to the king of Lu, he resigned his office, and, retiring to the kingdom of Ssu, devoted himself wholly to teaching. In this undertaking, says his biographers, he was so successful, that in a short space of time his disciples amounted to three thousand in number; of whom five hundred were mandarins holding the highest offices in that and the neighbouring kingdoms. Some extravagant fictions have been related of the school of Confucius. It has been said that all his followers formed a society, among whom a community of goods was established, and that, in order to detach their minds from the affairs of the world, they appointed one of their number to purchase their food and clothing, and to manage their funds for the good of the whole association. Nothing of this has any foundation. Confucius, like Socrates, seems to have wished to fit men for conducting themselves honourably and usefully in those stations which the public good required that they should fill. His disciples were, for the most part, men of full age, who lived in their own families, and followed their separate pursuits, resorting to him to propose their doubts, or to collect his opinions and instruction, and sometimes accompanying him in the different journeys and voyages which he thought fit to undertake. He divided his scholars into four classes: to the first he taught morals, to the second rhetoric, to the third politics, and to the fourth, the perfection of their style in written compositions. The first was the necessary introduction to the others. Confucius was well aware, that without a distinct perception of moral excellence, there was no such thing as good taste in eloquence, or in writing; nor any practical skill to be attained in the direction of political affairs. He therefore directed his first care to the formation of the mind for the attainment of this perception: and in order to do so, he taught that it was necessary to clear the intellect from those mists and obscurities which prevent its distinguishing truth from falsehood. These, he said, arise from vices early sown or springing up in the heart, which it must therefore be our primary care to eradicate; as the good husbandman begins by rooting out weeds and noxious plants, before he commits to the earth the hopes of a future harvest.

Confucius considered the absolute submission of the mind to the supreme will, as the indispensable means of eradicating evil passions, and, like Socrates, he demanded, as a proof of obedience to the divine law, a similar obedience to the law of the state. To this feature of his doctrine, it is more than probable he owes his extraordinary celebrity. Amid the thick darkness which hangs over the early history of China, we seem to perceive traces of a rude superstition which prevailed before the planets had been observed to differ from the other stars. Hence, neither these celestial orbs, nor any supposed deities presiding over them, were considered as objects of religious veneration; but to the unknown Ruler of the sky, and to the equally unknown Director of the earthly elements, worship,

and perhaps barbarous sacrifices, were offered up. Such seems to have been the state of religion among the tribes who first settled on the banks of those great rivers which flow from the Tartarian heights into the Chinese sea. Whether the rites of this worship were performed by any other person than the chief of the tribe, may perhaps be doubted.

Some writers contend that the Chinese had formerly a priesthood, and a high priest called *Tai-Che-Ling*; but it seems generally admitted that the Emperor always presided at the religious ceremonies, and therefore the others were probably no more than his assistants, casually appointed, and not necessarily officiating as part either of an hereditary or collegiate body; in short, it is likely that there was no separate order of priests; but that their place was supplied, in private affairs, by the head of each family, and in public affairs, by the head and parent of the state, the chief, or emperor, with the help of those who were his usual advisers and assistants in other matters. Hence, probably, arose the great veneration for their deceased parents, which has in all ages formed so marked a feature of the Chinese manners, and which constitutes a principal branch of their idolatry. MARCO POLO found this custom existing even among the inhabitants of *Karadanda* (a part of the modern *I-sa-nan*), whom he represents as among the most uncivilized of the countries dependant on the Chinese empire, the inhabitants having no knowledge of any kind of writing. "In this district," says he, "they have neither temples nor idols, but pay their worship to the elder or ancestor of the family, from whom they say, as they derive their existence, so to him they are indebted for all that they possess." The different copies of the Italian work use the expressions "*il pia vecchio di casa*" and "*la maggior di casa*"; whence it seems somewhat doubtful whether the object of adoration was the living or the deceased ancestor, or both; but as this practice existed in the most barbarous parts of the empire, it was probably among its most ancient customs. That the early worship was attended with very barbarous sacrifices, is probable from a variety of circumstances. At the present day, the Chinese at funerals burn the pictures of men, horses, garments, &c. in the firm persuasion that this ceremony will supply the deceased, in another world, with the objects represented. "It is difficult," says Dr GUILLOT, "to determine whether the ancient Chinese contented themselves with burning garments and homes of paper, or whether that custom be not rather the representation of an ancient barbarous usage which existed among many nations of antiquity, and which was practised not so very distant epoch by the *Manchou Tartars*, the present masters of China." The custom referred to existed also among the Moguls. MARCO POLO, speaking of the death of Mongu Khan (A. D. 1256), says, "It is the custom during the progress of removing the bodies of these princes, for those who form the escort to sacrifice such persons as they chance to meet on the road; saying to them, *depart for the next world, and there attend upon your deceased master*; being impressed with a belief, that all whom they thus slay do actually become his servants in the next life. They do the same also with respect to horses, killing the best of the stud, in order that he may have the use of them. When the corpse of *Mongu* was transported to the mountain of Altai, the horses

Confucius.

A. M.
3454.
n. c.
550.

The reason given for his removal from Lu.

Chinese veneration for parents.

Sacrifices.

Funeral superstitious.

Biography.

A. M.
3454.
B. C.
550.

men, who accompanied it, having this blind and horrible persuasion, slew upwards of *ten thousand* persons, who fell in their way!" This custom prevailed to a very late period: the Emperor *Chou-chy*, whose reign ended in 1661, ordered thirty persons to be sacrificed to the manes of one of his wives; and at the death of the Emperor *Kang-hi's* mother in 1718, four young girls wished to have immolated themselves on the tomb of their deceased mistress, but the emperor would not permit it, and issued an ordinance, forbidding throughout his dominions the burning of valuable stuffs, articles of furniture, or *slaves*, at funerals, which seems to show that down to that time the horrible sacrifice of human life on such occasions existed, at least in some parts of the empire.

Connection
of the
Chinese
with the
disciples of
Buddha.

It is probable, that the disciples of Buddha spread themselves from India to China at an earlier period than the sixth century before Christ; and as the chief characteristic of their doctrines was a resolute hostility to all bloody sacrifices, they must from the first have been opposed to the barbarous ceremonies of the old Chinese religion. They had two other peculiarities, one was the celibacy and monastic life of their teachers, priests, or holy men; the other, that these latter pretended to be in possession of the secret of attaining immortality. This sect of pretended immortals appears, from Herodotus and Plato, to have spread very widely, being to be found in the time of those authors so far to the westward as the modern Wallachia, Moldavia, and the north of Greece. In China they obtained the name of the *Tao-Tse*; and they have maintained themselves as a sect, in that country, from the period before-mentioned to the present day.

Sect of the
Tao-Tse.

The followers of the two doctrines thus existing in the different petty states into which China was then divided, were naturally opposed to each other; and as the sect of the *Tao-Tse* held up their leader *Lao-Kien* as a personage of extraordinary sanctity, so the followers of the old Tartarian rites and ceremonies naturally proclaimed the superior talents and virtues of their teachers, among whom, the most eminent was Confucius. The doctrines of the latter do not seem to have been uniformly successful in his own life-time. We cannot help suspecting that his abandonment of the high post which he occupied in the kingdom of *Lu*, his retreat into that of *Sin*, and his complaints of the wickedness prevailing at the court of *Tsi*, really prove no more than the prevalence of the *Tao-Tse* in the first and last of those petty states, whilst in the second, the good old customs of worshipping the sky and the earth, and sacrificing men and horses at funerals, were retained in all their purity. If the kings of *Tsi* had eventually triumphed over their neighbours, and founded the empire of *Katai*, which afterwards, by the conquest of *Manji*, formed that of China, we should probably have found that *Lao Kien* would have been the great Chinese philosopher in the opinion of the modern mandarins, and that *Confucius* would have been little known or regarded.

Chinese.

Beneficial
influence of
his writings.

It is not to be denied, that the superstitions of the Chinese became less barbarous, as their empire grew larger, and their habits more sedentary; and if the writings of Confucius have been preserved in anything like their genuine state (which, however, is much to be doubted), he certainly contributed very much to the

improvement of his countrymen, and almost deserves even the extravagant honours which they yet pay to his name. However, his influence appears to have been exclusively confined to the higher ranks of society; the lower being almost wholly devoted to the gross idolatry of the *Bonze*. These latter seem also to be *Buddhists*, but to have come from India some ages after the death of Buddha, who, from a mere man, had by that time been converted into a deity, in the opinions of his ignorant followers, and is represented by the great idol *Fo*, who has precedence over all the others in the Chinese temples. According to some accounts, *Foism* was introduced into China (a. c. 65); and according to others, not till the fourth century of the Christian era; but whenever it happened, it soon spread among the vulgar, for whose religious opinions the lettered followers of Confucius did not at all care, provided that they produced neither riots nor seditions in the state. The same line of conduct was afterwards followed with regard to the Nestorian Christians, the Jews, the Mohammedans, and the Roman Catholic missionaries; and if the latter, together with their converts, were at one time favoured, and at another time persecuted, it was in neither instance with any reference to their religious opinions, but solely to their conduct as peaceable citizens, or persons likely to produce disturbances in the empire.

Confucius.

A. M.
3454.
B. C.
550.

Particularly
famous for
his
maxims.

The accounts which have reached us of the progress made by Confucius in his great scheme of universal reformation, are as vague and inconsistent as any other part of his history. We find him travelling and teaching, not only in the kingdoms of *Lu* and *Sin*, but also in those of *Tsi*, *Guci*, and *Tson*, for a period of fifty years, namely, from the age of twenty-three, to that of seventy-three, when he died. Sometimes, however, he is represented as an object of universal respect, and even adoration, at other times of persecution, contempt, and neglect. He had not been three months in office in the kingdom of *Lu*, say the historians, when the court and provinces were entirely altered; he contrived in that short space of time (and in only the twenty-third year of his age), not only to render fidelity and candour fashionable among the courtiers, and chastity and simplicity of manners among the ladies, but also to persuade hucksters and green-grocers not to use short weights and measures, a custom, it seems, of great antiquity among that class of people in the time of our philosopher, and to which, notwithstanding his precepts, aided by a very liberal application of the bamboo, they have, in modern days, unfortunately returned. Having in so very short a space of time wrought this surprising change in the morals of *Lu*, it was naturally to be expected that the fame of the young reformer would spread on all sides, as, in fact, it is said to have done; but the effect of his reputation was a very extraordinary one. It made the neighbouring princes jealous, who easily perceived that the possession of such a prodigy must render the cabinet of *Lu* extremely formidable; that a sovereign, assisted by such counsels, must naturally attain an irresistible degree of power, and that the only way of preventing his aiming at universal dominion, was to annihilate the influence of the virtuous young minister. Such, according to the tale, was the motive which induced his majesty of *Tsi* (so doubt at the suggestion of some exceedingly crafty and immoral old lord of his privy council), to send to

His travels
as a teacher.

Rapid ef-
fects ac-
complished
in his system.

Jealousy
and plans
of his neigh-
bouring
states.

Biography.

A. M.
3454.
B. C.
550.Story of the
Tsun ladies.Retirement
of Confucius
from office.And subse-
quent de-
spair.He has ob-
servations
on the
times.

the reformed court of Lu, the young ladies of whom we before made mention, and who were not only able to resist the powerful impression of the Confucian precepts, and the general example of the whole kingdom, but actually to dislodge the philosopher from his strong hold, to overturn the edifice of morality which he had constructed in the preceding three months, and to drive him in utter despair from the scene of his first and most splendid triumph. The most beautiful and accomplished of these lovely Cyprians fastened on the king; the others, in the regular gradation of their charms, attached themselves to the grandees in proportion to their rank. It is not said that the queen and the chaste ladies of the court, offered any remonstrance against the seduction of their consorts; and, therefore, we are left to infer that they themselves had given way to a similar temptation. The result, however, was such as we believe never happened in any other country, from a sudden importation of ladies of pleasure; namely, that from an extraordinary austerity of morals, the whole nation was at once dissolved in luxury and pleasure; the business of the state stood still; the courtiers occupied themselves only in feasting, dancing, shows, and dissipation; and the shopkeepers consoled themselves for the wickedness of their superiors, by cutting off part of their reformed measures, filling down their weights, and making one scale an ounce heavier than the other.

Poor Confucius, who had first protested against admitting into the kingdom ladies of such equivocal character, with eyes and feet so small, voices so melodious, and gestures so expressive, employed his youthful eloquence for some time after their arrival, in persuading the old grandees to have nothing to do with these lovely foreigners; but his harangues, which a few weeks before had been omnipotent against the charms of the women of Lu, were wholly ineffectual against those of the Tsun ladies. Vexed, therefore (as a philosopher naturally must be at such a discovery), he soon resigned in disgust, and went abroad in search of disciples less vacillating than his countrymen of Lu.

It might naturally have been expected, that some one of the many princes who had dreaded the effect of his counsels in raising Lu to a predominating eminence, would have gladly seized the opportunity of engaging in his service a statesman of so much eminence; but we do not read that any such offer was made to him. He had the misfortune to live in times when men were ambitious, avaricious, and voluptuous; when rebellions, wars, and tumults every where prevailed; and though he was fortunate enough to make a vast number of proselytes among the most eminent persons wherever he went, yet he fell into extreme poverty, was greatly oppressed and persecuted, conspiracies were even formed against his life, and at the age of seventy he was forced to retire altogether to a place of concealment, where he gave himself up to misery and regret. A few days before his last illness, he told his disciples who were about him, that he was overcome with grief at the sight of the prevailing disorders of the times. "The mountain," said he, "is fallen: the lofty edifice thrown down; and its inhabitants have all disappeared;" meaning, as his commentators expound the passage, "the system which I had founded, and raised to such a height of perfection, is destroyed; and the sages whom I had instructed, have abandoned my precepts." Notwithstanding this general demoralization

of his contemporaries, we are, however, told, that he was no sooner dead than they began to venerate his memory. Upon hearing of the event, *Ngai-Cong*, the king of Lu, burst into tears, exclaiming, "Tien (the god of the sky) is displeased with me; since he has taken from me Confucius." The same sentiments prevailed through all the surrounding countries, which from that very moment (say the historians) began to honour him as a saint. It is scarcely necessary to dwell on the absurdity of all the parts of this tale. Certain it is, that in the present day, the veneration shown to Confucius, is little, if at all short of idolatry; and the same was practised when the first Roman Catholic missionaries visited China. In the time of Maaco Polo, however, the case was certainly different. That very exact and faithful roler of what he saw, during a residence of eighteen years in China, from A. D. 1272 to 1290 (during which he visited most parts of the empire, had the best means of information, and was himself, for three years, the governor of a considerable district), never mentions the name of Confucius, and only once alludes slightly to his followers by the terms of "persons distinguished as professors of learning, or, as we should term them, philosophers;" nor could this happen from inattention; for he is very minute and particular in his account of the Nestorian Christians, the Mohammedans, the Jews, and above all, of the idolaters of China. But the case is widely different, as respects Confucius, when we come to peruse the accounts of the missionaries who began to visit China about the middle of the sixteenth century. D'AVITY, who in his work called *La Monney*, published in 1636, presents a good compendium of the statements of Mendoza, Trigault, and the other missionaries, thus speaks: "The particular temple of the literary class, is that which is built in each city near the place of study, to Confucius, the prince of Chinese philosophers. In the most honourable place of this temple is seen his statue, or at least his name, in letters a cubit long. By his side are seen the statues of some of his disciples, whom the Chinese esteem as saints or divinities of a low rank. All the magistrates of the cities assemble, together with those who are proclaimed bachelors, at each full and new moon in the temple, and offer a kind of adoration to their master, with inclinations of the head, and bendings of the knee, and even with burning of incense and torches. They also present to him food on his birth day, and at some other periods, thanking him for his doctrines; but neither making a prayer to him, nor asking any thing from him." This and other ceremonies observed by the emperor and literary class, soon produced a violent dispute among the missionaries. One GASPAR DE LA CROIX, a Dominican, in 1544, was the first who preached Christianity in China; but very little was done by him or any other, until Father Ricci, a Jesuit, in 1580, arrived in China. This reverend person was of opinion that these ceremonies might be tolerated, "because, in their first institution, and in the opinion of the most enlightened among the Chinese, they were purely civil." The Dominicans, on the contrary, maintained that all these ceremonies were really idolatrous, and could not be associated with the profession of Christianity. Father LEOGASANI, who, in 1610, succeeded Ricci, inclined to the opinion of the Dominicans; and the contest growing warm, both

Confucius.

A. M.
3454.
B. C.
550.Contract of
the king of
Lu.General in-
credulity of
the tale.Silence of
M. Polo
respecting
Confucius.The ac-
count of
the early
miscon-
strues.Dispute
amongst
them.

Biography.

A. M.
3454.
B. C.
650.
Papal bull.

parties appealed to the judgment of the pope. The Dominican agent arriving first at Rome, obtained a decree from Innocent X, in 1645, against the concessions of the Jesuits; but on a subsequent application by the agent of the latter, ALEXANDER VII. in 1656, issued a bull in their favour. The Dominicans continuing to remonstrate, obtained some favour at Rome; but their antagonists secured a powerful party in China, and the emperor Cong-Hi, in 1708, ordered all missionaries who opposed the Chinese ceremonies to leave the country, and threw the legate, De Tournon, into prison, where he died. In 1720 the pope sent a new legate, named MERRASSA, with a list of permissions to be granted to the Chinese Christians, among which was the following: "It shall be permitted to render to Confucius a veneration purely civil, and to the tablet inscribed with his name, but without any other character or superstitious inscription, there shall be annexed a proper explanation, which precautions being observed, it shall be allowable to light candles, to burn incense, and to offer viands, before the tablet." These concessions, however, were not thought sufficient, and the Christians were finally expelled from China, for treating the ceremonies of the empire with disrespect. From these facts it would appear, that in the interval between the time of Marco Polo and of Ricci, a considerable change had taken place in respect to the estimation of Confucius among the Chinese; nor is it very difficult to suggest the reason of this circumstance. Polo was in China, under the great Kublai Khan, the Mogul chief, who conquered first Katesi, or Northern China, and then Manji, who now forms the southern part of the empire. Kublai, although from policy he adopted the customs of former emperors in sacrificing to the god of the sky and the god of the earth, was very much of a free-thinker, and troubled himself but little about the religious opinions of his subjects. His prime minister for many years, was a Mohammedan; and he employed the members of the Polo family, who were Christians, in many important offices. In his time the military council, which at present ranks only as fourth of the six high courts, was superior to all the others; and the literary class was proportionably treated with disregard. When the Mogul conquerors were expelled by Hong-Fou (A. D. 1369), the men of letters regained their ascendancy; and from that period, it may be presumed, the extravagant eulogies on Confucius are to be dated. To this epoch, too, it is not improbable, are to be referred most of the falsifications of his genuine text; and when we consider that the missionaries and others who have favoured as with translations of his works into the European languages, have for the most part given us nothing but paraphrase and amplification, we may easily conceive that great deductions are to be made from the favourable opinion of his philosophy which so long prevailed in Europe.

Concessions with regard to the veneration of Confucius.

Changes of the public conduct respecting him.

parties appealed to the judgment of the pope. The Dominican agent arriving first at Rome, obtained a decree from Innocent X, in 1645, against the concessions of the Jesuits; but on a subsequent application by the agent of the latter, ALEXANDER VII. in 1656, issued a bull in their favour. The Dominicans continuing to remonstrate, obtained some favour at Rome; but their antagonists secured a powerful party in China, and the emperor Cong-Hi, in 1708, ordered all missionaries who opposed the Chinese ceremonies to leave the country, and threw the legate, De Tournon, into prison, where he died. In 1720 the pope sent a new legate, named MERRASSA, with a list of permissions to be granted to the Chinese Christians, among which was the following: "It shall be permitted to render to Confucius a veneration purely civil, and to the tablet inscribed with his name, but without any other character or superstitious inscription, there shall be annexed a proper explanation, which precautions being observed, it shall be allowable to light candles, to burn incense, and to offer viands, before the tablet." These concessions, however, were not thought sufficient, and the Christians were finally expelled from China, for treating the ceremonies of the empire with disrespect. From these facts it would appear, that in the interval between the time of Marco Polo and of Ricci, a considerable change had taken place in respect to the estimation of Confucius among the Chinese; nor is it very difficult to suggest the reason of this circumstance. Polo was in China, under the great Kublai Khan, the Mogul chief, who conquered first Katesi, or Northern China, and then Manji, who now forms the southern part of the empire. Kublai, although from policy he adopted the customs of former emperors in sacrificing to the god of the sky and the god of the earth, was very much of a free-thinker, and troubled himself but little about the religious opinions of his subjects. His prime minister for many years, was a Mohammedan; and he employed the members of the Polo family, who were Christians, in many important offices. In his time the military council, which at present ranks only as fourth of the six high courts, was superior to all the others; and the literary class was proportionably treated with disregard. When the Mogul conquerors were expelled by Hong-Fou (A. D. 1369), the men of letters regained their ascendancy; and from that period, it may be presumed, the extravagant eulogies on Confucius are to be dated. To this epoch, too, it is not improbable, are to be referred most of the falsifications of his genuine text; and when we consider that the missionaries and others who have favoured as with translations of his works into the European languages, have for the most part given us nothing but paraphrase and amplification, we may easily conceive that great deductions are to be made from the favourable opinion of his philosophy which so long prevailed in Europe.

Stories of his pretensions to preternatural intercourse, &c.

If we could credit the stories which are related of Confucius, they would prove him to be either a gross impostor, or a man of very weak intellect indeed. His disciples attest, that he asserted himself to be every night visited by the ghost of one Cheou-Kong, who had been dead above six hundred years. They say, too, that being one day told that some hunters had killed a very uncommon animal, somewhat resembling a lamb, Confucius burst into tears, and declared that

this omen portended the downfall of his philosophy. These same disciples mention, as marks of profound wisdom, the discourses which he held on the fall of stars, the rolling down of mountains, the song of the matchless bird, the apparition of the unicorn, and many other topics, only fit to match with those of Owen Glendower, as ridiculed by Hotspur:

He angers me
With telling of the maddening and the not,
Of dreamer Merlin and his prophecies,
And of a dragon and a fiery tub,
A clipa wing'd Griffin and a moaning raven,
A coaching lion and a ramping cat,
And such a deal of skilful shamble stuff
As puts me from my faith.

It is to be feared that the good missionaries, in their zeal to do honour to Confucius, sometimes added fresh absurdities to those of his Chinese disciples. Thus Father MARTINI, says that this celebrated philosopher, incessantly repeated "that a saint would appear in the west," meaning to intimate that he was divinely inspired to predict the appearance of the Messiah. Upon this story is built another, doubtless equally fabulous, that the Emperor Ming-Ti, who reigned A. D. 65, having dreamt that he saw the holy person spoken of by Confucius coming from the west, fitted out a fleet, with orders to sail till they found him. The navigators, it is said, unfortunately brought back the statue of Buddha, or Fo, and thus the sage anticipations of Confucius were rendered useless. This tale bears so strongly the appearance of an invention of the missionaries, that it would hardly be reasonable to attribute it to any other source.

The most candid mode of considering the character of Confucius, will be by a reference to the works which are attributed to him. After what we have already said, it is scarcely necessary to add that a great part of these works must be regarded as the fabrication of after ages; but still enough remains to prove that the Chinese philosopher, though very far indeed below the rank assigned to him by many European writers, contributed not a little to the improvement of his ignorant countrymen. The books regarded by the Chinese as most sacred or canonical are the Five King, or Doctrines. It is said by some writers, that Confucius corrected four of these, and added a fifth. Other works attributed to him are the *Ts-Hio*, or "Grand Science;" the *Chong-Yong*, or "Unchanging Medium;" the *Yen Lu*, or "Book of Maxims;" the *Hiao King*, or "Filial Reverence;" and the *Sia-Hio*, or "School of Children." These, it will be seen from their titles, are almost wholly moral works; but perhaps the most authentic of all the productions attributed to him is an historical work, called the *Chun-Tsien*, or "Spring and Autumn." One of the most convincing proofs that this history is not entirely a modern composition, is, that it does not ascend quite two centuries higher than the era in which Confucius himself is believed to have flourished. It begins with the year A. C. 722, and the author ingeniously confesses, that prior to that time no satisfactory materials for Chinese history are to be found. The style and manner of this history too, are in favour of its antiquity. It is an extremely dry and meagre record of events, answering very much to the description which Cicero gives of the early Roman chronicles, and, indeed, like the first attempts at history in all countries. The circumstances before ad-

Confucius.
A. M.
3454.
B. C.
650.

Fictions of the missionaries.

Works of Confucius.

The Five King.

The Ts-Hio, or "Grand Science;" the Chong-Yong, or "Unchanging Medium;" the Yen Lu, or "Book of Maxims;" the Hiao King, or "Filial Reverence;" and the Sia-Hio, or "School of Children."

Chun-Tsien.

Dates from B. C. 722.

Biography.
A. M.
3454.
B. C.
550

verted to, relative to the ancient mode of writing and the construction of books, throw considerable doubt on the authenticity of the *Chou-Tsun*. Some of the Chinese literati reckon it as the fifth of the canonical books, but others represent it to be merely a collection of fragments of a more ancient work called the *Yu-King*. BAYEN, who has given a translation of it in the Proceedings of the Petersburg Society, very justly puts it upon a level with the rude memoirs of the better sort of farmers and citizens, which contain nothing more than a plain and simple account of the most obvious and common events; and if the great reformer of learning, and prodigy of wisdom, in the sixth century before Christ, could write no better than this, what must we think of the historians, his predecessors? We have before noticed the incorrect statements of eclipses in this work: some of those eclipses were probably observed in the northern parts of India, and Confucius or his commentators, who knew no better, must have copied them from the accounts of the foreigners who visited China.

No traces
of a know-
ledge of the
fine arts in
ancient
China.

If Confucius did little to improve his countrymen in a knowledge of history, it does not appear that he did much more to refine their taste for the productions of the imagination. The fine arts have a certain degree of dependence; and though in uncultivated nations, poetry usually precedes painting, music, architecture, and statuary, yet, if it had been true that the Chinese empire had existed in splendour so many ages before Confucius, we should, probably, have seen in his works some traces of its progress in all these arts: and if, on the other hand, they had been unaccountably neglected, a great genius would have seen the importance of cultivating them, and would have pointed out, at least, some of their leading principles. But when first China became known to the Europeans, it had nothing to boast in any of these arts which would now be tolerated by the lowest of our artificers. In painting, they knew neither perspective, nor light and shade, but designed and coloured exactly as we see on their porcelain-ware. Marco Polo, indeed, speaks in favourable terms of the paintings which decorated the imperial palaces of *Cambalu* and *Kin-tai*; but Marco knew still less of painting than the missionaries of the sixteenth century, one of whom (though certainly nothing like what we should call a painter in Europe) was appointed to decorate the palace at Pekin; and his performances were with reason considered as prodigies, when compared with those of the Chinese artists. Ghirardini, an Italian painter, who went to China in 1698 to paint the cupola of a church for the missionaries, says expressly "that the Chinese have not the smallest idea of the fine arts;" and what is still more remarkable among the many millions of persons in that country, who for the last two hundred years have had opportunities of seeing European works of art, not one individual has given himself the trouble of studying their principles. As to engraving, it is pretended by Confucius, that *Ching-Tong*, n. c. 1766, caused certain characters to be engraved on a brazen vessel; but even if this be true, the art, like every other, remained stationary; for when the Jesuits drew the plans of the battles gained A. D. 1754 and 1757, no person in all China was capable of engraving them. NIEVHOFF positively asserts that the Chinese have no ancient statues: great numbers of idols, indeed, are

found of all sizes, colossal and diminutive; but they are, of course, subsequent to the introduction of the Indian superstitions; and as to the statues and pictures of Confucius, they are purely imaginary. What a contrast to Greece, where the wonderful sculptures of Phidias were produced within half a century after the period at which Confucius is supposed to have existed! In architecture, the Chinese may be said to have succeeded better than in any other of the fine arts; because they had built spacious palaces and other buildings before the thirteenth century, but still there was a total want of taste, and none but the rudest ideas of proportion to be found in these buildings: they had no tapering columns, no pedestal or cornice, and, instead of a capital, their awkward pillars were surmounted by no better ornament than a sprawling dragon! Their musical talents are much the same; Father TRIGAUT says, that they have no notion of singing in harmony; and DU HALDE admits, that what is called *Chinese music* does not merit that name in any sense whatsoever. In poetry, it is true, they take more delight. The most ancient records that remain of China are poetical. The very symbol by which compositions of this kind are designated, points out their early origin—*shee*, a character compounded of a *word* and a *hall*, or *temple*, a place from which the magistrates anciently delivered instruction to the people (as if we were to say *temple-words*, and as we do say *church-music*), the words of the temple being short measured sentences, composed generally of four characters. The *She-king*, or book of odes, one of the four most the *Shin* ancient classics, is chiefly composed of this kind of *king* verse. This, however, as their own writers seem to admit, is very rude. One of them thus compares the progress of poetry to the growth of a tree. "The ancient *She-king* may be likened to the roots; when *Soo-too* flourished, the buds appeared. In the time of *Kee-Ngan* there was abundance of leaves; but during the *Tang* dynasty many reposed under the shade of the tree, and it yielded rich supplies of flowers and fruit." The late Emperor *Kien-Lung* was a great manufacturer of verses; and most of the learned men, it is said, are fond (as literary men without much poetical talent in other countries sometimes are) of sending little complimentary productions of this sort to each other. Their intrinsic merit it would be somewhat difficult for an European to estimate; for according to the account given of them, their merit is supposed by the Chinese to depend very much on the choice of the characters in which they are written. Indeed it has been justly observed, that the greater part of their written language is, in this sense, poetical; since the characters present to the eye, and through that to the mind, pictures of the conceptions, which they are meant to represent. No account has reached Europe of any very striking monument of poetical genius among the Chinese (although such may possibly exist); but their best works seem to be a kind of moral ode, of which some are attributed to Confucius. One of these latter was translated by the late Sir WILLIAM JONES; but, unfortunately, there are reasons for believing that Sir William knew but little of the language from which he made this translation; and at all events, he was not enough of a critic in it, to determine the age and authenticity of the composition. In speaking of poetry, it is impossible not to notice that great branch of it,

Confucius;
A. M.
3454.
B. C.
550.

Chinese
poetry.

Biography.

A. M.
3454.
B. C.
550.

The drama.

the drama; more especially as the Chinese are so passionately fond of dramatic exhibitions, that no entertainment is ever given without a company of comedians to amuse the guests; and such was the custom at the court of *Kublai-Khan*, as described by Marco Polo, in the thirteenth century. The laws direct that plays should represent "the characters of just and upright men, chaste wives, pious and obedient children, and such others as may tend to dispose the minds of the spectators to the practice of virtue;" and some compositions intended to have that effect certainly exist; such as the *Loon Seng-Urh*, or "an Heir in his old age," recently translated by Mr. Davis; but it is universally admitted by all travellers, that by far the greater part of these entertainments are a compound of the most puerile absurdities, with the grossest indecency: inasmuch, says Mr. Bazuow, that "the European gentlemen at Canton are often so disgusted with the filthy and obscene exhibitions, as to leave the theatre;" whilst, on the other hand, these very scenes are stated generally to throw the entire part of the audience into raptures. To whom the Chinese are indebted for the origin of dramatic representations it would be idle to dispute, since attempts at such kind of amusement are among the very first efforts of the imagination, even among children and savages; so that man, among the many definitions that have been given of him, may justly be called a *dramatic animal*.

Confucius as a philosopher.

From considering Confucius as an historian and a poet, we come to the more important part of his character, that which he has obtained as a philosopher; and as he undertook a general reformation of philosophy, it will be proper to see how far he either comprehended the circle of arts and sciences himself, or assisted his countrymen to do so, by pointing out the great paths of future discovery.

Progress of the civil arts in China.

The fine arts have been already discussed: we come next to the useful arts: and in these it must be owned that the Chinese, sixteen centuries after Confucius, were nearly as far advanced as they appear to be now; but we cannot discover that on this account they owe any obligation to Confucius. It has been said that his followers honour the mechanical arts; but in what that honour consists it would be hard to say, unless it be in depriving the real inventors of the reputation justly belonging to them, to bestow it on sovereigns who were either barbarians or had no existence at all; as if we were to say that Hengist and Horsa brought with them from Saxony, WATT's improvements on the steam-engine, or DAVY's invention of the safety-lamp. There is no public institution in China in which lectures are read on the mechanical arts, or models of machinery preserved; and a petty mandarin who prides himself on the length of his nails, would not only form a wretched experimentalist, but would consider himself degraded by troubling himself any otherwise about the employment of shipkeepers and artisans, than to order them to be bastinadoed for fraud or rioting. We do not bear of any large manufactories in China, except it be for the service of the emperor; but we find that the streets are crowded with wandering artisans, who go about asking for employ like our tinkers, and, like them, are little better than vagabonds. We were formerly told that the three great inventions—printing, gunpowder, and the compass, came from China. If so, the Chinese have most grossly misused their talents;

for their literature is wretched, their military exploits disgraceful, and their navigation a nullity. Of all these discoveries, however, which have produced such mighty changes in the western world, Confucius was either wholly ignorant, or, what is worse, he knew them but could not judge of their importance. It is most probable, that Confucius merits neither praise nor dispraise in this respect; since there is no ground whatever to suppose that any one of those arts is of Chinese origin. The case is perhaps different with the manufactures of silk, tea, and porcelain, in which they have had the merit of working up the raw materials with which nature supplied them. In regard to the manufacture of silk, they have certainly exhibited much industry, and something approaching to ingenuity, for many centuries past; but whether they were the first people that cultivated this species of industry may be doubted. The infusion of astringent leaves was rendered necessary in some parts of China, by the badness of the water; and the tea plant being an indigenous shrub, there was little difficulty in applying it to that purpose. The invention of porcelain is no more than what we meet with in the first stages of civilization all over the world: only the Chinese empire happens to produce a clay which is peculiarly suitable to the formation of vessels. The three articles which we have last mentioned, have become at different periods the object of a commerce sufficiently lucrative to the Chinese; but this was wholly without their exertion, or that of their statesmen and philosophers. Porcelain is so called by the Europeans from its similarity to the larger species of the *cypræa*, particularly the *cypræa tigris*, which, from its similarity in shape to a hog (*porco*), the Portuguese called *porcelano*. Both the shell and the Chinese ware have a brilliant polish, which, in the latter, is produced by the vitrification of the materials in the process of baking; but though the Chinese had been probably for many centuries in the habit of seeing this process going on, it never taught them the art of making glass, which they first learned about the beginning of the last century from the missionaries. It does appear that the great use of ovens, which was rendered necessary for the manufacture of the porcelain, led them to the invention of the *perpetual bellows*; but of its philosophical principles they are utterly ignorant; and the same may be said of the *ventilating-pipes*, which MARDOZA describes, as employed for giving air to their houses, in a mode superior to any yet brought into general use in Europe. The physical circumstances of the country led them also to the adoption of a judicious system of irrigation, System of and to the formation of those numerous canals, in the irrigation. use of which, for purposes of commerce, they afforded an useful example to the nations of Europe. To the conqueror, *Kublai-Khan*, they are indebted for many of these works; but certainly not for all. He, in the year 1280, began to make the *Great Canal*, and also numerous cross canals and trenches for watering the fields. It is manifest, however, from Marco Polo's description of *Kiu-sai*, and from many other parts of his works, that the Chinese had long before applied themselves to such works, which, indeed, must always be among the earliest efforts to render habitable a country which is subject to periodical inundations. Hence, Hercules slaying the hydra, is no more than the strength of man, cutting off the thousand branches of

Confucius.

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3454.
B. C.
550.

Their principal manufactures.

Porcelain.

System of irrigation.

Biography.
A. M.
3454.
—
B. C.
550.

Natural advantages of the country.

a mighty stream, and confining its dragon-like windings within the bounds of an artificial channel. It is to be observed, that China has great natural advantages, not only in its numerous rivers, but in its mineral-coal, of which the following account, given by Marco Polo, in the thirteenth century, when its properties were little if at all known in Europe, is alone a sufficient proof of that author's plain and circumstantial accuracy: "Throughout *Katzi* there is found a sort of black stone, which they dig out of the mountains, where it runs in veins. When lighted, it burns like charcoal, and retains the fire much better than wood, inasmuch that it may be preserved during the night, and in the morning may be still found burning. These stones do not flame, except a little when first lighted; but during their ignition they give out a considerable heat." Dr HALDER adds, that there is no country in the world where pit coal is so abundant. When we consider what vast advantages England has drawn within the last century from her coal mines, we cannot but view this circumstance as another striking proof of the defective state of knowledge in China. On none of these topics does Confucius say a word; but it is said, that he exhorts the people to pursue agriculture, and that having in pursuance of his precepts become a very agricultural nation, they have thus produced the large population which their country is said to possess. If mere exhortations to improve would make men good farmers, all nations would long since have attained the summit of perfection in agriculture; but it is necessary to teach them the mode of improving, and this will in vain be sought in the works of Confucius, or perhaps of any of his followers. The maxims which are understood to have been laid down for the guidance of rural economy among the Chinese, are, to say the best of them, exceedingly questionable. One of these is to use human labour in preference to the power of machinery, or the strength of beasts; and the other is to rear poultry and small animals rather than large cattle; accordingly, their cultivation is effected almost wholly by the spade and the hoe, and we are not surprised to learn from Mr. BARNOW, an author of great acuteness, and an eye witness, that "they have no knowledge of the modes of improvement practised in the various breeds of cattle, no instruments for breaking up and preparing waste lands, no system for draining and reclaiming swamps and morasses, though that part of the country over which the grand communication is effected between the two extremities of the empire, abounds with lands of this nature." The last observation at once exposes the futility of the early accounts, that the Chinese "left not a corner of land any where uncultivated;" but indeed the same authors, who first gave us this assurance (such as HERRERA, D'AVITY, &c.), in a few pages afterwards sufficiently refuted it, by telling of the "great numbers of tigers, bears, and wolves," to be found in these very cultivated regions. Even Dr HALDER admits, that "in most of the principal governments there are whole tracts of more than sixty miles in length, thinly peopled, little cultivated, and very often so savage as to be wholly uninhabited." Nobody pretends that any such class as that of wealthy farmers is to be found in China, nor if there were, would they enjoy the least distinction, honour, or influence, but would be liable to be bastinadoed almost at the caprice of any petty mandarin; so that the praises which Confucius may have

Confucius encouraged them to agriculture.

Agricultural maxims of the Chinese.

bestowed on agriculture, have proved as barren of any real benefit to his country, as can well be imagined. Of their navigation it would be idle to talk. Lord ANSON said, that an English sixty-gun ship could destroy a whole fleet of their miserable junks.

In the physical sciences, Confucius was probably as ignorant as he was in the arts. Of *geography*, he could surely know nothing; for long after his time the Chinese believed the earth to be a square, in the centre of which the "celestial empire" of China was placed. In 1717, the emperor *Cang-Hi* commissioned the Jesuits to make a general survey of the country, before which time little or nothing was known with accuracy of its relative positions. It is no wonder that the Chinese were poor geographers, when their ignorance of *astronomy* was

Confucius.
A. M.
3454.
—
B. C.
550.
Chinese navigation.
Geography.
Astronomy.

such as we have already mentioned. MARCO POLO speaks of the instrument used to measure time in China, by the Italian name of *horologio*, but does not particularly describe it. D'AVITY, however, from the accounts of the missionaries, speaks as follows:

Ils manquent presque d'instrumens pour mesurer les heures; et ceux qu'ils ont le mesurent par le moyen de l'eau, ou du feu—ils en font encor un petit nombre qui ont des roues que le sable fait tourner, ainsi que l'eau; mais ils ne sont que l'ombre de nos nôtres; et manquent en la vraie mesure du temps. Quant aux horloges solaires ils n'avoient connoissance que de l'équinoctial; mais ils ne sauroient pas leur donner sa pente à son assiette selon les lieux.

After this, it is somewhat ridiculous to hear Father MARTINI talking of a tower built near three thousand years ago, in the *Teng-Tong-Kien*, where the astronomer *Cheou-Kong* observed the movements of the heavenly bodies. We have observed that the Chinese astronomers are nothing but *astrologers*, and such they were in the time of Marco Polo, who says that in the imperial city of *Cambala* there were no fewer than 5,000 of them, some being idolaters, some Mohammedans, and some Nestorian Christians. They attended the emperor when he went to war; they accompanied him on his hunting expeditions; they formed part of the pageantry of his court on all great festivals, and gave their advice on questions of all kinds. This did not happen from any peculiar turn for superstition, on the part of *Kublai-Khan*, who, on the contrary, was more enlightened than most of his subjects; but it was the universal custom of the country to be guided in all affairs, public and private, by these impostors. "When any person," says Polo, "forms the design of executing some great work, of performing a distant journey in the way of trade, or of commencing any other undertaking, he has recourse to one of these astrologers, and informing him that he is about to proceed upon such an expedition, inquires in what disposition the heavens appear to be at the time. The other tells him, that before he can answer, it is necessary he should be informed of the year, the month, and the hour in which he was born; and that having learned these particulars, he will then proceed to ascertain in what respects the constellation that was in the ascendant of his nativity corresponds with the aspect of the celestial bodies at the time of making the inquiry. Upon this comparison, he grounds his prediction of the favourable or unfavourable termination of the adventure." It may be supposed that the philosophers, and particularly the great Confucius, either openly ridiculed or secretly lamented this superstitious credulity. Far from it. One of the prin-

Influence of the astrology in general.

Biography.

principal works of Confucius is a commentary of the *Y-King*; and the only difference between the *Y-King* and the rules of the astrologers is, that the former is the elder and more barbarous superstition of the two.

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3454.
—
B. C.
550.

Divination
by the *kwa*.

All savage nations, and indeed all credulous men, have a strong desire to pry into futurity. The Chinese, before they had made any observations of the heavenly bodies, or knew that there was any difference between a planet and a fixed star, were in the habit of examining certain figures called *kwa*, as our ignorant nursery-maids tell fortunes on the cards, or inspect the grounds of a coffee cup. The Chinese say that the emperor *Fo-Hi* had no father, and in his lower extremities resembled a dragon. To this illustrious personage, who is supposed at the latest to have reigned a. c. 2953, they attribute the first invention of the *kwa*, which consist of eight horizontal strokes, and, according to their different arrangements, are conceived to signify certain words. It has been suggested, that these *kwa* were a sort of intermediate step between the use of knotted cords, as in Peru, and of picture writing, as in Mexico; but it is much more probable, that they were never used for any other purpose than that of rhabdomancy, for which they are still employed. In the pagodas of China are usually kept a number of small sticks, which persons who come to know their fortunes cast at random on the ground, and their fortuitous disposition, compared with the figures of the *kwa*, is supposed to indicate good or bad auguries. The *Y-King* is literally nothing more nor less than a fortune-telling book, explanatory of the meaning of the *kwa*; and on this book, which is one of the *Five Doctrines*, the great Confucius has written a grave commentary! Every barbarous nation on the face of the earth has had its *kwa*, and some have had their *Y-King*; but Confucius is the only commentator on such absurdities who to this day bears the name of a philosopher! In China, as elsewhere, successive practitioners of rhabdomancy have had different schemes of their art. Each race of emperors, from *Fo-Hi* to the *Chow* dynasty inclusive, had their own peculiar *Y-King*. It consequently follows, that even if the *kwa* had ever related to any reasonable subject of thought, Confucius would have undertaken a blind and useless task in attempting their explanation. The wretched folly of this canonical book and its commentaries will, however, be best judged of by an example: let us, therefore, take the first of these characters, viz. that which is expressed by the word *kien*.

The *Y-King*, on which Confucius wrote a commentary.

Specimen of
its contents.

"The word *kien*, according to the Emperor *Fen-Fang*, signifies great, penetrating, suitable, solid."
"According to *Chew-Kong*, the son of the former sovereign, it signifies something totally different."
1. "A dragon is hidden, do not make use of it!"
2. "When you see a dragon in the fields, you will meet a great man."
3. "The wise man watches over himself all day; but be fears at night; and yet he is not in fault."
4. "He raises himself aloft; he is in the abyss; and yet he is not in fault."
5. "When a dragon flies in the air, you will see a great man."
6. "When the dragon has withdrawn, there is repentance: when you see a dragon without a head, it is a good sign."—(*Y-King*, vol. I. p. I, &c.)

The same kind of absurdities occur in the *Shu-King*,

another canonical book, of which also a single extract will suffice:

"If the grandees, the ministers, and the people speak in one manner, and you think otherwise, but conformably to the signs of the tortoise and the *chi*, your advice will succeed."

"If the grandees and the ministers are united in sentiment with the tortoise and the *chi*, although you and the people differ from them, every thing will succeed equally."

"If the people, the tortoise, and the *chi* are unanimous, when you, the grandees, and the ministers have another opinion, you may be sure to succeed interiorly, and to fail outwardly."

"If the tortoise and the *chi* oppose the counsels of men, it is wise to undertake nothing, for evil alone must be the consequence."—(*Sau-King*, part 4. c. iv.)

The *chi*, here mentioned, is a certain plant, which another mode of divination is practised. The fibres of the leaf are drawn out and thrown at random, as the sticks are in the former case; and the forms which these fibres take are compared, as before, with those of the *kwa*, and then explained by the *Y-King*.

Such are the works, which to this day are considered as the foundations of Chinese philosophy, the groundwork of a system which these ignorant beings imagine raises them above all comparison with the other nations of the earth! The commentary of Confucius on the *Y-King* would certainly reflect the greatest disgrace on his memory, if we did not consider that he lived in all the darkness of a barbarous age, which it may be very excusable in him to have participated, but which leaves him very low indeed in the scale of intellect, compared with any men who have had the least claim in ancient or modern times to the title of philosophers.

From natural philosophy we pass to metaphysics: and here we find Confucius apparently labouring to discover something like principles by which the nature of existence in general might be explained. These principles, however, are completely wrapped up in mystery, and lead to no intelligible conclusion. Father Couplet says, that Confucius being asked to explain his sentiment on the divinity, excused himself at the time; but after much reflection, wrote as follows:—

"The Great Height engendered two qualities, the perfect and the imperfect: these two qualities engendered four images: and these four images produced the eight figures of *Fo-Hi*, that is to say, all things."

He is also said to have taught very ridiculous doctrines about the power of numbers, considering the odd numbers as perfect, and the even as imperfect, and combining both with the power of chance, and the revolution of the elements, which he sagaciously makes to be five, wood being included as one; to all which folly his disciples have added greater absurdities of their own. They pretend that each of the five elements alternately produces a new dynasty on the throne of the "celestial empire;" that according to the predominant element of the dynasty, must be the number of emperors that it produces; and that all these things are to be calculated by the admirable rules of the *Y-King*, as commented upon by the great Confucius.

Passing over numberless puerilities of this kind, we come at length to view Confucius in his fairest and best light, as a moral philosopher. It must be observed,

Confucius.
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—
B. C.
550.

The *chi* di-
vination.

Metaphysics of
Confucius.

Arithmetic.

Moral philosophy.

Biography.

A. M.
3454.
B. C.
550.

that the splendid character originally given of him by the missionaries in this point of view, was dictated, in no small degree, by motives of policy. They found that no reception would be given to themselves or their doctrines, if they spoke disrespectfully of the great object of veneration throughout China. They had even found it necessary to wink at some honours closely bordering on idolatry, that were paid to his memory; and the only way that they could reconcile this to their own consciences, was by receiving, as genuine, the most refined sentiments attributed to him by his followers; constructing all doubtful passages in the better sense; and helping out the expressions of the Chinese by a paraphrastic translation, which brought them to a very near resemblance with the Christian doctrines. However laudable all this may have been, as a mode of conciliating the affections of the Chinese to Christianity, it has probably tended to give Europeans a notion of the moral system of Confucius much more favourable than it really deserves. However, it cannot be doubted but that the great moral teacher of so many millions of men, for so many ages together must have made some powerful appeals to some of the best principles of human nature, or he could neither have acquired nor retained so strong a hold on their affection and admiration.

Mistake
respecting
his purity.

The great mistake of most Europeans who have written on the morality of Confucius, has originated in their investing it with an imaginary purity, manifestly borrowed from Christianity itself. "Hardly anything can be added," says one, "to the purity of his morality. He seems rather to speak like a doctor of the revealed law, than a man who had no light but what the law of nature afforded him"—and after enumerating, with much exaggeration, his personal virtues, the same writer adds, "all these would almost tempt one to believe, that he was not a mere philosopher, formed by reason only, but a man inspired by God for the reformation of the world, and to check that torrent of idolatry and superstition which was about to check that particular part of it." Such wild inferences are naturally to be expected from such unsound premises. The Confucius here spoken of, is altogether an imaginary being, and can have no relation to the author of the *Chun-tseu*, or to the commentator on the *I-King*.

The historical
facts.

Let us look to historical events: let us consider the circumstances in which Confucius must have been placed, and try his doctrines by the effects which they appear to have produced. He was probably an eminent person in the little independent state of Lu, where, as in the neighbouring countries, the followers of Lao-Kien had made considerable progress, being recommended to the admiration of all ranks, by the opinion that they possessed the drink of immortality, by which they could at pleasure prolong human life to any extent. One of their leading tenets was to recommend seclusion from active life, and a devotion to habits of idle and unprofitable contemplation. The men of the world, those who were engaged in the business of government and understood best the actual constitution of society, were naturally averse to the prevalence of doctrines which threatened to break up all civil relations, and reduce men again to a state of barbarism. Confucius appears to have been most earnest in resisting these anti-social doctrines and practices, "I am a man," said he, "and cannot exclude myself from the society

of men, to consort with beasts." He therefore set himself most strenuously to defend society, as it was then constituted; his works ought therefore be tried by the principles of that constitution, and not by other principles, which he had never witnessed in practice, and could not conceive in imagination. Of these principles we shall consider: first, those which are political, and secondly, those which are more purely ethical. The former occupy far the greater space in the works of Confucius, who is indeed chiefly to be regarded as a political moralist. The political system which he and his followers support, appears to be founded on some specious maxims; as

1st, That the sovereign should be considered as the father of his people.

2dly, That all offices should be given to merit alone.

3dly, That the military power should be entirely subject to the civil.—And,

4thly, That the state should not interfere with the religious opinions of the individual.

The application of these principles to practice, might have produced an admirable system of civil polity in the hands of a man of deep knowledge and practical experience.

Qui mores hominum antiquorum vidit et scripsit.

But this could not reasonably be expected from the native of a little barbarous state on the banks of the Yellow river, who, if he travelled, could only travel from one tribe to another, all possessing nearly the same degree of civilization, and actuated by nearly the same views of policy. The result was, that the two first of the principles above stated resolved themselves into pure despotism, the third into absolute cowardice and the last into total irreligion.

Confucius, in the *Ta Hiao*, or, at least, the paraphrastic translator of that work, says, "the whole science of princes consists in cultivating and perfecting the reasonable nature they have received from *Heaven*.—When a man has thus renewed himself, there will be less difficulty in renewing others, and by this means concord and union reign in families, kingdoms are governed according to the laws, and the whole empire enjoys peace and tranquillity." This is, to be sure, a very pleasing picture of two or three hundred millions of human beings, guided by one profoundly wise sovereign; but this picture is purely imaginary, and it contrasts singularly with the account given by Marco Polo of the manner in which the last emperor of Manji or Southern China, passed his time. This sovereign retained in his service a thousand young females, and his great amusement was to see them bathe, in a state of nudity, in one of his parks, every male person except himself being carefully excluded from these parties.

"Thus," says Polo, "was his time consumed amidst the encraving charms of his women, and in profound ignorance of whatever related to martial concerns; the consequence of which was, that his depraved habits and his pusillanimity enabled the grand khan to deprive him of his splendid possessions and, to expel him with ignominy from his throne." It will be said, this was because he neglected the precepts of Confucius. No, it was because the precepts of Confucius were vague and unmeaning, and went to confirm, instead of correcting, the erroneous principles of government which prevailed among his countrymen.

Confucius.
A. M.
3454.
B. C.
550.

His political
morality.

Contrasted
with the
practice of
the Chinese
sovereigns.

Biography.

A. N.
3454.
B. C.
550.

Distribu-
tion of
orders in
China.

In order to judge properly of the despotism of China, we must consider the distribution of orders in the state, the distribution of political powers, and the particular measures which, it appears, have been adopted in that country.

The distribution of orders is very marked in China, and they may be reduced to four, viz. the royal family, the officers of government, the common people, and the slaves; and this distribution is derived from the rude notion of family government which prevailed among the first settlers of China, in which the father of the family was regarded as a sort of deity, who had absolute power over all his household, delegating a portion of his authority occasionally to such of his children as he thought fit, and leaving the most servile occupations to those who were strangers to the family, but reduced to the unhappy necessity of serving it. The fundamental error consisted in an ignorance of the true principle of paternal power, that principle which, within due limits, is essential to the very existence of society. As the parent was venerated when living with a supererogation approaching to idolatry, and actually idolized when dead, and as it would have been thought impious to restrain his power of correcting disobedient children or slaves, so the emperor, considered as the father of the people, was treated with a degree of submissive veneration unequalled in the history of mankind; inasmuch, that to this day, wherever he travels, all persons are forced, under pain of death, to remain within doors; and if any one should by chance meet his train approaching on the road, he must prostrate himself with his face to the ground, lest he should incur the guilt of looking on so exalted a personage. This explains why the Chinese government so rigorously exacts from foreign ambassadors the observance of ceremonies which we call servile; for as the celebrated Dr. Busby thought that he should never be able to govern his school if the boys did not consider him as the greatest man in the kingdom, so the constitutional veneration of the emperor's sacred person would be irremediably shaken, and the government itself would be in danger, if a foreign ambassador were to be presented at the court of Peking without having made, in one form or another, the nine indispensable prostrations. Despotism, however, cannot be carried on without officers, civil and military; and the certain mode of prevailing on such officers to treat the sovereign with unlimited submission, is to give them the power of exacting a submission proportionably unlimited from the inferior orders of the people, among whom in China are reckoned all traders, all artificers, all labourers, as well as the vagabonds, robbers, and even savages, that are to be found in this so well regulated empire. The gradations between the orders grow weaker in a descending ratio. The emperor is inconceivably higher than the highest mandarin. The lowest mandarin thinks himself much superior to the wealthiest trader; but between the slave and the lowest labourer the distinction is scarcely perceivable, and in many respects is in favour of the slave.

The em-
peror sits
head of the
executive
judiciary.
The legal
code.

Political power is no otherwise distributed than in its administration. The emperor is the sole legislator, and absolute head of the executive and judiciary. The constitutions of the empire resolve themselves into the single rule of hereditary succession in the imperial dynasty. There is, indeed, a code of civil laws derived

from ancient sources; but that code is newly-formed at the accession of each new dynasty, and takes its name as the *Ta-Tsing-Hoei-Tien* and the *Ta-Tsing-Lee-Lee*, the one being the code of general institutes, and the other the code of penal laws, promulgated by authority of the *Tsing* dynasty; as we lately saw in France the *Code Napoleon*, during the short prevalence of the Napoleon dynasty. This code, however, is subject to continual modification by imperial decrees, which are generally discussed, beforehand, by one or more of the courts, or sections into which the council of state is divided, and which, after revision by the *colius* who form his imperial majesty's cabinet, are submitted to his sanction, and when promulgated by him become as binding as if they had formed part of that venerable record which Fo-Hi transcribed from the inscriptions on the back of his dragon-horse. All other power, as we have said, is administrative, and its administration depends on two principles, centralization and gradual subordination. In every province there is a regular hierarchy of offices, civil and military, all of whom we call by the general name of *mandarin*, or commander, from the Portuguese verb *mandar* to command, which is well enough chosen, since each in regular subordination is commanded by his superior, until we come to the emperor, who is under no command but that of his own "great thoughts" and wisdom, which his officers are always ready to pronounce sublime, until by some unexpected convulsion his dynasty is hurled from the throne; and then they abuse him, as the Chinese, under the *Ming* dynasty, did that extraordinary warrior *Kablai* the Great, who so much enlarged the bounds of their empire, improved their military system, made the great canal, and was, in his time, the most powerful sovereign on the face of the earth. The frauds and oppressions of the mandarins go on increasing in the ratio of their power, and yet great pains are taken by the council of state to inform themselves of what passes in the remotest corners of the empire. Each province has its prefect, or governor, who is changed triennially; and besides, the emperor sometimes sends special commissioners into certain districts to make their reports to the several sections of the council at Peking. But the radical error remains: a system of mere centralization is necessarily a system of universal corruption, and in spite of the grave exhortations of Confucius, the mandarins of all classes exercise their functions without the least regard to honour or conscience. This is the more universal, because there is nothing hereditary, nothing professional, nothing commercial, nothing popular, to serve as a check, or corrective, to the absolute power of the emperor. If there was ever an hereditary nobility in China (as some have supposed), it does not appear even in the time of Confucius, to have existed, with any powers or privileges which might have enabled it to resist the oppressions of the emperor, or even of the lowest mandarin. If there was ever a priesthood, endowed with lands or revenues, it has long since ceased, and given place to the miserable bonzes who work on the superstitious feelings of the common people, by pretences to sorcery and magic. As to the profession of the law, which so often in Europe has defended the genuine interests of freedom, no trace appears in China of its ever having existed. Indeed, as a separate profession, it is always one of compa-

Confucius.

A. N.
3454.
B. C.
550.

The man-
darins.

Prefect.

No heredi-
tary nobles.

No priest-
hood.

No legal
profession.

Biography, ratively late growth in the progress of civilization. Laws come first. They are administered for a while by kings in person, then by generals, or bishops; after these come judges, as a separate order of men, and lastly, advocates and solicitors; when, and not before, the law becomes a learned profession, and performs a great and essential part in protecting the rights of civilized man. The place of such a profession is not supplied by a code, and least of all, by a code framed like that of China, which aims at directing the minutest concerns of civil life, and at graduating its penalties so nicely to the offence, that it totally overlooks the character and situation of the offender. Hence arises that indiscriminate frequency of corporal punishments in China which has taken away from the Chinese all feeling of personal disgrace, and consequently has eradicated from their minds every sentiment of honour. If neither nobility, clergy, nor lawyers exist to check, and thereby to temper the exercise of despotism in China, still less can it be modified by any popular rights. There is nothing, and never has been in that country, like our commercial corporations, nothing like our representative system in any of its branches; nothing like our trial by Jury. The liberty of the press, it is said, exists; and a proof of its existence is, that in the year 1779, a doctor of physic published a book, in which he predicted the death of the reigning emperor *Kia-Lung* (then pretty much advanced in life), and spoke with some disrespect of *Kang-Hi*, who had been dead about sixty years. He was at perfect liberty to publish this work, but after it was published he was brought to trial, and sentenced to be cut into ten thousand pieces. The emperor, however, of his great clemency, pardoned every thing but the disrespectful mention of *Kang-Hi*, for which the poor author was only beheaded: If it should be argued that the system of examination, by which alone the mandarins can be admitted to office, at least in the lower ranks, is a preservative against absolute despotism, inasmuch as they must all have read the moral precepts of Confucius; we shall only answer by appealing to the uniform testimony of all Europeans who have ever visited China, to prove that their studies produce very little effect on their conduct; and that such a thing as a bold and patriotic mandarin, who from public spirit would resist any tyrannical conduct on the part of the emperor, is a prodigy no less unfrequent in China, than the appearance of the miraculous bird *Fou-Hoon*.

Not commercial companies.

Liberty of the press.

Population of China.

In examining the political system of the Chinese by its particular effects, we are doubtless first struck with the great population attributed to that empire. The government seems to have been always very anxious to ascertain the number of its subjects, partly for purposes of military conscription, and partly for reasons of finance and police. *Marco Polo* informs us that in the great city of *Kia-soi*, the capital of southern China, every housekeeper was obliged to suspend at his door, a list of all the inmates of his family; and that from these lists it was ascertained that the number of families was 1,000,000, or, according to the Basle edition, only 600,000, which latter at four and a half persons to each family would give a population of 2,700,000 souls. There can be no doubt that the empire, taken together, is to be reckoned among the most populous in the world, in proportion to its size. The numbers, however, are

very unequally distributed over the surface of the territory. Whilst the cities are crowded to excess, and millions of individuals live upon the rivers in boats, large tracts of fifty or sixty leagues in length are totally uncultivated. The soil remains unproductive in the distant provinces, while the towns and cities labour with a redundant population, evidenced in the extreme misery of the very lowest classes, in the number of vagabonds and thieves, in the customs of infanticide, and child-selling, and in the frequency of pestilences and famines. The sexual union too, is so far from being well regulated in China, that we find every possible corruption of it practised; some with little shame or secrecy, and others with the protection or encouragement of the laws. Polygamy, and incapacity for marriage, prostitution, and professed celibacy, sexualities, natural and unnatural, are all almost equally common, and cannot but have a powerful effect in deranging the natural and desirable progress of the population. Of these evils, Confucius was not philosopher enough to discern the effects in the causes; at least he did not point out their proper correctives. He did not lay the foundations of a state in the relations of a family: he did not show how an agricultural as well as a trading population might be encouraged and improved; he did not teach the admirable science of furnishing the industrious of all classes with the means of earning an independent and comfortable subsistence. To multiply crime and misery under the notion of augmenting the population, is to become a curse instead of a blessing to the human race; but the most wretched of the Chinese are incited by the precepts of Confucius to an early marriage, that they may not want a child to perform sacrifice at their tombs; and what is very remarkable, we find in China, as in England, a provision by law for the support of the destitute poor. The Chinese government, like all other despotisms, has shown great rapacity in its financial system. It has established a monopoly of salt, a capitation tax, personal services from landholders, and duties, internal and external, on tea, cattle, and all sorts of merchandise; and it is very remarkable that *Kia-soi-Kiao*, some centuries before paper-money was known in Europe, availed himself of that mode of recruiting his treasury, as is fully explained by *Marco Polo*. In respect to police, too, the Chinese government has adopted many useful regulations, though principally with no view to public accommodation, but merely to its own convenience. Large garrisons, originally stationed in cities to keep down seditions, have dwindled to a mere patrol for protection against fire and robbers. A post conveyance has been established, but only for government dispatches; inns have been erected, but only for travellers going to or from the court; roads have been made principally for the convenience of the government and its couriers; and it is deserving remark, that the great *Kublai* bordered his roads with trees, because his astrologers told him that a person who planted trees would be sure to attain long life. As to education, it would seem, from the nature of the case, that it would be pretty much confined to the mandarins. *D'Arville*, indeed, says, that there is no person in China, however poor, who cannot read and write. It is said, that the emperor *Ta-Eang*, the founder of the *Ming* dynasty, built schools throughout the country; but that they have since been suffered to fall into ruins.

Confucius.

A. M. 3454.

B. C. 550.

Misery of the lowest orders.

Low state of the general morals.

Poor laws.

Taxes, currency, &c.

Education.

Biography.

A. M.
3454.
—
B. C.
550.

Sentiments
of Con-
fucius.

Military
force.

Kublai-
khan's
guard.

Tolerance.

As to Confucius (according to the stories related of him), he was, even in his youth, averse to the education of the lower orders: "the people," said he, "would think cheaply of the ancient books, if they could comprehend them. A subordination of minds, by which the ignorant are dependent on the knowing, is very useful, and even necessary in society:—if mankind were all equally knowing, all would be for governing, and no one would obey." It must be owned that this sounds rather more like the doctrine of the Jesuits, who relate the anecdote, than of a young barbarian of the kingdom of Lu, some centuries before printing is pretended to have been known there, and who is described as not more than sixteen years old at the time of making the remark.

Celest arms togæ has been considered as a wise maxim in many states; but the Chinese have carried it to an absurd extreme. It was not so in the time of the Mogul conquerors: Kublai, himself a soldier, gave precedence to the military. He had his *conscription* and his *imperial guard*. By means of the former he raised men in *Katai* to keep down the people of *Manji*, and in *Manji* to keep down those of *Katai*. "It is his practice," says Polo, "to make an annual selection amongst all his subjects, of such as are best qualified to bear arms, and these he enrolls to serve in his numerous garrisons, which may be considered as so many armies." A little further this author adds: "When it happens that a city is in a state of rebellion (and it is not an uncommon occurrence for these people, actuated by some sudden exasperation, to murder their governors), a part of the garrison of a neighbouring city is immediately dispatched with orders to destroy the place where such guilty excesses have been committed." The imperial guard of Kublai consisted of 12,000 men, called *kassan*, or "soldiers devoted to their master." After the expulsion of the Moguls, the old Chinese customs were revived, according to which the literary class again took the lead: and a general is now subject to be publicly flogged by order of a superior civil mandarin, without losing either his rank or his command. The consequence is manifest: the Chinese armies have no feeling of military honour, and are skilled in no military arts; and though they are numerous beyond all conception, yet it is probable that a single English brigade would easily overrun the whole country. Thus a branch of the Mogul Tartars conquered first *Kutai*, and afterwards *Manji*, in which latter country a single city contained a population more than ten times as numerous as all the Tartar armies. And again, in 1618, when the Tartars broke through the great wall, and defeated a Chinese army of three hundred thousand men, the emperor sent to Macao to engage one hundred Portuguese musketeers, by whose aid he hoped to do what he could not accomplish by means of his immense native forces.

The principle of toleration is doubtless, in itself, as amiable as it is wise and just; but, unfortunately, Confucius, in this instance, as in most others, has omitted to point out the evil with which it may possibly be connected, namely, a total indifference to all religious principles. In China, travellers have been much puzzled to know what was the religion of the state, or of any man of tolerable education in the whole country; and, in fact, these latter seem to concern themselves very little on this most important of all subjects. All

that they deem necessary is, that the emperor, attended by his principal officers, should perform certain insignificant ceremonies at stated periods to the deity of the sky and to the deity of the earth; but who these deities are, whether they are the same or different, whether mortal or immortal, spiritual or bodily, good or bad, nobody either knows or cares. If we could trust to the translations of the missionaries, we should regard some passages in the works of Confucius as breathing a spirit of the purest and most refined religion; but when we look to his Commentary on the *Y-King*, we see him asserting *Chance* into the supreme deity and governor of human affairs. Hence, among his followers, some appear to be pure theists, some worshippers of the visible sky, some general sceptics, and some positive atheists: and the only point in which they agree is, in deeming China the "great nation," and themselves the most enlightened of the Chinese. They consider that persons who have not had the good luck to be taught to read ten or twenty thousand of their awkward characters must needs be extremely ignorant; and that for such people the doctrines and ceremonies of the *Bonzes*, of the *Tao-tes*, or of the *Christian missionaries*, are equally suitable: and it is only when these latter venture to speak publicly in derogation of the established customs of China, or to do any act tending to disturb that tranquillity of the empire, which Confucius so strongly inculcates, that they are restrained by law. Several imperial decrees have been issued at different times on these grounds, and one by the present Emperor *Kia King* in 1805, which is principally remarkable for the very vague and confused manner in which it speaks of the Christian doctrines. As to the gross idolatry of the *Bonzes*, which all the mandarins regard with the utmost contempt, it has been for ages protected by the government, and is the religion of nineteen-twentieths of the population.

Confucius has succeeded as little in reforming the moral character as the political institutions of his countrymen. Some authors, and even some Englishmen, have had the inconceivable folly to argue as if they thought that the morals of a people would be improved, if their governors had no religion at all; and in support of this monstrous proposition, Mr. Gossow, the translator of *Tacitus*, gravely produces the instance of China. "Here," says he, "the mandarins, who are the nobles, wise men, and governors of the country, are, properly speaking, of no religion; but zealous for the public good, they make the welfare of the state their principal care, and distinguish themselves by their politeness and virtue." "The empire of China is the most populous and flourishing on the face of the earth, although the individuals who govern it have no other rule of conduct than the light of pure reason and natural morality." Let us see how this picture is substantiated, in the lower, the middle, and even in the higher ranks of society. It does indeed appear, that one virtue, certainly of no mean weight in the scale of morals, prevails from the emperor to the peasant, namely, *filial piety*; but, as we have seen, even this is converted, by the ancient laws and customs of the empire, into the vice of actual idolatry, which, there is strong reason to believe, was accompanied, ill about a century ago, with human sacrifices. This virtue, too, is far from producing its natural result—*parental*

Confucius.

A. M.
3454.
—
B. C.
550.

Divergencies
among the
followers of
Confucius.

He was not
a successful
reformer.

Parental
authority
in China.

Biography. *affection.* The father may, and often does, punish his children with a severity which, in its consequences, may prove fatal: and whatever the penal code says of the practice of *infanticide*, we know it prevails to a very great extent. Parents, too, have the horrid custom of inflicting sexual mutilation on their male children; sometimes that they may stand a better chance of promotion in the offices of the state, and sometimes that they may sell them as slaves. In a popular tale, called "The Three Dedicated Rooms," recently translated from the Chinese, by Mr. Davis, we find a woman offering to sell herself and all her children, as slaves; and this is mentioned casually, as a mere common incident. In fact, the sale of children by their parents seems, in China, to be the great source from which slavery is supplied. Many parents, too, literally sell their daughters to prostitution; and the number of prostitutes, from this and other causes, in the Chinese cities, is, and for many centuries past has been, immense, as we may see from Marco Polo's account of Kiu-Sai, where, he says, the prostitutes were in such numbers, as he dares not to report, although he had before mentioned, that in another city there were no less than five and twenty thousand. The lower Chinese have even been accused of being cannibals; and it is certain that in the extremity of famine, which not unfrequently occurs among them, they have eaten dead bodies: but this is not extraordinary, under such circumstances, in man whose poverty constantly induces them to devour vermin, and the most disgusting food. From such people generous feelings of humanity cannot be expected, and they accordingly see their associates drowning or perishing from fatigue, without an effort for their relief. Kept as these wretched people are, through life, under the perpetual terror and frequent infliction of corporal punishment, they cannot be otherwise than servile and cowardly, in the highest degree; but these very vices only render them more insolent to foreigners, whom they think they may safely treat with contempt; and more disorderly, when, by the accidental weakness of the police, they are emboldened to break out into sedition.

Prostitution. If we ascend to the artisans and traders, who are removed above want, and sometimes possess considerable property, though without any thing like rank or estimation in society, we shall find the character of fraud very generally attached to them by travellers. Ghutony, sensuality, and the indulgence of unnatural propensities, are common to the wealthier individuals of this class, with the superior mandarins; and on the other hand, it would seem that they ape the latter in that sort of politeness which consists in a multitude of fatiguing and ostentatious ceremonies. It will perhaps be thought a remarkable circumstance, that among the Chinese ceremonies, the missionaries of the sixteenth century have minutely described a custom similar to the modern European use of *visiting-cards*; but instead of a mere card, the Chinese visitor leaves a little book of about twelve pages, in which nothing is written but his name, with various epithets of sub-

missiveness and reverence, toward the person at whose house it is left.

It is among the higher literati, the great officers, civil and military, who must all have profoundly studied the works of Confucius, that the happiest effect of his philosophy is, if anywhere, to be found. Mr. Gordon, we have seen, asserts that they distinguish themselves alike by their politeness and their virtue. That their politeness gives place entirely to selfishness and insolence, is abundantly proved by their conduct to the ambassadors who, in late times, have been dispatched to the court of Peking; nor is this any novelty. When the Emperor Sheng-Tse, in 1721, put an end to the disputes between the Jesuits and the Dominicans by banishing them both, the following was the treatment experienced by the pope's legate, Monsignore MEZZABARBA: "The *Ta-Gin*, or great mandarin Lee-Ping-Shang, entering the apartment like a madman, and seizing the legate by the collar, cried out before the whole company, that he was a perfidious wretch and a traitor, on whose account he, the mandarin, was likely to lose his own head; but that he would be revenged beforehand by murdering the legate. During this disgraceful scene, the domestics of the *Ta-Gin* improved upon the violence of their master by boxing the ears of the legate's principal attendant, pulling him by the beard, and treating him with a hundred other indignities. Monsignore MEZZABARBA, overcome with fear and terror, was in a state of agitation which would have excited the pity of any body but a Chinese; but this only served to excite the mockery of a mandarin, who jeeringly told him that he looked as if he were transported with rage, and that he was quite pale with anger against his imperial majesty: nor had the legate any other mode of repelling this inhuman reproach, than by descending to the most humble protestations and the most humiliating excuses." Such is their politeness! As to virtue, public or private, we look in vain among the accounts of all our travellers for any proof of it in a mandarin. Greater meanness, corruption, or injustice, cannot well be imagined to exist in any class of men, than these vaunted sages exhibit in their uniform conduct. Nor will this be thought surprising, when we learn that the highest dignities of the empire are often conferred on persons who have undergone the barbarous mutilation before mentioned. It is true that the Mandchew Tartars, who founded the present dynasty, effected some reform in this respect: they reduced the number of these unhappy persons in the palace from twelve thousand to about six thousand; and removed them in general from the chief posts in each department of public business; but it is much to be feared, that the growing habits of sensuality and corruption at the imperial court have since brought back things very nearly to their former situation. Such monstrous deviations from the wise laws by which the great author of nature has willed that mankind should be governed, can never take place without drawing after them consequences equally fatal to the happiness of men, and to the true greatness of nations.

Confucius.

A. M.

3454.

B. C.

550.

The literati.
Their selfishness and insolence.

Absence of public virtue.

LEONIDAS.

FLOURISHED ABOUT A. M. 3524, B. C. 480.

Biography.

A. M.
3524.
A. C.
480.

most distinguished for indefatigable courage and exalted patriotism, Leonidas must ever hold a pre-eminent rank. His extraordinary self-sacrifice, with that of his faithful little band of warriors at the pass of Thermopylae, has not only rendered the place itself illustrious, but gives additional brightness and glory to the name of Greek, and to the age of splendid achievement. The service rendered to his country was no less remarkable than the crisis which seemed to demand it, and the honourable failure and consequent destruction of all who were engaged in the enterprise, merits a greater commendation, and has acquired, in fact, a more lasting celebrity than many of the most splendid successes.

Answers of
Lennidas.

The ancestors of Leonidas were, according to the testimony of Herodotus, Anaxandrides, Leon, Eurycratides, Anaxander, Eurycrates, Polydorus, Alcibiades, Teleduc, Archelaus, Agaeusilaus, Doryssa, Leocleas, Echestratus, Agis, Eurysthenes, Aristodemus, Cleodemus, Hyllus, and Heracles: and, although eminent names may be recognized in this enumeration, the single deed which gave him at once a matchless fame and a gloomy sepulchre, invests him with a better distinction than the most renowned ancestry. The same historian relates that his elevation to the throne of Sparta was accidental; for as he had two brothers, both of superior age to himself, Cleomenes and Doriucus, he had no expectation of possessing the government. The former, however, died without leaving any male issue, and the latter also ending his days in Sicily, the crown devolved on Leonidas, who was older than Cleombrotus, the youngest son of Anaxandrides, who had married the daughter of Cleomenes.

March of
Xerxes.

At the period when Xerxes was marching against Greece with his countless myriads, which it seemed almost impossible to oppose by any effectual resistance, a fit opportunity presented itself for the display of that heroic patriotism which inflamed the bosom of Leonidas. The Persian king having halted at Thermopylæ for the purposes of obtaining all possible previous information, procuring guides, and refreshing his troops, the resolution was taken to proceed by Upper Macedonia into Thessaly, the fleet remaining in the adjoining bay eleven days subsequently to the re-commencement of the march. No sooner had intelligence of the Persian movements reached the assembly at Corinth, than the Spartan leader Leonidas proceeded to take their station at Thermopylæ, and the fleet was collected in the road of Artemisium, on the coast of Eubœa, where the galleys being dispatched to watch the enemy. At this momentous crisis, the Delphian oracle being consulted, directed them to pray to the winds, which might prove powerful confederates of the Greeks: an admonition which the confederates received with great thankfulness.

ness and ready obedience. Another response ordered the Atheians to pray to their son in law; which referred to an invocation of the north wind, because Boreas (probably a chief of that name in Thracia) had married a daughter of Erechtheus, king of Attica.

In the meantime, Xerxes pressed on through Macedonia to Perthambra, and across Thessaly to the neighbourhood of Thermopylæ. This spot furnished many facilities for a vigorous defence. The ridge of *Eta*, which forms the southern boundary of Thessaly, extends across the country from sea to sea, and is almost every part of it unsuited for an army. It is pervaded at nearly right angles by another ridge of similar description, rising immediately from the Corinthian isthmus, and passing along under the different names of Helicon, Parnassus, and Pindus, through the middle of Greece. On the western side, consequently, Pindus, *Eta*, and Parnassus, present three formidable obstacles to the approach into Attica and Peloponnesus. *Eta* is the only difficulty on the eastern side; and here only a single pass was known, termed *the gate*, situated at the point where the eastern extremity of the ridge meets the sea. The Phocians had formerly erected a fortress, and stationed a garrison there, and had placed a wall across, where was a width of fifty, or nearly fifty feet. On the Thessalian side they had also contrived to pour an inundation from some hot springs in the vicinity of the mountain. From this circumstance, the name of Thermopylæ, which signifies hot-springs, was derived. To the northward of this pass the mountain closed, so as scarcely to admit a single carriage, and to the southward they ran into the sea. Hence, it is evident, that precisely at this spot a very small force might contend with successful resistance against a very large one, and that the project of stopping the progress, if not turning back the legions of Xerxes, though sufficiently hazardous, was not an entirely hopeless or desperate undertaking. This situation possessed also the further advantage of a ready communication with the fleet, which rode in a secure haven.

On the north of Thermopylae is a plain, of some part wide, and in another very narrow, enclosed by impassable mountains, called the Trachiae rocks, and bordering on the Malian bay. The king had fixed his head quarters at the town of Trachis, to the southward of which the river Asopus enters a cleft of the mountain, and forms the only road; a little southward, the small stream called Phoenix meets the Asopus, where a single carriage-way rendered this part passable. The Asopus discharges itself into the Malian bay, after entering a valley in which stood the town of Anthela, with the temple of Ceres, the temple of Amphipyton, and the place of meeting of the Amphictyonic assembly. Thermopylae was a little beyond, at about the distance of two English miles from the junction of the

Leonidas.

A. M.
3524.
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B. C.
480.

Biography.

Asopus and the Phœnix. To the north of the mountains, Xerxes commanded the country, while the Greeks held the pass.

Leonidas took with him a body of 300 chosen men, who were all heads of families, with the view, no doubt, of rendering their state the greater, and inspiring them to deeds of nobler heroism—thus judiciously combining the domestic with the patriotic feelings.

Preparations for the conflict.

To these were added Theban troops to the amount of 400, under the command of Leontides, son of Eurymachus; but they were united in the enterprise rather from motives of policy than feelings of confidence, since they were strongly suspected of cherishing secret sentiments of hostility against the common cause, being attached to the Medes. The march of this body was hastened by the Spartans, in order that their example might stimulate their allies to action, and prevent any pretence from delay for going over to the Medes. In addition to these, the troops of the confederate cities, with those of the Thespians, and the others already enumerated, amounted to only 8,000, or, at most, to about 11,000 men; of which, 4,000 only were employed at Thermopylæ against the Persian host; but these, as one of their historians observes, were all resolved, to a man, to conquer or die. It appears that the Carnian festival, which was celebrated for seven days at Sparta, in honour of Apollo, protracted the advance of the main body, though they intended to follow with the utmost expedition. The Olympic games had a similar effect in detaining others of the allies who were not anticipating any immediate engagement at Thermopylæ.

Exposés of Xerxes.

The Persian monarch had made an erroneous calculation of the effect of his preparations, and the hitherto irresistible progress of his army. He vainly imagined that the Greeks would flee at the first news of his approach, without even an attempt at self-defence; but what was his astonishment when he found the passes guarded to stop his intrusion, and defy his power. He had indeed been forewarned of the probability of such a measure, but he despised the thought as ridiculously romantic, believing firmly in his own invincibility. The Greeks were indeed at first seized with terror, and not only consulted about a retreat, but would most likely have accomplished it, but for the skill of their general. The Peloponnesians were anxious to return and guard the isthmus, which was, however, resolutely opposed by the Phocians and Locrians, whom Leonidas prevailed upon to continue at the post of honour and of danger; at the same time, adopting the very proper precaution of dispatching messengers to the different states to procure necessary supplies.

At this juncture, the Persian king sent a horseman to ascertain the numbers of the enemy, and to give advice of their movements. Those who were stationed within the intrenchments he was unable to discover, but he brought a report of those who were on the outside. These were the Laocœdemonians, some of whom were performing gymnastic exercises, while others were engaged in combing their hair, which was explained to him by Demaratus as their ordinary practice, previous to their undertaking any dangerous enterprise. Plutarch mentions it as a saying of Lycurgus, that long hair added grace to handsome men, and made those who were ugly more terrible. This is well alluded to in the poem of Leonides by Glover.

By chance

The Spartans then composed an external guard; They in a martial exercise employed; Heed not the monarch and his gaudy train, But judge the spear protested as in fight; Or let their adverse shields in single strife, Or, trooping forward, rush, retreat, and wheel in ranks unbroken, and with equal feet: While others calm beneath their polish'd helmets Draw down their hair, whose length of subtle curls O'erspread their necks with terror.

Xerxes is said to have waited four days, after having thus reconnoitred the position of the Greeks, in the confident expectation of their availing themselves of this opportunity to make good their retreat. He could not entertain a moment's doubt, but that his tremendous armament would induce them to disperse at once, and leave him an undisputed entrance. In this interval, he adopted every expedient to gain over Leonidas (Plut. in Lacon. Apoph.), giving him the most magnificent promises, especially urging his desertion by assurances that he should obtain the sovereignty of all Greece. It is easy to imagine with what scorn and abhorrence such proposals would be received by the unsullied patriotism and devoted zeal of such a person as Leonidas. He was afterwards commanded by a herald in the name of Xerxes, to come and deliver up his arms, to which the Iæonic general replied, *Ἀρτίστρατα, πολὺν ἄδελφ',* "Come and take them," which left no hope to the invader from the arts of negotiation. Herodotus says, that on the fifth day of the Persian's merciful inactivity, observing that the Greeks continued on their post, merely, as he imagined, from imprudent rashness, he became much exasperated, and ordered a detachment of Medes and Cissians to go and bring them all alive into his presence. This command, however, was more easily given than executed. The attack was made, but to the disgrace of the assailants, who lost a considerable number of men. A reinforcement was sent, but without producing the effect; and it became evident, observes the historian, *ὅτι πολλοὶ μὲν ἀσπαστοὶ ἦσαν, ὀλίγοι δὲ ἄνδρες,* that "Xerxes had indeed many men, but few soldiers." The Persian troops, which had obtained the distinctive appellation of the "immortal band," under the command of Hydarnes, were next ordered to the assault, and a certain and easy victory was confidently expected; but their success was no better than that of their predecessors; their superior numbers, as the Greek historian candidly admits, being of little or no advantage, on account of the confined extent of the field of action, and the shortness of their spears, in comparison with those of their enemies. Their conduct was highly spirited, though their efforts were unsuccessful; for, after making every kind of attack they could devise, they were compelled, at length, however reluctantly, to relinquish the attempt. A few only of the Spartans fell, while the loss of the Persians was prodigious. The conflict was renewed the next day, with fresh troops on the part of the invading enemy, who indulged the hope that weariness and wounds would have disabled the defenders of Thermopylæ from any vigorous resistance, but the disappointed tyrant and his minions were obliged again to withdraw from the terrible conflict with the patriotic Spartans and their immortal leader.

Amidst the perplexities that now encompassed the Persian monarch—thus checked, and some of his cho-

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Expedients to gain over Leonidas.

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Treachery
of Ephialtes.

sen troops disgraced by the moral force of an insignificant few,—treachery came to his relief in the person of Ephialtes, the son of Eurydemus, a Melian, who was influenced by the hope of a great recompense, to point out a path over the mountain leading directly to Thermopylæ. It was a circuitous and difficult route, but had been used by the Thessalians on some occasions when they invaded Phocia for plunder; and though afterwards neglected, was well known by the Phocians, whom Leonidas had appointed to defend it. It commenced at the cleft in the rock where the river Asopus entered; whence it was found winding up the hill called Anopetia, and proceeding along the ridge between Æta, on one side the Trachinian rock; on the other, it descended to Alpeni, the first town of Lœria. By adopting this course, the Persians were likely to obtain an access to the opposing and hitherto resistless force, which they might with probability calculate upon as insuring the victory to their innumerable hosts. These were most welcome tidings, and were no sooner heard than acted upon by the generals of Xerxes. The enterprise being committed to Hydarnes, he marched, under the cover of evening, with a strong detachment, and by day-break attained nearly to the summit of the mountain Anopetia, where the Phocian guard was placed, to the amount of 1,000 men, but from whom the Persian troops were screened by the oaks which everywhere covered it. The modern warrior will with justice accuse them of the want of necessary vigilance, in the employment of sentries and scouts, on so important an occasion, when they had volunteered their services to guard this pass, which was the only practicable method of taking them by surprise; they can never be extricated from the charge of a folly amounting to madness. So it was, however, that they received the first intimation of the approach of their enemies by the sound of their feet on the fallen leaves; the air, fortunately, being at the time extremely tranquil. Instantly the Phocians flew to arms, which at first checked the eager haste of the Persians, who had not expected that any measures had been taken to defend this narrow passage; but finding from the treacherous Ephialtes, that they were not Lacedæmonians, Hydarnes soon recovered his panic, and drew up his troops in order of battle. The Phocians retreated up the mountain to a more elevated spot, thinking, by this means, to gain an advantage over their assailants; but availing himself of this indiscreet movement, dictated also, probably, by sudden fear, Hydarnes marched onwards, and descended the opposite side of the mountain without opposition.

It seems that information had been already communicated to the Grecian camp at the straits, of the detachment which had been sent from the Persian commander to traverse the mountains. Diodorus Siculus mentions one Tyrastides, of Cyrene, a man of honour and probity, who went by night, and forewarned Leonidas of the treachery which had been practised: and early in the morning the scouts conveyed the unwelcome news that the enemy had passed the Phocian guard, and were descending towards the plain. A council of the Grecian generals was immediately summoned, who were greatly divided in opinion: some urging resistance, others retreat. Their conduct was as divided as their councils; and in this moment of extreme exigency, Leonidas saw himself abandoned by great multitudes,

who hastened to their respective homes. Herodotus states, indeed, that it was reported that those who withdrew, did so not from their sense of danger, or from any unpatriotic motives, but at the express desire of Leonidas himself, who wished to save their lives. Conceiving himself and his Spartan troops, that he could not retreat with honour, whatever might be the event, he resolved to remain. The historian, however, expresses what is indeed a very probable opinion, that Leonidas was not so much prompted to give the permission to retire from his own conviction, as from observing the dispositions of the soldiers, who were averse to the terrible encounter that awaited them. He is said also to have been influenced by an oracular decision which was fresh in his memory, by which the Spartans were informed at the commencement of this war, when they made an application, as usual, to their divinity, that either their King must die, or Sparta be vanquished by the barbarians. The hexameter verses, containing the response, have been thus rendered:

To you who dwell in Sparta's ample walls,
Be bold, a dire alternative befalls;
Your glorious city must in ruins lie,
Or, slain by Persian arms, a king must die;
A king descended from Hercules' blood;
For, lo! he comes, and cannot be withheld;
Nor bulls, nor lions, can dispute the field,
Till Jove's own force, and this or that must yield.

Glover has accordingly put into the mouth of the hero the following exclamation, on hearing that the enemy had succeeded in his purpose, through the treachery of his professed adherents:

I now behold the oracle fulfilled—
Then art thou near, thou glorious sacred hear,
Which shall my country's liberty secure?
Thrice hail, thou solemn period! then the tongues
Of virtue, fame, and freedom shall proclaim,
Shall celebrate in ages yet unborn.

The Thespians were the only body of the Grecian confederates that willingly remained with Leonidas and his Spartans in this extremity: the Thebans, indeed, were with him, but Herodotus affirms, though Plutarch is indignant at his representation, that they were detained very reluctantly, and as hostages. The Thespians, under Demophilus, emulated the zeal of their brethren in the cause, exhibited an equal courage, and perished in the same glorious conflict. The little band of heroes was soon inevitably summoned, and prepared, with undaunted fortitude, to choose the spot on which their lives should be offered up by the Persian sword, on the altar of patriotism. This being arranged, the tragedy began.

At sun-rise, according to the Persian habit, Xerxes offered up a solemn libation, and then dismissed the troops to await orders. About the middle of the forenoon, he set forth from his camp, and calculating that Hydarnes, with his detachment, might now probably have arrived in the rear of the Greeks, he commanded an attack to be made in front. Anxious to do all the execution upon their enemies possible, and prompted by desperation, Leonidas advanced much further from the intrenchments than he had done in any preceding contest, judging that in a wider space he should have a superior opportunity of avenging the enemy. Multitudes fell as they were whipped on to the encounter, by officers stationed for the purpose in their rear, many perished in the sea, and many others were trod-

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Attack of
Xerxes.

den under foot by their own troops. Aware that destruction was at hand, from those who had made the circuit of the mountains, but were not at first arrived, the Greeks exerted themselves to the utmost, and performed prodigies of valour; and when their spears were broken, they had instant recourse to their swords. The Lacedæmonian soldiers wore a red uniform, which Suidas says, was adopted that the blood of the wounded might be the less conspicuous.

But what could mortal prowess accomplish against the numberless foe? Leonidas himself fell early in the engagement, but not before he had had the opportunity of signaling himself by extraordinary efforts; and with him many Spartans of distinction met their fate. The battle, nevertheless, continued, and with equal zeal on the part of the defendants, till Hydarnes presented himself in the rear with his detachment, when they retreated to the wall. At this juncture, Herodotus says, that the Thebans solicited mercy of their conquerors; but many were killed in the very act of surrendering, while the remainder were made prisoners. The surviving Lacedæmonians and Thebians gained a rising ground, which afforded them the means of some further temporary resistance, till they were slain to a man. Herodotus states, that such of them as had no swords left, exerted themselves with their hands and their teeth; upon which Longinus exclaims, "What are we to think of this hyperbole? What probability is there that men should defend themselves with their hands and teeth against armed troops? This, nevertheless, is not incredible, for the thing does not appear to be sought out for an hyperbole, but the hyperbole seems to arise from the subject." This mode of fighting, however, remarks Mr. Beloe, was common amongst the Lacedæmonians. When they had no arms they availed themselves of their nails and teeth: Cicero had been a witness of this, *vid. Tusc. Quest. l. v. c. 27*. There is another instance of a similar kind in the Numidian soldier, at the battle of Cannæ, who was found in the field expiring under the dead body of a Roman, whose head he was tearing with his teeth, being unable to make use of his hands, *Livy xxvii. 51*.

The account which Plutarch has given may be considered as fictitious, and resulting solely from the natural propensity which most men feel to embellish with extraordinary circumstances the names of illustrious individuals, especially in critical conjunctures. It is this—that Leonidas, after receiving a multitude of wounds, got up to Xerxes himself, and snatched the crown from his head. He lost his life in the attempt; and Xerxes, causing his body to be opened, found his heart hairy. Such, he adds, is the account of Aristides, in the first book of his Persian history. The other part of his statement savours less of exaggeration, and is sufficiently characteristic to be admitted as at least not improbable. The barbarians fell upon them whilst they were at dinner; upon which Leonidas desired them to eat heartily, for they were to sup with Pluto.

Two of the brothers of Xerxes perished while they were contending for the body of Leonidas. In this point of severe contest, the superior valour of the Greeks enabled them to repel the Persians no fewer than four times, till the party in their rear approached under the guidance of the traitorous Ephialdes.

Diodorus Siculus gives a somewhat different repre-

sentation of the celebrated battle of Thermopylæ. As soon, he says, as Leonidas found that he was circumvented, he availed himself of the approach of night to make a bold attempt upon the tent of Xerxes, which, however, the king had abandoned on the first alarm. The Greeks advanced in search of him from tent to tent, marking their track with the blood of multitudes whom they slew. In the morning, the Persians looked with contempt upon the insignificant number of their enemies, and closing upon them on three sides, still not daring to attack them in front, they soon slew them with their spears. In the poem before cited, Glover follows the narrative of Diodorus Siculus, but differs from the ancient historians, in representing the chief hero as perishing last—adhering less to historic accuracy, than to poetic effect.

—The Spartan king
Now stands alone. In heaps his slaughter'd friends
All stretch'd around him lie. The distant fogs
Shower on his head innumerable darts;
From various sluices gush the vital fluids;
They stain his faltering limbs, nor yet with pain
His brow is clouded; but those brazenous wounds
The sacred pledges of his own renown
And Sparta's safety, in serene joy
His closing eye contemplates. *Some one twine
No brighter laurels round his glorious head;
His virtue soars to labour fate forbids,
And lays him now in honourable rest,
To seal his country's liberty by death.*

Two trifling anecdotes of Leonidas are related by Plutarch, for which, amongst other omissions, he loudly censures Herodotus. When his wife took leave of him, she asked what commands he had for her. "Marry a good man," said he, in reply, "and bring him good children." Desirous of saving two of his relations who accompanied him to Thermopylæ, he pretended to give them messages to the senate of Sparta. "I followed you," says one of them, "to fight, not as a messenger." "What you enjoin," said the other, "is the business of a messenger; and immediately taking up his shield, placed himself in his rank."

The names of all the three hundred Spartans, whose Dienece, extraordinary self-sacrifice at the straits of Thermopylæ is so celebrated, were upon record in the time of Herodotus, and, as he expressly asserts, well known to him. Dienece is distinguished above the rest, as the bravest of the brave. Previous to the engagement, a Trachinian having remarked that the barbarians would send forth such a shower of arrows, that their multitude would obscure the sun itself; he replied with the utmost heroism, and with no contemptible degree of wit, "Our Trachinian friend promises us great advantages; if the Medes obscure the sun's light, we shall fight them in the shade, and be protected from the heat."

Alpheus and Maron, two brothers, the sons of Oris-Alpheus, phantus, are next commemorated; and, as most conspicuous among the Thebians, Dilyrambus, the son of Harmatidas.

Two of the illustrious band of Spartans survived the destructive battle—Aristodemus and Panties. The former had the general's permission to remain at Alpheus, on account of a violent inflammation of the eyes; or, according to some writers, he was dispatched from the army on some business, and might, it is said, have joined the battle, had he not lingered on his embassy. In consequence, he was branded with infamy

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&c.

Aristodemus and Panties.

Biography. on his return: no one would speak to him, or supply him with fuel, and he acquired the odious epithet of *δ' ἰσπερος*, "the trembler;" but from this disgrace he redeemed his character subsequently, at the battle of Plataeae. Pandites having been sent into Thessaly on some business, felt so strongly what he deemed the disgrace of being absent, that on his return to Sparta, he committed suicide. Another soldier, named Eurytus, is celebrated for having hastened to share in the glories and the destruction of the day, notwithstanding the similar permission with that of Aristodemus, to remain at Alpenus for the recovery of his health, which he had received from his royal general-in-chief.

Monuments to the slain. The year after the extraordinary action of Thermopylae, the Amphictyonic assembly undertook the care of erecting monuments to the slain. Two structures of marble were, in consequence, reared, to denote the place of the conflict, with inscriptions which long remained. One was in honour of the Peloponnesians in general, without particularly mentioning the Lacedaemonians, who defended the pass; the other related solely to the latter, and their heroic leader and king.

They were in verse, according to the usual practice on such occasions. The former imports that "here four thousand men from Peloponnesus, fought with three millions;" the latter is as follows:

Ἦν ἱστ' ἀπὸ Παιονίας ἄνδρες ἄνδρες
κίοντες, τοῖς αἰσίοις Περσέων ἀνδράσιν.

It is thus translated by Cicero, in the Tusculan questions, who ascribes it to Simonides:

Die, hospes, Sparta nos te hic vidisse iacentes,
Dum sanctis patriae legibus obsequimur.

Or, in English,

Go, stranger, and to list'ning Spartans tell,
That here, obedient to their laws, we fell.

Herodotus speaks of a lion of stone, which was erected in honour of Leonidas. His bones were, about forty years afterwards, at the victory of Plataeae, conveyed back to Sparta by Pausanias, who reared a magnificent monument to his memory, near the theatre. Every year, a funeral oration was pronounced in that place, to the honour of the fallen heroes, and games were celebrated, in which Spartans were exclusively permitted to participate.

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B. C.
480.

PAUSANIAS.

FLOURISHED ABOUT A. M. 3525, B. C. 479.

Biography. PAUSANIAS was by birth a Lacedaemonian, and attained to the highest honours which his country could bestow upon him, being appointed generalissimo of the confederate Greeks, at the critical period of the second Persian invasion; lineally descended from the kings of Sparta, the son of Cleombrotus, and regent of Lacedaemon for his cousin Pleistarchus, son of Leonides, who was yet a minor, at the time his countrymen ordered him to oppose Mardonius, the Persian commander. Previous to the departure of Pausanias from Sparta to oppose the Persian invasion, the Lacedaemonians appeared too little inclined to afford an active co-operation with the Grecian states, in support of their common interests; but they were, at length, brought to resolve upon more decisive measures, by the remonstrances of the Athenian ambassadors on the one hand, and by the reproaches of their own allies on the other; and immediately after this fortunate change, the Lacedaemonian senate dispatched Pausanias with five thousand Spartans, each attended by seven Helots, who were regarded as their light troops, to join the confederacy. This increased the number of the forces to forty thousand men. Pausanias marched secretly out of Sparta under the cover of night, and early in the ensuing morning arrived upon the confines of Arcadia. This procedure both surprised and disconcerted the people of Argos, who, according to Herodotus, had undertaken to intercept any Lacedaemonian forces that might attempt to leave Laconia. The Argives were, however, so blindly devoted to the Persian interest, that they immediately dispatched messengers to Mardonius, to communicate the intelligence of Pausanias, with his Lacedaemonian troops, having advanced into

Marches from Sparta.

Arcadia. No sooner had the Persian general received this information, than he retreated with the utmost precipitation from Attica, and retired into Boeotia, which being an open country, was much better adapted to the evolutions of cavalry, and moreover had the advantage of being nearer to his numerous magazines at Thebes. Having fixed his camp upon the banks of the river Asopus, he extended it from the Theban town of Erythrae, toward Hyacin, on the confines of the Platæan territory. Pausanias, in the mean time, continued his march towards the isthmus of Corinth; where, upon his arrival, he was joined by the rest of the confederate forces of Peloponnesus. Upon this expedition, he was attended by Tisamenus, a native of Elis, in the quality of prophet, or soothsayer, an office in high estimation. On consulting this soothsayer, after the performance of sacrifices, it was found that the omens were peculiarly favorable to the present enterprise.

Pausanias next advanced upon Eleusis, at which place he was joined by the whole of the Athenian forces, under the command of Aristides, who had been appointed to that high and honourable office by a special decree of the people. Sacrifices were again resorted to, and the augurs again returned favourable responses. The combined army of the Greeks now marched into Boeotia, and took a position at the foot of Mount Cithæron, directly opposite to the Persian camp; the river Asopus dividing the two hostile armies. The Persian general, Mardonius, deeply sensible of the strength of the position which his opponent had assumed, attempted, but in vain, to seduce him from his ground, into the open country, where his cavalry would be enabled to act with ad-

Pausanias.
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Advances to Eleusis.

Position in Boeotia.

Biography.

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479.

Contest with
Mastius

vantage. Finding that the skilful Spartan could not be induced to relinquish his position, which, at the same time, it was impossible to force in front, he immediately ordered Mastius, the master of the horse, to employ his cavalry in annoying and harassing the Grecians. The Persian cavalry, like those of Parthia, made use of a variety of missile weapons, such as darts and arrows; and after having discharged them at the enemy, they were accustomed to retreat with the utmost precipitation. Their general plan was to charge in small bodies in succession; and although they were extremely impetuous at the onset of the contest, as soon as they met with a firm resistance, they suddenly wheeled about and made good their retreat. With light cavalry of this description, Mastius repeatedly charged the Megareans, who were posted in that part of the Grecian line which was most exposed to such assaults. The Megareans were so harassed by the repeated attacks of troops, continually supported by reinforcements, that although they maintained their station with unyielding heroism, they sent messengers to inform Pausanias of their being under the absolute necessity of abandoning their post, unless he marched quickly to their relief. This induced an immediate call of a council of his generals, for the purpose of consulting upon the best means of opposing an effectual resistance to the harassing and desultory charges of the Persian horse. In this consultation he frankly confessed his own inability to devise any plan, and expressed his reluctance to give orders respecting a military service which was to him so perfectly novel. In this distressing and critical moment, Aristides and the Athenians offered their services; nor could there be an instant hesitation in accepting the co-operation of an officer who had served at the battle of Marathon, under the illustrious Miltiades. Aristides selected upon this occasion a soldier of the name of Olympiodorus, and placed under his command a chosen body of heavy-armed infantry, judiciously intermingled with a number of javelin-men and archers. Olympiodorus immediately marched to the relief of the Megareans, and effectually checked the advance of the enemy. Mastius enraged at this unexpected interference on the part of the Athenians, impetuously charged their heavy-armed infantry; but at the very onset, an arrow wounded his horse, and he fell to the ground, in which deplorable condition he was slain by the javelin of an Athenian soldier. The weapon, in spite of his valor, pierced his eye-ball, and penetrated the brain. The Persian horse made the most desperate efforts to recover the body of their general, who, according to the testimony of Herodotus, was second in command to Mardonius, and was very generally held in high estimation by the soldiery. The Greeks baffled their enemies in every attempt, which obliged the Persian cavalry to retire slowly and reluctantly to their camp.

Greeks
change their
position.

After the death of Mastius, the Greeks removed their camp from the present advantageous position, in consequence of experiencing a scarcity of water, which was occasioned by the numerous Persian horse scouring the bank of the river Asopus; and they took up a post near the fountain of Gargaphis, which lies within the confines of the Platæan territory.

No sooner was intelligence conveyed to Mardonius that the Greeks had changed their position, than he

struck his own tents, put his troops in motion, and pitched his camp directly opposite to theirs, still keeping the Asopus in front of his army. Cornelius Nepos, in his Life of Aristides, states that at this time the Persian forces amounted to two hundred thousand infantry, and twenty thousand cavalry, all of them picked troops; but Herodotus, in his enumeration of the force under Mardonius, states the numbers at full three hundred and fifty thousand, of whom fifty thousand at least were Greeks, principally Macedonians, and a few Phocians. The Grecian army was, at this juncture, no less conspicuous for its valour and discipline, than respectable for its numbers. Their forces, according to Herodotus, amounted in the whole to no less than one hundred and ten thousand men. It would, however, appear from the silence of Herodotus on the subject, that they had no cavalry—a deficiency which was most probably remedied by their light-armed infantry, among whom was judiciously mingled a considerable number of archers and dart-men, who were able to encounter the Persian cavalry, and defeat it, as is evident from the circumstance, that the Athenian troops of that description were fully competent to repel the assaults of the Asiatic horse under Mastius.

The Greeks, during their last encampment, marshalled their army in the following manner:—Five thousand Spartans held the post of honour, which was the first place on the right, attended by thirty-five thousand Helots; then five thousand Lacedæmonians, attended by five thousand light-armed Helots. Next in order were the Tegæans, about fifteen hundred strong; then five thousand Corinthians, three hundred Potidæans, six hundred Arcadians from Orcomeny, three thousand from Sicyon, eight hundred Epidaurians, one thousand inhabitants of Træzene, two hundred Lepæans, four hundred Mycenæans and Troezenians, one thousand Phliasiæns, three hundred Hermionians, six hundred Eretrians, four hundred Chalcidians, five hundred Ambraciots, eight hundred Leucadians, two hundred Palæans, five hundred Eginitæans, three thousand Megareans, six hundred Platæans, and lastly eight thousand native Athenians, who were placed at the extremity of the left wing, considered the second post of honour. These forces were all heavy-armed foot, amounting to thirty-eight thousand seven hundred men, exclusive of the Helots. Every Spartan, however, being attended by seven Helots, every Lacedæmonian by one, and every other Greek by a light-armed slave, the light-armed infantry amounted to sixty-nine thousand five hundred; to which number may be added eighteen hundred Thespians, who were not armed in the regular manner.

After the Persian army had taken up its position in front of the Grecian encampment, Mardonius kept his troops in a state of almost perfect inaction for eight days. The Persian general applied himself of this interval to get acquainted with the narrow passes of Mount Cithæron, through which the Grecian army was constantly furnished with provisions and other necessities. On one occasion, having received intelligence of the march of a convoy with supplies for the Grecian camp, he dispatched a strong body of cavalry to intercept them. The Persian horse falling in with the convoy at the point where the defile terminates in the plain, killed both men and cattle, and immediately retreated upon their own army.

Potæmian.

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B. C.

479.

Biography.

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Alexander
goes to Asia.
wides.

Disposi-
tions of Per-
sians.

Change of
position.

Wearied at length with a state of inactivity, and perceiving that the Greeks were pertinaciously resolved not to relinquish their present advantageous position by crossing the river Asopus, Mardonius, after a deliberation of two days, adopted the determination to give battle; and first taking the precaution of summoning the principal Grecian officers of his army, he stated his design of attacking the confederates on the succeeding day, commanding them at the same time to make the necessary preparations. Alexander, king of Macedonia, one of the Grecian officers dwelling pressed into the Persian service, was determined to communicate this intention of Mardonius to his countrymen; and as Plutarch relates in his life of Aristides, rode at midnight to the Athenian line, and demanding to speak with Aristides and his principal officers, communicated the plan of the Persian general. This being done, he hastily returned to his own camp; while the Athenian general conveyed this gratifying piece of information to Pausanias, the commander in chief. A council of war was immediately called in his tent, to deliberate upon the proper measures which ought to be adopted in this emergency, to resist the menacing attack. Pausanias, with his usual discrimination, proposed an important alteration in the order of the Grecian line. He had previously observed that the native Persians were placed on the left of the enemy's army, opposite the Lacedæmonians, and the Grecian heavy armed infantry in the Persian service on the right, opposite to the Athenian forces. He alleged that the Athenians alone had any considerable experience in real action with the Persian troops, and that they were full of spirit and enthusiasm from cherishing a lively recollection of the glorious victory of Marathon, as well as in consequence of their recent successful charge upon the enemy's horse. On these grounds, he proposed that the Spartans should move to the left wing, and the Athenians to the right; and with the concurrence of Aristides issued orders for the execution of this new arrangement. The Persians, however, the next day, deferred their intended attack, confining themselves to certain military evolutions; excepting only that a few desultory charges of cavalry were made along the whole Grecian line, and one attack of a more serious nature upon the Lacedæmonian troops, stationed at the fountain of Gargaphia.

At the close of the day, the Greeks found themselves destitute of water, and in some measure without provisions, owing to the activity of the enemy's cavalry in intercepting supplies. Upon this, Pausanias, for the third time, resolved to remove from his present situation, and gave orders to the troops to proceed during the second watch of the night, about the distance of a mile and a half lower down, from the Gargaphian fountain towards the town of Platæa. On this march, most of the Grecian troops were seized with a sudden and unaccountable panic, which induced them to pay but little attention to the orders of the commander in chief. Both Herodotus and Plutarch affirm, that all the Greeks, with the exception of the Tegæans, who were steadfast in their adherence to the Spartans, and of the Platæans, who were equally firm to the Athenian forces, fled in the utmost confusion to the temple of Juno, under the very walls of Platæa, a distance of nearly three miles from the springs of Gargaphia.

In this dilemma, it is probable that the fortunate obstinacy of a Lacedæmonian officer saved the whole confederate army from ruin, and unquestionably led to the celebrated victory which was afterwards achieved. Amompharetus, who united the characters of priest and soldier, absolutely refused to obey the orders which were given by the general to retreat, urging in vindication of his extraordinary conduct, the standing laws of his country. This circumstance produced a violent altercation between Pausanias and the subaltern officer in question, which occasioned the detection of the Lacedæmonians in their position. However, at break of day he desired the Athenians to observe the motions of his troops, as a guide by which to regulate their own movements, and commanded the Spartans and Tegæans to press forward to the ground which he had chosen for their encampment. Amompharetus at length ordered his squadron to follow the rest of the army, whose march was in the direction of the hills, whilst the Athenians only advanced along the plain. In the morning, the Persians, to their great astonishment, again perceived the Greeks in rapid motion. The cavalry immediately charged the rear of the Lacedæmonian army, and Mardonius construing the retreat of the Greeks into a flight, quickly brought up the Persian infantry to pursue the fugitives, as well as to support his own cavalry. The whole of the enemy's force followed in expectation of an easy and bloodless victory. At this juncture, the Grecian general found his rear so seriously annoyed by the reiterated and desultory attacks of the Persian light horse, that he was under the necessity of making a stand; and, accordingly, dispatched a messenger to Aristides, acquainting him with his intention, and requesting him to afford him some assistance in repelling the assaults of the enemy. But before the Athenian general could march to the relief of his colleague, he was himself vigorously attacked by the Grecian troops in the Persian service, and thus was effectually prevented from co-operating with the Spartans. The Lacedæmonians and Tegæans amounted, however, to eleven thousand heavy-armed foot, and more than forty thousand light-armed troops; and they were posted upon the declivity of Mount Cithæron, with the river Asopus in front, running at the foot of the hill. In this position, so advantageous for defence, Pausanias, with his Spartans, awaited the approach of the enemy. The Persian infantry, under Mardonius, made a most spirited attack upon the Grecian line; the shock between the contending parties was violent in the extreme; the Persians fought with resolution, and according to the very candid account of Herodotus, equalled both in strength and courage his own countrymen, although they were decidedly their inferiors in discipline and steadiness. The conflict was long and dubious; but in this, as in the former engagements, the Greeks had the advantage in close fight, in part from the short weapons and undefended bodies of their antagonists. These, nevertheless, made several vigorous charges upon the Grecian infantry, many of whom were seized and their weapons broken, but every effort they could make to penetrate the Lacedæmonian phalanx, proved totally unavailing, and the Persians began at length to give way. At this critical moment, according to Herodotus, the Spartans and Tegæans advanced upon them, and having made an impression on their line, pushed

Pausanias.

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479.

Amompha-
retus.

Lacedæmo-
nians at-
tacked.

Biography. forward, and soon threw the whole mass of the Persian infantry into confusion. Nothing could exceed the astonishment and consternation into which the Persian general was now thrown, on witnessing the unexpected repulse of his infantry by an enemy whom he had regarded as fugitives, and on noticing the provoking circumstance, that the victory was suddenly snatched from his eager and too confident grasp.

Dilemma of Mardonius. He was now in great suspense whether or not to sound a retreat, by which it is more than probable that his infantry would have been placed in a state of safety in the plain, under the protection of his strong bodies of cavalry; but on considering that his army was too numerous to find subsistence in a barren and mountainous country, and, perhaps, convinced that it was necessary to strike one decisive blow, in order to rescue his fame from the calumny to which it was now inevitably exposed, he determined to trust to one of those accidents which have so often interposed at an alarming crisis to turn the fate of battle; and which it is impossible for any human foresight either to anticipate or prevent. As soon as he had taken this resolution, he proceeded to place himself at the head of a select body of horse, and advanced full speed to the support and relief of his retreating infantry, and made a charge in person no less judicious than spirited notwithstanding the rugged, hilly, and generally disadvantageous nature of the ground. Although he did not succeed in breaking the Lacedæmonian phalanx, he was enabled by this vigorous attack to check their progress. Many gallant Persian officers and soldiers perished in this charge of cavalry; among the rest, Mardonius himself, after having behaved in a manner worthy of the magnitude and importance of the interests which were at stake. He fell covered with wounds; and instantly upon his death the whole Persian army betook themselves to flight. Artabazus, who was second in command to Mardonius, but who was not personally engaged in the battle, no sooner heard of the complete overthrow of the Asiatic infantry, than he retreated toward Phocis with a chosen body of forty thousand men under his own immediate orders, and by this well conducted measure, for which he is justly celebrated by the historian of Halicarnassus, saved the remains of the Persian army.

His fall. While the Lacedæmonians were victorious over the Persians upon the hills, the Athenians were severely engaged with the Thebans in the plain. The Boeotians, who were in the Persian service, were forced, after an obstinate conflict, to yield to the superior military talents of Aristides and the valour of the Athenian troops, and fled in haste and confusion towards Thebes. The rest of the Asiatic nations, upon the advance of the Spartans and Tegæans, disappeared in the utmost consternation, without waiting for the charge. The Persian and Theban horse, however, still maintained the field after the infantry were routed, and rendered material aid in covering the retreat of the fugitives. The greatest part of the Persian infantry took shelter in their fortified camp, which was advantageously situated within an enclosure of wood, and was the depository of all the magazines and treasures of the enemy. The Lacedæmonians and Tegæans being well acquainted with this circumstance, pressed on with ardour, and pursued them thither into the very entrenchments; but not being much accustomed to carry on sieges, or to

storm fortified walls, were perplexed in what manner to conduct their operations. On the arrival, however, of the Athenian troops, the Spartans, under the direction of the Athenian officers, and in conjunction with their confederates, again attacked the entrenched position, and after repeated assaults, accompanied with the most spirited efforts on both sides, completely succeeded in carrying it; improving or rather degrading their victory by a horrible slaughter of the enemy.

Of the Persian army, which originally consisted of about three hundred thousand men, only three thousand survived, with the exception of those who effected a timely retreat under the skilful conduct of Artabazus. He arrived in safety with his forces at Byzantium, and thence proceeded to Asia. In the course of only a few days, not a single Persian was to be found in Greece, and never since that memorable period has a Persian armament ventured to make its appearance on that side of the Hellespont. The battle we have now detailed, took place, if we may rely on the calculations of the most approved chronologists, on the fourth day of the Grecian month Boedromion, according to the Attic method of computing time, which corresponds with the nineteenth day of our month of September.

As soon as the work of slaughter had ceased on both sides, the conquerors proceeded to plunder the eastern camp of its riches and treasures. The spoil found by the Spartans was immense. In the magnificent tent of Mardonius, there were discovered prodigious sums of money in gold and silver, exclusive of gold and silver cups, vessels, couches, tables, necklaces, collars, and bracelets. This Asiatic display of pomp and wealth dazzled the eyes of the wondering Greeks, whose poverty in the precious metals, and whose general simplicity of life prevented their forming the least conception of the splendor of eastern princes. But these spoils, in the opinion of a judicious historian, became fatal to Greece, and productive of the most pernicious consequences, inasmuch as they first introduced a love of riches and luxury amongst her inhabitants.

The Tegæans, who first broke into the camp, seized upon its treasures, and began to appropriate them to themselves, as their right. Upon this, Pausanias immediately issued orders, that the whole of the plunder should be collected together, and fairly distributed among the respective nations and cities that had furnished their contingent of troops; and that the principal officers of the army, who had distinguished themselves in the field of battle, should be particularly and proportionally remunerated in this division of the booty. The Helots were then ordered to gather together all the spoils, with the exception of a brazen manger, which was conceded to the Tegæans as a testimony of their bravery and good fortune. Previously, however, to the division of the spoil among the gallant soldiery who had fought for it, the religious custom of the Grecians was observed, in which a tenth part of the whole was appropriated to the use of the gods. According to Herodotus, the treasure thus set apart furnished a golden tripod, which was dedicated to Apollo, at Delphi, and placed there by the express orders of Pausanias. It bore an inscription, purporting, "that he (Pausanias) had defeated the barbarians at Plataea; and that, in acknowledgment of that victory, he had made this present to Apollo." The Spartans were so enraged at this specimen of presumptuous

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Persian camp plundered.

Distribution of the spoils.

Biography.

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arrogance on the part of their general, that, in order to punish his vanity, and, at the same time, to perform an act of justice to their confederates, they caused his name to be erased, and the names of the respective cities to be inscribed in its place. This extraordinary man suffered his too ardent thirst after glory to plunge him into the error of committing an action, which has subjected him to the charge both of a want of wisdom and of modesty; and the high value which he set upon his own services was disadvantageously contrasted with the unostentatious moderation and unobtrusive temper of his illustrious colleague, Aristides. Pausanias, however, upon another occasion, gave a more favourable specimen of the true Spartan disposition, in a conduct worthy of the best days of Spartan integrity and simplicity. The trappings of the royal household were found in the pavilion of Mardonius, which had been left by Xerxes, on his sudden and hasty departure for Persia. These had been presented by him to his general and brother-in-law. Pausanias, a few days after the engagement, determined to give a sumptuous entertainment to the principal officers, whom he invited for the occasion. The domestic Persian slaves, who had survived the slaughter, were in waiting; the royal furniture of Xerxes was put in request; the side-boards were covered with a costly exhibition of gold and silver utensils; and one of the tables exhibited a profusion of the delicacies and luxuries which used to be served up at the table of Mardonius. Pausanias ordered another table to be spread, on which was placed his plain and frugal supper, prepared according to the Spartan manner; and, turning round to his officers, requested them to mark the difference between a sumptuous Persian entertainment and a Spartan repast. "What address," says he, "was it in Mardonius, who was accustomed to such a luxurious diet, to come and attack a people like us, that knew how to live without any such superfluities."

Entertainment given by Pausanias.

Burial of the dead.

After the distribution of the spoil by Pausanias, he ordered that the burial of the dead, which was deemed a peculiarly solemn and sacred office, should be performed. The slain were interred, according to the general practice of the ancients, in tumuli, or barrows; a custom which has prevailed among more modern nations, especially among the Celtic tribes. A single burying-place was appointed to the use of the Athenians, Tegeans, Megareans, and Philiatians; but the slain of the Lacedæmonians formed three separate burial-places; one for those who had borne the priestly office, another for the Lacedæmonians in general, and the third for their Helots.

Amompharetas and Aristodemus.

The two most distinguished characters among the Greeks, who fell on that memorable day, were the Spartans Amompharetus and Aristodemus, the latter of whom distinguished himself before all others in the battle of Platæa. Soon after the burial of the dead, a dispute arose between the Lacedæmonian and Athenian generals, to which of the two nations the *Apoteia*, or first honours of merit, should be awarded, for their valour in the engagement. The Corinthians, however, interfering as mediators, contrived to reconcile the differences of the contending parties, by proposing the Platæans as claimants for the honorary distinction; justly alleging, that the Platæans had covered themselves with glory by their valour and enthusiasm in the recent conflict, and, when the common cause had required, nobly

volunteered to serve on board the Grecian fleet, although they were an inland people. It is rather singular, however, that achievements of the troops of Platæa are not particularly recorded by any writer, and are entirely passed over in silence by the impartial and original historian of Hælicæ, Pausanias. The Greeks approved of the selection of the Corinthian commanders, and the Spartans and Athenians acquiesced in this determination.

In the next general assembly of the Greeks, which was held soon after the battle, Aristides proposed the following decree: that all the cities of Greece should annually send their respective deputies to Platæa to offer up sacrifices to "*Jupiter the Deliverer*," and to the tutelary deities of the city; that games should be celebrated there every five years, which should be called the *games of liberty*; and that the inhabitants of Platæa, who had distinguished themselves in an extraordinary manner, and received, for their services, the first honours of military merit, should be solely devoted to the service of the gods, considered as sacred and inviolable, and be employed in no other office than that of offering up prayer and sacrifices for the safety and prosperity of Greece. After this decree had passed into a law, the inhabitants of Platæa voluntarily engaged to solemnize an anniversary festival, in honour of those heroes who were slain in the plains of Platæa.

A few days after the battle, Pausanias called a council of war to deliberate upon what further measures ought to be pursued. It was then determined to chastise those Greeks who had been in the Persian service; and, with a view of carrying this resolution into effect, the army of the confederates, under Pausanias, ten days after the engagement at Platæa, marched into the Theban territories. The Lacedæmonian general, on his appearance before the gates of Thebes, insisted upon the surrender of Teniægeides, Attagnus, and some other principal Thebans; and, in case of refusal, he threatened to besiege the city, and plunder and lay waste the adjoining country. These proposals not being acceded to, Pausanias ravaged the whole territory for twenty days; but, upon the flight of Attagnus, the citizens delivered into the hands of the commander in chief of the confederate Greeks, Teniægeides and his family. The magnanimous Spartan immediately dismissed the innocent children, unburt, and detained the guilty father, for that punishment which the treachery of which he was guilty towards his country's welfare so justly merited. Pausanias, with his usual sagacity, saw the necessity of setting an example of salutary severity in the persons of these traitors; and, accordingly, after the confederate troops had marched to their respective cities and countries, had them conveyed to Corinth, where he caused them to be publicly executed. This was the last act of the Grecian commander, in his office of generalissimo.

About nine years after the battle of Platæa (A. C. 470), the Greeks, encouraged by the recent glorious success which had attended their victorious arms, both by sea and land, and perceiving the necessity of still further checking the Persian power, and also of delivering their allies from the Asiatic yoke, determined to send a considerable fleet to sea. When this naval armament was assembled, Pausanias, in consideration of his past services, was unanimously appointed by the confederates, commander in chief; and received,

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Decree of
the general
assembly.

Pausanias
marches
against
Thebes.

A. C.
470.

Pausanias
commands
a fleet.

Biography.

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479.

Takes By-
zantium.

Changes his
habits and
character.

as condutors, the judicious Aristides, and Cimon, the son of the illustrious Miltiades, who commanded for the Athenians. Pausanias first directed his course towards the island of Cyprus, where success soon attended his forces; he compelled the Persian garrisons to surrender, and restored all the cities to their former liberty. The fleet then steered its course to the Propontis and the Hellespont, attacking the city of Byzantium, which was the principal military depot of the Persians, and the key of communication with their possessions in Europe. After a siege of some continuance, the garrison capitulated, and he made himself master of the town. An immense number of prisoners were taken, great part of whom were of the richest and most considerable families of Persia; some of them were related to the family of Xerxes.

From the period of the capture of Byzantium, the mind of the commander in chief seems to have undergone a remarkable and total change. The frugal and austere mode of living, practised by the Spartans, disgusted him, when viewed in comparison with the pomp and luxury of Asia; and the splendour of his own renown, acquired at Hattusa, so dazzled him, that he began to consider the rigid and stern subjection required by the Spartan laws, as altogether intolerable to a man who had so eminently distinguished himself in the field of battle. It is probable, also, that his haughty and arrogant temper could not brook the indignity of descending from the eminent rank of commander in chief of the Grecian confederacy, to the comparatively insignificant station of a private citizen. Historians, both ancient and modern, consider this as the principal motive which induced him to make private overtures to the Persian monarch.

The arrogance and vanity of his temper may be inferred from the words already referred to, which he used as the inscription upon the golden tripod, presented to Apollo at Delphi; and was fully apparent in the subsequent haughtiness and insolence with which he treated the confederates. He entirely laid aside the Spartan customs and manners, imitating the Asiatics in all their luxury and magnificence, and invidiously assuming both the dress and haughtiness of the Persians. He never spoke to the officers of the allies, but with an insufferable haughtiness of manner and insolence of expression; he required extraordinary honours to be paid him, and, by his whole conduct, rendered the Spartan dominion over the rest of the confederate Grecians odious and insupportable. On the other hand, unhappily for the Lacedæmonian interest in the affairs of Greece, the character of Pausanias, when contrasted with the opposite dispositions of Aristides and Cimon, increased the general discontent of the allies. The courteous and affable deportment of Aristides and Cimon, their remoteness from all imperious and haughty airs, and their gentle, kind, and beneficent dispositions, in conjunction with the humanity which they displayed on all public occasions, were admirably calculated to conciliate the affections of the Grecian states.

Gongylus.

About this time, Pausanias became acquainted with Gongylus, a renegade Greek, whom he appointed governor of Byzantium, and entrusted to his charge the Persian prisoners of distinction. Soon afterwards, Pausanias spread a report throughout the Grecian army, that the Persian nobles committed to the

governor's care, had effected their escape by night; whereas, in fact, they were all liberated by the connivance of the commander in chief himself. Gongylus, the governor, was then dispatched to the court of Persia; and Pausanias sent a letter by him to Xerxes, containing proposals to betray his country, on certain stipulated conditions. He promised the Persian monarch to deliver into his power the city of Sparta, and the whole of Greece, on condition of his giving him his daughter in marriage, accompanied with a magnificent fortune. Through the medium of Gongylus, Xerxes returned a favourable answer to these proposals, and, at the same time, sent him large sums of money, for the purpose of winning over to his interest as many of the leading men of Greece as he should find disposed to enter into his designs. The Persian king also appointed Artabazus to continue this negotiation; and, to enable him to do so with the greater success, he recalled Megabates, and appointed Artabazus governor of all the cities situated on the sea-coasts of Asia-Minor. From this moment, the manners, dress, and table of Pausanias became entirely Persian; a style of living which naturally caused the greatest dissatisfaction among the confederates. At last, the general discontent publicly broke forth; all the allies were unanimously agreed to desert him, and placed themselves under the command and protection of the Athenians; and thus the Lacedæmonians not only lost that distinguished superiority which they had hitherto maintained over the confederate states of Greece, but conferred, though unintentionally, upon their rivals, the Athenians, the conduct of Grecian affairs.

The republic of Lacedæmon, recalling their troops, tried and summoned their general before a military tribunal, to give an account of his extraordinary conduct. Pausanias was brought to trial, but from want of sufficient evidence was acquitted of the charge of having entered into a correspondence with the Persian king. After this public investigation and fortunate escape, he went to the character of a private individual, without the consent and approbation of the commonwealth, to the city of Byzantium, from which place he was able to carry on his intrigues with Artabazus with the greater facility. During his residence in that city, his behaviour became so offensive to the Athenians, that they compelled him to retire to Colosse, a small town of the Troad. Here he received an order from the Ephori, to repair to Sparta and defend his conduct. He obeyed the summons, presuming that he should escape punishment by corrupting the principal men of Sparta with bribes. The event fully justified his expectations; for he was brought to trial a second time, and again acquitted, and set at liberty. But the guilt of Pausanias soon became evident, and too dangerous to the state to be passed over with impunity. One of his own slaves went to the Ephori, and produced before them a letter written by his master to the king of Persia, which he was to have earned and delivered into the hands of Artabazus himself. The slave, in concert with the Ephori, withdrew as a support to the temple of Neptune at Tenos, in order to secure himself from the vengeance of Pausanias. Two small closets had been purposely made there, in one of which the Ephori secreted themselves. Pausanias, upon hearing that his slave had fled to this temple, hastened to the place to inquire the reason, and the Spartan magistrates

Pausanias.

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B. C.
479.

Treachery
of Pausa-
nias.

Retires to
Byzantium.

Ordered to
Sparta.

His guilt evi-
denced by
a slave.

Biography. had the fullest opportunity of satisfying themselves with regard to his traitorous intentions. The slave confessed that he had opened the letter, and finding by its contents that he was to be put to death, he had fled to that temple as an asylum. Pansanius, aware of the truth of this statement, did not deny the fact, but promised him a great reward, and besought him never to reveal the present conversation.

His death. The Ephori determined to seize upon him as soon as he returned to the city; but having received an intimation of their design from one of his friends, he basely fled to the temple of Pallos, called Chalcimcon. The entrance was immediately blocked up with stones by his pursuers, and according to Cornelius Nepos, his mother was the person who brought the first stone.

The Ephori secured the roof of the temple to be taken off, and not wishing by a forcible abduction to violate the sanctity of the asylum, left him exposed to the inclemency of the weather and the pangs of hunger; he was accordingly starved to death. But a little before he expired they drew him out of the asylum, when he died in the arms of his attendants, *a. c.* 469. His body was buried in front of the temple, and two brazen statues, according to the response of the Delphic oracle, were erected in honour of his memory. Some years after his decease, festivals and solemn games were instituted in his honour, and a funeral oration was spoken in his praise, in which his actions were celebrated, particularly his exploits at the battle of Platæa, and the defeat of Mardonius.

Pansanius.
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479.

ALCIBIADES.

FLOWERISHED ABOUT A. M. 3604, B. C. 400.

Biography. This celebrated Athenian, among the numerous advantages showered upon him by nature and fortune, enjoyed the estimation arising from an illustrious ancestry. He was the son of Clinia, who after gaining considerable honour by fitting out a galley at his private cost, in which he fought at the battle of Artemisium, was slain in the contest at Coronea, where the Athenians were opposed to the Boeotians. Pericles was his near relative, and one of his guardians. He is said, indeed, by Cornelius Nepos, to have passed his childhood in the house of that powerful and magnificent statesman. Amyclas, a woman of Sparta was his nurse, and Zopyrus his early instructor. The information we have left us of these minute circumstances of his childhood have arisen, according to Plutarch, from the friendship of Socrates, which rendered him an object of interest to the admirers of that philosopher, who, therefore, recorded them in his writings.

Family and infancy of Alcibiades.

Early character of Alcibiades.

The haughty spirit of impetuosity and disdain, which so strongly marked his character when fully developed, was manifested by clear indications in his youth. As a cart was driven along the public road in which he was playing with his companions, and approached the spot just as he was about to throw, he required the driver to stop till his turn was past; and when he found that the man paid no attention to his demand, he threw himself on his face in the way of the horses, and defied the party to drive over him. The driver was so terrified at this daring conduct, that he stopped the horses and quietly waited until Alcibiades had thrown. When he feared that he should have been overcome in wrestling, he vehemently bit the hand of his antagonist, to whose reproach that he hit like a woman, he replied "no—like a lion." He pertinaciously resisted all efforts to instruct him in the art of playing on the flute, and ridiculed those who submitted to learn it. For he alleged that the exercise distorted the features and prevented the use of speech; and, therefore, was fit only for the Thebans who had no power of conversation, and ought to be rejected by Athenians, who

revered Minerva and Apollo as tutelary deities; the first of whom threw away the flute, and the latter stripped off the skin of one of its professors. By this railery, the youthful Alcibiades brought the knowledge of that instrument, before fashionable, into contempt, and caused it to be excluded from the arts which g-nlemen could honourably cultivate. It is reported by Antiphan, that he slew one of his own servants in the place of public exercises, by a blow inflicted with a staff; but Plutarch thinks that the authority of one, writing professedly to defame him, ought not to be received as satisfactory evidence of an instance of passion so fatal.

Amidst the irregularities of Alcibiades in his early years, there were doubtless indications of no common genius. These drew the attention of Socrates, and caused him to take a great interest in the welfare of one, whose future life must, he foresaw, be a course of splendid good, or of daring evil. It shows him, indeed, not to have been destitute of a love for virtue, that while surrounded by flatterers, he felt the value of the philosopher's regard, and repaid it with becoming reverence. The discourse of his great adviser would even affect him to tears, and appear for a time, almost to soften him into goodness, and charm him into wisdom. But he was not born long to endure even the gentlest control. His spirits were too elastic, and his sense of luxurious pleasure too intense, to suffer him to persevere in listening to the still voice of truth and of virtue. He perpetually broke from the instructions of Socrates into excesses of intemperance which no monitor was able to control. Thus, having haughtily refused the invitation of Amytus, to a banquet, and indulged at his own house in copious draughts of wine with his young companions, he sallied forth to the place where his presence had been requested, and commanded his servants to bring half the vessels of gold and silver which covered the tables, and to bear them away in triumph. The guests naturally expressed great indignation at this proceeding; but their host excused the intruder, and even said that he ought rather to

Alcibiades.
A. M.
3604.
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B. C.
400.

Friendship of Socrates for Alcibiades.

Biography. thank him for what he had left, than blame him for that which he had taken. His generosity had as little of reason or of justice as his outrages. An Athenian having sold his little estate, and presented the money derived from the sale to Alcibiades, he invited him, in return, to supper, and after the repast, returned to him his gold, desiring him to appear on the following day, when the public revenue should be offered, to farm, and offer a higher sum than any other bidder. In the morning the man appeared, and according to directions given him, offered a talent more than the usual price, which greatly disconcerted those who were accustomed to farm the taxes, because their custom was to pay out of the profits of one year the rent of the preceding. They demanded whom he would bring forward as his sureties, hoping that, by this means, they should prevent his design. But Alcibiades, who, from a distance, observed the success of his plan, deprived them of this resource by exclaiming that the bidder was his friend, and that he would answer for the fulfilment of the engagement with his fortune. They then began to entreat their opponent to retract, and offered him a talent, which, at length, at the advice of his prompter, he accepted, and thus obtained an ample sum for the relief of his distresses. Even the first feelings of admiration which Alcibiades cherished for the works of genius, he did not express without manifesting the arrogant disposition of his mind. Thus, when he had entered the school of a teacher, and asked him for one of Homer's poems, and received for answer that no work of that poet was taught there, he struck the master on the face, and abruptly departed. He made a fitter retort on another occasion, when a reply scarcely less provoking was given to the same question. The tutor had asserted that he had Homer corrected by himself, and Alcibiades retorted, that one able to improve Homer, might well aspire to teach men, instead of condescending to instruct children in the first rudiments of learning. His love of singularity was evident in his minutest action. Having bought a dog of great beauty, for seventy minæ, he ordered his tail which was his chief ornament to be cut off; and on being told that all Athens laughed at the absurdity of his conduct, replied, that he had then gained his desired object, for he was desirous that the citizens should find matter of discourse and censure in this affair, lest they should talk of worse things respecting him.

Marriage of Alcibiades. It is singular that one of the most wanton of his excesses ended in his marriage; an event, however, which had no power to make him adhere to virtue. From mere insolence, and to fulfil a boast made to his companions in riot, he struck Hipponicus, the father of Callias, a person of great wealth and importance, who had never offered him the slightest injury. The next morning he became sensible of the greatness of his offence; and, in anxiety to make atonement, went to the house of the party to whom the insult had been offered, and told him he was ready to receive the retribution which he might think it just to inflict. Moved by this conduct, Hipponicus not only forgave him, but shortly after permitted him to receive the hand of his daughter Hipparete, who was affectionately devoted to him, and deserved his love. His irregularities soon provoked her to leave him, and retire to the house of her brother. Of this measure he appeared regardless, and lived in the same course of dissipated

pleasure; but when his wife appeared, according to the laws, before the archon, to deliver in person the instrument by which she sought for a divorce, he seized her with his characteristic impetuosity, and carried her by force home, no one daring to attempt her rescue. After this, she did not offer to leave him, but remained in his house till her death, which occurred shortly after, during his journey to Ephesus.

Alcibiades, like all the young nobles of Athens, became early in life a soldier. In the field, Socrates was no less ready to defend him from personal danger, than he had been in the city to secure him from the perils of vice and corruption. They lived in the same tent, and fought side by side in the expedition against Potidæa, where they both exerted themselves with singular bravery. In one skirmish, when Alcibiades was wounded, Socrates saved him from being made a prisoner, and instead of claiming the prize of valour for himself to which he was entitled, gave testimony in favour of him whom he had rescued, and persuaded the judges to bestow on him that honour which he trusted would animate his youth in the pursuit of honourable fame. At a future period, Alcibiades had an opportunity of repaying a part of this obligation; for, in the retreat after the battle of Delium, as he was mounted on horseback, while Socrates was on foot, he refused to retire, until he had, with the hazard of his life, brought into a place of safety his philosopher, friend, and preserver.

The magnificent disposition of Alcibiades was not to be restrained within moderate boundaries by the councils of his great adviser. He kept a most splendid retinue, and in the number and beauty of his horses and chariots, far surpassed all rivals. At one time he sent seven chariots to contend at the Olympic games, which no one had ever done before him, and obtained the first, second, and also either the third or fourth of the prizes. On occasion of this brilliant success, not only individuals, but cities in their collective character, made him congratulatory offerings.

The Ephesians erected him a splendid tent; the Chians furnished him with provender and cattle for sacrifice; and the Lesbians provided him with wine, for the service of rich banquets, which he gave with his characteristic profusion. In the midst of these triumphant revellings, however, he was charged with an act of meanness, in having claimed a chariot as his own, which he had purchased for another; and legal proceedings were consequently instituted against him. We are informed that Socrates was his advocate; but we do not know either the result of the cause, or the justice of the accusation on which it was founded.

Addicted as Alcibiades was to pleasure, he soon felt a restless desire to share in the administration of public affairs. Of the daring cast of his politics, his youthful advice to Pericles, his guardian, afforded a clear indication. When he understood that statesmen to be perplexed how he should make up his accounts to present to the Athenians, he observed that it would be better for him to consider how he could altogether avoid accounting. He was endowed with an eloquence, the most insinuating and persuasive, one of the few endowments a politician could possess in a state like Athens. He was careful in the selection of his words and phrases, that he might gratify the nice ears of his critical audience; and so great a prepossession existed on his

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Early service of Alcibiades in the field.

Success of Alcibiades at the Olympic games.

Commencement of his career as a statesman.

Biography.

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behalf in the public mind, that his splendid sins were regarded as virtues, and the very lip which rendered his speech defective, praised as graceful. His first appearance in a public assembly, though accidental, was fortunate. On inquiring into the occasion of a crowd which he saw collected, and finding that some one was scattering money amongst them, he went into the mob, and began to exercise a liberality of the same description. His bounty was received amidst loud applauses, which so delighted him, that he forgot to secure a quail which he was carrying beneath his robe, and saw the bird escape; but it was instantly pursued by the grateful assembly, caught by a pilot named Antiochus, and restored to its owner.

Defeat and
humiliation,
by ostracism,
of
Hyperbolas.

When Alcibiades, with all the advantages of valour, eloquence, riches, popularity, and the friendship of Socrates, made his first efforts to acquire political influence, he found only Phæax and Nicias, who afterwards was so honourably distinguished amidst the Sicilian disasters, as his rivals. There was, indeed, another, named Hyperbolas, who, although a mean and despicable person, hoped to gain some importance by the divisions among his superiors. This man endeavoured to procure one of the three most conspicuous statesmen to be banished by ostracism, by inciting the party who favoured one of them against his opponents. Alcibiades, however, perceiving his design, united either with Nicias or Phæax to render the scheme abortive, and succeeded in making the sentence of ostracism fall on its proposer himself, who had not the least fear of such a result. The Athenians soon after repented that they had dignified him, by fixing on his baseless the penalty which they had consecrated to distinguished worth; and feeling that this instrument of their power was now debased, they never resorted to the ambiguous compliment in future.

Intrigues of
Alcibiades
against Ni-
cias, and
for the
breaking of
the peace.

This danger being thus averted, Alcibiades pursued the more ambitious design of overthrowing the power of Nicias. That accomplished general had, a short time before, procured a nominal peace between the Athenians and the Peloponnesians, which his youthful rival was anxious to see broken. His desire to plunge his country again into a ruinous war, arose not only from his jealousy of the reputation which Nicias derived from having brought a destructive contest to a close, but from his personal resentment against the Lacedæmonians, who had not requested his services in procuring the treaty, and had slighted his attempts to win their favour. Fortunately for his design, the Spartans had just given offence, by delivering up Pinaretus dismantled and injured, and making a separate alliance with the Bœotians, without consulting the government of Athens. These circumstances he made the themes of contact and bitter invective, and did not fail to include Nicias in his reproaches, as too much disposed to favour the Peloponnesian cause. As he saw the people of Argos were irritated against the Lacedæmonians, he sent emissaries to persuade them to sue for a separate peace with the Athenians, assuring them that it would be granted. By his persuasions they were induced to send ambassadors to Athens, who arrived there at the same time with those of Sparta, who came armed with full powers to settle all causes of dispute. This was a critical time; and Alcibiades perceiving its importance, exerted all his cunning to secure his purposes, with little regard to

justice or honour. Although the Lacedæmonian ambassadors had declared, in their audience with the senate, that they were invested with full powers, he prevailed on them, by promises to espouse their cause, to contradict the assertion in the assembly of the people, and affirm that they were only authorized to treat on definite conditions. When they had thus been guilty, through his machinations, of manifest prevarication, and expected his support, he vehemently inveighed against their want of faith, and represented the conduct which he had thus prompted, as a specimen of the Spartan character. Thus he succeeded in turning the voice of the people against them; but the assembly was adjourned, in consequence of the shock of an earthquake, without coming to any decision. His object, however, was only delayed. An embassy to Lacedæmon announced that, unless the Spartans would relinquish the alliance of the Bœotians, the Athenians would take the Argives into their league; being rejected, a treaty was concluded with the state of Argos, and the people of Mantinea and Elis. Alcibiades, whose policy had effected these alliances, was appointed to command the armies of Athens.

Alcibiades.
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In the succeeding summer, the new commander entered Peloponnesus with a small party of Athenians, and a number of confederates who had joined him on his march, for the purpose of erecting a fort upon the Pelium of Achaia, which would totally have destroyed the empire of Corinth over the seas. But the Corinthians and Sicyonians, justly alarmed at his design, rushed to prevent him in such overpowering numbers, as compelled him to retire.

Alcibiades
carries war
into Peloponnesus.

The hopes which the Athenians had derived from the new coalition were, in the ensuing year, blasted by the signal defeat of the confederates by the Lacedæmonians, at Mantinea, in the greatest battle that ever yet been fought among the Greeks. At the commencement of the ensuing winter, the Spartan army once more took the field, and advancing to Tegea, sent proposals for accommodation to Argos. Alcibiades, then in that city, attempted to procure the people to reject all the terms, but in vain. An armistice was at first agreed on, which was, after some time, followed by an offensive and defensive alliance, and the total separation of both Argives and Mantinians to the Athenian cause. Before the end of the year, in the presence of Lacedæmonian troops, and by Spartan influence, the constitution of Argos, hitherto popular, was subverted, and an oligarchy established in its room, after the Lacedæmonian model. But the people were little disposed to acquiesce in this abolition of their rights; and an opportunity soon occurred for the expression of their feeling. During the celebration of a festival at Sparta, they rose against their oppressors, and, after a conflict, in which they were victorious, established their former constitution. The nobles, driven from the city, brought the succour of the Spartans, who came to a resolution to march against Argos, but suffered considerable time to elapse before they attempted to execute their design. In the mean time, Alcibiades determined to secure the future co-operation of the Argives with the Athenians, hastened to their city, sent three hundred, who were suspected to favour the Spartan cause, to the neighbouring islands, and persuaded the citizens to build long walls reaching to the sea, which might obtain

The Argives
defeated,
and their
government
changed.

Second re-
volution at
Argos at-
tributed by
Alcibiades.

Biography.

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B. C.
400.

Involence
and excesses
of Alcibi-
ades.

Scheme of
the Sicilian
expedition.

facilities for receiving succours from Athens. He also induced the Patrons to lengthen their walls in like manner, and for similar purposes. When these euzenæ were told that the Athenians would devour them in last, he replied that such a result was possible, but that at least they would do it gently, and by degrees, beginning with the feet, while the Lacedæmonians would begin at the head, and instantly destroy them. Such was, indeed, a just representation of that choice of evils which the two contending powers of Greece left to the states, who were forced to seek one or the other to become their ally and master.

Alcibiades was unremitting in his exertions on behalf of the Athenian cause. But in the midst of his schemes of policy, and his exploits in the field, he was unable to repress his love of pleasure, which betrayed him into constant violations of public decorum. He was perfectly careless of the opinion which might be formed of his excesses, and even ostentatiously proclaimed them. His insolent expression of disdain knew no bounds towards any who dared to oppose him. When a citizen named Tanres presumed to exhibit a spectacle in opposition to him, he descended to strike his rival. He forcibly detained Agatharchus, a painter, till he had executed the work he thought fit to prescribe, and then suffered him to depart, with a liberal remuneration for his labour. On one occasion, when he had obtained great applause by a public oration, Timon, the misanthrope, took him by the hand, and exhorting him to proceed, wished him increasing fame from the people, as he would soon repay them with abundant sorrow.

A new field for the ambition of Alcibiades was now opened, with the design of conquering Sicily. The Egæans had entreated succours from Athens against the Selinuntians and Syracuseans, and ambassadors, sent to ascertain their resources, had brought the most splendid reports of the treasures deposited in their temples. Fresh and glittering hopes dawned upon the people, as they contemplated in imagination the conquest of the whole of the rich and fertile island, which already they fancied an Athenian colony. This prospect was, indeed, contracted, when compared with that which Alcibiades saw; for he looked on the subjugation of Sicily only as a means of accomplishing vaster designs, and considered it as leading to the possession of Italy, Carthage, and Lybia, the opening of an almost unlimited succession of glorious victories. The Athenian youth caught his enthusiasm; and thought of nothing but the triumphs in which they wanted to share. Groups might be seen in the public places of exercise listening to the aged men discouraging on the old glories of the heroic times, or describing in the sand, the figures of those regions whose spoils they hoped soon to enjoy. The more wise and prudent, indeed, saw in these wild expectations the ruin of the Athenian grandeur. Socrates protested against the enterprise, by the advice, as was alleged, of his mysterious demon. Meton, the astrologer, foresaw the ill fortune of the war, and set fire to his house, either by way of counterfeiting madness, or that he might persuade the people to allow his son to remain with him at Athens after a calamity which appeared so distressing. Nicias, with the calm wisdom which marked his character, laboriously endeavoured to dissuade the senate from their purpose.

But all warnings were given in vain. A decree was passed, that a fleet of sixty ships should sail for Sicily, under the command of Alcibiades, Nicias, and Lamachus, who were directed to succour the Egæans, if possible to restore the Leontines to their places of abode, and further to act in all things as, according to their discretion, should tend to the benefit of Athens. When the time came for discussing the supplies for the expedition, Nicias solemnly entreated his countrymen to pause, and, finding the persuasive and brilliant eloquence of Alcibiades prevented his arguments from having any influence on his hearers, strove to deter them from their purpose by setting forth the vastness of the supplies, both of forces and of money, which it would be necessary for them to provide. But this speech produced an effect the most contrary to his wish: for the assembly were instantly convinced—not that their expedition must be abandoned—but that every nerve must be strained to support it; and they accordingly came to a decision, investing the generals with full powers to regulate the numbers of the army and the fleet, and all that they might regard as requisite for their success. The zeal of the assembly was answered by the enthusiasm of the people. All were eager to share in an expedition so promising; and a feeling of the most elevated hope pervaded all classes, as they witnessed the mighty preparations advancing.

Alcibiades now seemed to have obtained the means of realizing the most gorgeous buildings of his fancy. But, at this very moment, a sudden disaster blasted all his hopes. When the fleet was almost prepared, the statues of Mercury, which were numerous both in the temples and porticos of houses, were defaced in a single night, by some unknown hand. This circumstance, although attributed by some to the Corinthians, who might be supposed thus to attempt to deter the Athenians from invading Syracuse, their colony, was regarded with alarm either as a result of some conspiracy against the republic, or as a supernatural indication of the wrath of heaven. The enemies of Alcibiades, through the means of Androcles, sought to direct the general feelings of horror against him, by accusing him of having been the author of the atrocious sacrilege. They also affirmed that he had, with some wanton associates, derided the holy mysteries by a profane representation of their forms, in which the guilty parties acted the various consecrated officers. The accusers also referred to the whole tenor of his life, which they not only stigmatized as licentious, but as indicating a spirit which would not be satisfied till it had usurped the supreme power to the destruction of public freedom.

When Alcibiades heard these charges, he insisted on being allowed an immediate trial. He implored the Athenians not to suffer him to depart, as commander of so vast an expedition, with a charge of so great magnitude impending over him, or, while he was at a distance, to attend to calumnies which he could not answer. But his enemies, knowing the love which the soldiers bore him, and the partiality with which he was still regarded by many of the citizens, procured orators who urged that the voyage should not be delayed, but that, on the return of the commander, a day should be appointed for his trial. This advice was taken; the investigation suspended; and Alcibiades

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Accusations
against Alcibiades.

Alcibiades
forced to
depart with-
out a trial.

Biography.

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Course of the armament.

Alcibiades compelled to depart, leaving his accusers to collect or suborn, without opposition, a mass of evidence against him.

The Athenian fleet sailed first to Corcyra, where it was joined by the ships of those allies who had consented to share in the glories and perils of the enterprise. Hence the commanders steered along the coast of Italy, and, being refused admittance or supplies by the maritime towns, anchored beneath the promontory of Regium. Hence they dispatched vessels to Egæta, to ascertain the amount of the promised treasures in that city, and found, by the intelligence thus obtained, that no such resources existed. On this, the generals were divided in opinion; but the advice of Alcibiades prevailed, to persuade the states, excepting Selinus and Syracuse, to join them, and afterwards to attack those against which they were sent, if they refused compliance to the demands of Athens. The Messenians having refused the offer of an alliance, the fleet sailed for Catana, where Alcibiades persuaded the citizens to join them. Here a message was received from Camarina, promising to unite in the Athenian cause, which induced the commanders to sail for that port; but, finding on their arrival, that the Camarinæans evaded the performance of their engagement, they returned to Catana, after a descent on the shores of the Syracusan territory, by which they acquired spoils. On their arrival, they found a messenger, with a vessel called the Salaminian galley, to order Alcibiades to return and take his trial, on the charges made before his departure.

Recall of Alcibiades.

Cause of it.

It does not appear that any clear proof had been discovered against the party accused during his absence. But his enemies were able to pursue their machinations without fear of the army, who were devoted to him, or of the Argives and Mantineans, who had joined the expedition solely from their desire to share his fortunes. Various rumours were studiously incited against him, till the Athenians became too impatient for the decision of his fate, to wait the issue of his mission. As, however, they wished the allies who were fixed in his interest to remain in the service, they directed their messengers not to arrest him, but merely to require him to follow them in his own galley. He accordingly yielded an apparent obedience to the requisition, and left the fleet in his vessel, with such of his comrades as were accused of having participated in his crimes. But when the Salaminian ship had passed the height of Thuria, he contrived to escape, so that all the endeavours of the officers to retake him were in vain. Being met, when on shore, by one who knew him, and asked whether he did not dare trust his country, he replied, "Yes, with all but my life; and when that is at stake, I would not trust my mother, lest she should mistake a black bean for a white one." When his flight was known at Athens, judgment of death was passed on him, his estate confiscated, and priests and priestesses ordered solemnly to pronounce him accursed. One of them, however, Themno, of Agrigento, declined to execute the order, observing that her office made it her duty to put up prayers, not execrations. When Alcibiades was informed that he was condemned to die by the Athenians, he replied, "I will make them feel that I am yet alive."

Alcibiades now sought, not only security, but ven-

geance. He fled from Thuria to Cybène, and requested permission of the Lacedæmonians to come protected to their city, engaging to repair the injuries he had done them by his services. This request being granted, he hastened to Sparta, where he found the Syracusans and Corinthians imploring the people to send military succours to Sicily. This demand the Ephori were on the point of rejecting, and of determining to send only ambassadors to Syracuse, who might prevent the Athenians from succeeding, by negotiation, to obtain a footing in the island. But Alcibiades urged the necessity of sending real aid, in a speech so lucid, animated, and convincing, that they determined to send Gylippus, with the Corinthians, to oppose Nicias and Lamachus, then commanding the forces of Athens. By his advice, also, the Lacedæmonians fortified Decelea, and resolved to attack their foes in domestic war. Their affairs seemed instantly to revive, as by magic, at the first influence of his counsils.

Alcibiades, now apparently identified with the Spartan cause, assumed with marvellous facility the character of his new associates. Accustomed to every luxury, he fed on the coarsest food; changed his dress from robes of purple and gold, to the simplest apparel; and laying aside the gorgeous insolence of his appearance and manner, seemed at once to have become humble, patient, and laborious. The transformation, so wonderfully wrought, was, however, only external. He found means to seduce the wife of Agis, the king, not, as he alleged, from the heat of passion, but from ambition that his race should sit on the throne of Sparta. The discovery, however, by the monarch, of the infidelity of his queen, frustrated the hopes he had thus indulged, and raised up most powerful foes against him in his new asylum. The hatred of these men increased in proportion as those successes advanced of which his advice had been the origin. The calamities of the Athenians in Sicily, to which his counsel had greatly contributed, only increased their envy. He still, however, had sufficient influence to procure assistance for the inhabitants of Chios, in preference to those of Cynicus and Lesbos, who all signified their desire of leaving the alliance of Athens. He soon set sail for Ionia, nearly the whole of which he induced to adopt the Spartan cause. But, while he was thus employed, Agis and his enemies sent private orders into that region to dispatch him, which he discovered, and was able to evade. He considered it, however, necessary to withdraw, and renouncing the Spartan cause in disgust, sought and obtained the protection of Tissaphernes, the lieutenant of the Persian sovereign.

The manners of Alcibiades were adapted, with peculiar felicity, to win the favour of his new patron. The natural love of luxury, and magnificence of disposition, which he had been forced to conceal at Sparta, he now indulged with perfect freedom, and assurance that they must be grateful to the Barbaric satrap. His talent for political intrigue had now ample room for its exertions. As both the parties, weakened by their long struggle, anxiously looked to Tissaphernes for aid, he saw the means of rendering himself once more important to all the parties of Greece. As the Peloponnesians had now the decided advantage, from the sad mismanagement of the Athenian affairs in Sicily,

Alcibiades.

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A. C.
400.

Alcibiades requests to Sparta.

Assumes the Spartan manners.

Makes enemies at Sparta.

Takes refuge with Tissaphernes.

Conduct of Alcibiades, while protected by Tissaphernes.

Biography.

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3604.
A. C.
400.Alcibiades
intrigues for
his return to
Athens.

he advised his Persian friend to lessen his assistance, reduce the pay of the soldiers, and not suffer them to obtain any decisive triumph. He urged that it was the interest of the Asiatic monarch to assist the Grecian states, only that they might weaken each other, so that both might at last be deprived of all means of resistance to his will. This counsel was peculiarly agreeable to the crafty barbarian, who suffered Alcibiades to direct all his movements, and gave the most public indications of the control which he allowed him to enjoy. But Alcibiades was, in the midst of his oriental splendours, working out, from his interest with Tissaphernes, the means of his recall to Athens.

At this moment, indeed, it was in the power of this officer to give a finishing blow to that ill-fated republic, by bringing up the Phœnician fleet, which consisted of 150 ships, to the aid of the Spartans. This, then, was a most fortunate time for the intrigues of Alcibiades, who, by his open influence, seemed to have this illustrious state at his mercy. He caused it, therefore, to be insinuated among the commanders of the Athenian troops which were then at Samos, that their only hope lay in his return, for which the way must be prepared by rendering the government of the state oligarchical, instead of popular. The chiefs at Samos being generally inclined to favour such a revolution, not only freely discussed the proposal among themselves, but caused it to be intimated at Athens. Phrynicius alone opposed it; and when he found that he could not prevail by argument, attempted to succeed by stratagem. He endeavoured, therefore, by private messengers, to incite Astyochus, commander of the Lacedæmonian fleet, against Alcibiades, who, instead of assisting in his downfall, revealed to him the communication which was intended to destroy him. On this, Alcibiades sent to Samos, and accused Phrynicius of treachery; when that officer becoming desperate on the discovery of his scheme, offered to Astyochus to deliver into his hand the army and fleet of the Athenians, if he would, even now, favour his designs. This proposal, like the former, was disclosed to its intended victim, and was communicated by him to his confederates at Samos, by whom a deputation, with Pisander at its head, was sent to Athens, charged with the propositions of establishing an oligarchy, and recalling the celebrated exile. At first, the people were exceedingly irritated by the attempt to deprive them of their rights; but, on being persuaded that there was no other means of obtaining the friendship of Persia, and consequently averting destruction from the state, they gave their consent, and empowered Pisander to return to Alcibiades, with powers to agree to his proposals. He was now, however, unable to persuade Tissaphernes to abandon the line of policy which he had adopted with his advice; and, instead of holding the balance till each party was exhausted, throw all his power into the scale of the Athenians. Alcibiades, therefore, unable to fulfil his engagements, considered only how he should best conceal the decline of that influence on which he had presumed to make them. He accordingly made requisitions, with which it was impossible for the deputation to comply, and suffered all negotiations to be suspended.

Revolution
at Athens.

But Pisander and his associates, although their hope of obtaining the assistance of Persia was lost, resolved not to abandon the intention of changing the con-

stitution of Athens. They determined no longer to depend on Alcibiades, but to send part of the former deputation home, there to effect their purposes. While Diodotres established oligarchy at Thasos, Pisander sailed for Athens, overturning the popular establishments in all the dependant states at which he could touch by the way, and procuring aid to support him in his main design. On his arrival in the city, he found that his confederates there had been successfully engaged in preparing the minds of the citizens for the intended change. They had proposed that the affairs of the state should be committed to the wisdom of no less a number than five thousand; and thus engaged on their side such men as, from their influence and wealth, might expect to be enrolled among the privileged number. The power thus acquired by the aristocratical faction, was directed by great talents in its leaders. Of these, Antipho, Plirynicius, and Theramenes, were the most distinguished, and all were endowed with great ability, either for intrigue or persuasion. Nothing was further from the view of these men than the accomplishment of their professions, in dividing the power to which they aspired, among five thousand of the citizens. Having marked their real plans till they had ascertained their strength, they determined to proceed with a rapidity and boldness which might strike terror into the hearts of the people. They therefore moved that a committee of ten should be entrusted with preparing a decree—summoned the people—and proposed the removal of all existing authorities, and the choice of five presidents, who should select a hundred associates, and each of these thus chosen, should further elect three more to share in the legislative power. The audience heard these propositions with silent amazement, and suffered them to be without discussion. No sooner was the decree passed, than the four hundred took possession of the senate-house, expelled all the former magistrates, and entered peacefully on the administration of all the public affairs of the astonished and despairing citizens.

While the oligarchical party were thus triumphant at Athens, they were defeated at Samos by Thrasybulus and his soldiers. That noble-minded patriot resolved never to rest satisfied until he had restored his country to her freedom. This, however, he believed could not be effected without recalling Alcibiades from exile. He went, therefore, to Tissaphernes, conferred with Alcibiades, and conducted him to the forces at Samos. There, this ever-varying politician, who so recently had intrigued with the aristocracy, united with their bitterest foes, and promised to them, as he had done to their antagonists, the friendship of Tissaphernes, if they should succeed and recal him to share in their triumph; the soldiers burning with strong desire to destroy the tyranny of the four hundred, and only dismissed a plausible deputation from Athens, but were anxious to leave the Peloponnesians, to whom they were opposed, and sail at once for the Piræus. From this rash design they were wisely dissuaded by Alcibiades, who urged the necessity of more temperate measures, and was even ready to assent to a compromise with the oligarchy, on the terms that the *five thousand* should be actually, as they were nominally invested with the government of the state. In the mean time, Athens was reduced to the most wretched condition by domestic factions. Dissension now raged even in the ranks of the four hun-

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3604.
A. C.
400.Alcibiades
conducted
by Thrasy-
bulus to Sa-
mos.

Biography. *died*, many of whom terrified by the approach of danger, were anxious for the adoption of the plan with which Alcibiades was willing to agree. A naval defeat by the Lacedæmonians completed the misery which had, for a long time, appeared every hour to deepen. This dreadful blow was, however, the means of suspending, for a time, the intestine contentions by which the city was distracted. An assembly was held, in which the *four hundred* were deposed, and the government vested in five thousand, comprehending all the citizens who were enrolled for the heavy armour. All parties having agreed in giving their utmost efforts to raise their country from her melancholy humiliation, dispatched a deputation to Alcibiades and the army at Samos, exhorting them to use their most strenuous exertions for the public benefit.

Exploits of Alcibiades previous to his return. Alcibiades, although thus recalled, resolved to delay his return until he had performed such exploits as might throw fresh lustre over his name, and endear him to all classes of his fellow citizens. With this ambition he sailed with a small squadron from Samos, and having gained information that Mindarus, with the Peloponnesian fleet, had gone in pursuit of the Athenian navy, he hastened to afford his countrymen succour. Happily he arrived at the scene of action, near Abydos, at a most critical moment; when, after a severe engagement, the Spartans had, on one side, obtained an advantage, and were pursuing the broken lines of the Athenians. While both parties regarded his ships as come to aid the Lacedæmonians, he displayed the Athenian flag, and attacked the Peloponnesians with the fiercest energy. He speedily decided the fortune of the day, completely routed the Spartans, till then victorious, broke many of their ships in pieces, and took thirty from them; recovering all they had previously taken, and destroying their armament on the coasts, notwithstanding the opposition of Pharnabazus, who, from the shore, attempted to shield the fugitives. His vanity, after this signal success had, however, nearly destroyed him. For, being desirous of appearing to Tisaphernes as a conqueror instead of a fugitive, he hastened with a splendid retinue to visit him; when the crafty barbarian, thinking he should thus appease the suspicions of the Spartans, caused him to be arrested and confined in prison at Sardinia. Hence, however, he found means to escape, and having procured a horse, fled to Clazomene, where he rewarded the treachery of his Persian friend by affirming that he had conspired at his flight, and thus destroying the credit with the Lacedæmonians which the arrest was designed to secure. Hence he sailed immediately for the Athenian camp to diffuse fresh animation among the soldiers, and hastily cause them to embark on an expedition against Mindarus and Pharnabazus, who were then with the residue of the Peloponnesian fleet at Cyzicum.

Naval victory. As soon as he discovered the enemies' vessels, he ordered a number of his commanders to slacken sails, while he advanced with only forty ships, that the Spartans, who might otherwise have fled, should be incited to give him battle. The stratagem succeeded; Mindarus hastened to attack the Athenians, believing their force so inferior that he should find them an easy prey, and soon found himself encountered by fresh succours, which he was unable to resist. Terrified at so unexpected a check, his forces took flight in confusion, were pursued to the shore by the victorious commander, and there put to

the sword in great numbers. Pharnabazus and Mindarus, who there attempted to rally them, were defeated; the latter fell in the contest; and the former only found safety by precipitately retreating. Alcibiades pursued his victory, took Cyzicum without difficulty, and, staining his conquest with a cruelty with which he was not generally chargeable, put to death all the Peloponnesians whom he found within the city.

A very short space of time elapsed after this brilliant success before Alcibiades found another occasion to deserve the gratitude of Athens:—Discovering that Pharnabazus had fallen with great force, both of infantry and horsemen, on the troops under the command of Thersyllus, as they were laying waste the territory of the Abidenians, he hastened to assist them with his army, and, in conjunction with them, defeated their enemies, and continued a triumphant pursuit till night protected the fugitives. He then gathered spoil from the province of Pharnabazus; but while he scattered devastation through the region, displayed a feeling of respect for the sanctities of religion, by releasing all who assisted in the ceremonies of worship without ransom. He next prepared to reduce the inferior cities, which, in the hour of distress, had revolted from the Athenian cause. For this purpose he marched against the Calcedonians, and finding they had removed their cattle and grain, and placed them under the protection of their allies, the people of Bithynia, he sent to accuse the latter of thus assisting his foes. Upon this, terrified with the idea of his military prowess, they delivered up the deposited spoil, and sued for and obtained his alliance. He then returned to his original design, and invested Calcedon, by drawing his army round and enclosing it with a wall, to prevent it from receiving provisions. Pharnabazus soon advanced to its relief, and, at the same time, the besieged citizens made a sally; but Alcibiades dispatched troops with great promptitude against both parties, completely succeeded on all points, slew Hippocrates, the governor of the city, and compelled Pharnabazus once more to fly. While he sailed up the Hellespont to levy contributions, the commander, whom he left to prosecute the siege, made a treaty with Pharnabazus, by which, on their engaging to refrain from invading a province, he not only agreed to pay them a sum of money as the price of accommodation, but suffered the Calcedonians to return to the alliance of Athens, and promised to give the Athenian envoys safe conduct to the Persian sovereign.

Next Alcibiades proceeded to reduce the city of Selybria, which a number of his friends engaged to deliver into his hands. The signal for his entry agreed on was a flaming torch, which the conspirators were, in the middle of the night, to exhibit on the walls. One of them, however, wavering, the rest were compelled, through fear of a discovery, to light the torch before the preparations were completed. Alcibiades observing the flame, hurried on with only fifty men, as his army were not ready to join him, and entered the city, having commanded the rest to follow with all possible speed. Here, however, he was placed in the most imminent danger. He perceived the citizens advancing from the fortresses in numbers which he could not hope successfully to encounter; and while he felt that in a combat he must be destroyed, his proud spirit which had never yet known a check in battle, forbade him to retire. From this situation his ever-prompt invention

Alcibiades.
A. M.
3604.
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B. C.
400.

Victory over Pharnabazus.

Victory at Calcedon.

Danger of Alcibiades at Selybria.

Imprisonment and escape of Alcibiades.

Second naval victory.

Biograph.

A. M.
3604.
B. C.
400.

Alcibiades
releaves
Sparta.

saved him without any blemish in his military fame. He paused—ordered a herald to proclaim that the Salyrians should not treat the Athenians as foes, and thus, at once, cooled the ardour of the citizens for the fight, and gave time for his whole army to enter. When he found himself thus supported, he granted peace on liberal terms, requiring only from them a sum of money, and leaving an Athenian garrison to secure the place from the Spartans.

Byzantium having revolted from the Athenians, was the city against which his efforts were next directed. He drew his forces round it, and held communications with parties within its walls, among whom were Anaxilaus and Lycurgus, to deliver up the place to him on his engaging to spare the lives and fortunes of the citizens. As soon as the arrangements for this purpose were completed, he caused it to be rumoured that he was called suddenly into Ionia to appease commotions there, and departed with the fleet, but only to remain concealed within a short distance from the harbour. As soon as night concealed his operations, he returned, disembarked great part of his troops in silence, and ordered the vessels with those who were left on board, to be rowed swiftly into the port, with terrible outcries as if a mighty naval force were destroying the shipping, and hastening to attack the towers from the shores. In the mean time his confederates quietly admitted him with his troops into the city, which, however, he did not win without a struggle. For his ships were repulsed from the shore by the hostile forces, who, after compelling the marines to return to their vessels, drew up in good order to oppose the progress of their more formidable enemy. A regular and well-contested battle then ensued, in which the Athenians obtained the victory, and took three hundred prisoners. Notwithstanding this unexpected opposition, Alcibiades strictly fulfilled the conditions on which he had been admitted, and would not allow the least outrage either on the persons or fortunes of the citizens. When Anaxilaus was accused at Sparta with the rest of his confederates of his treachery, he boldly avowed that he had felt and acted as a Byzantine, not as a Lacedæmonian; that he saw no possibility of relief for the city while the Peloponnesian army consumed the provisions, and his countrymen were left to starve; that he had acted on the simple principle of the duty of serving his country in preference to all other obligations, and had thus truly been actuated by a feeling which the Spartans themselves gloried to cultivate. This defence so pleased the Lacedæmonians, not from its reference to general humanity, but its application of that exclusive patriotism which they openly preferred to fidelity or justice, that they absolved all who had been charged with consenting to the proposal of surrender.

Alcibiades
returns to
Athens.

Alcibiades having raised the fortunes of his country from the lowest state of depression, not only by his brilliant victories, but his conciliating policy, felt now desirous to return and enjoy the praise of his successes. He entered the Piræus in a galley adorned with the spoils of numerous victories, followed by a long line of ships which he had taken from the foe, and attended by vessels bearing the ensigns of a greater number which he had destroyed, exhibiting the proofs of having deprived the enemy of two hundred ships, and restored the dear and long-lost maritime glories of Athens. But when he approached with his glorious retinue, his

heart sunk within him, from the remembrance of the Alcibiades. wrongs he had endured, and, perhaps, with some sad presage of the disasters he was yet to suffer. He did not venture to land till he saw his nephew and old companions stretching out their arms to him, and inviting him earnestly to meet them. His first reception, however, was as genial and flattering as his fondest hope or loftiest ambition could require. The whole city came down to the harbour to see and welcome him, and took no notice of Thrasylus or Theramenes, his fellow commanders. Thrasy presided around him with acclamations and blessings; those who could not touch, threw garlands upon him; and the aged who remembered the former glories and recent humiliations of their country, pointed him out to the young from afar, with tears of mingled sorrow and joy. While the people, with fond regret, attributed to his exile their disasters in Sicily, and all their subsequent miseries, they hailed him now as one who had again made them taste of victory, and who would become their second founder. An assembly of the people being convened, he addressed them in a gentle and modest speech, imputing his calamities not to their envy, but to some evil genius which pursued him. He exhorted them to take courage, bade them oppose their enemies with all the fresh inspiration of their zeal, and taught them to hope for happier days. Delighted with these assurances, they presented him with a crown of brass and gold, which never was before given to any but the Olympic victors, invested him with absolute control over their naval and military affairs, restored to him his confiscated wealth, and ordered the ministers of religion to absolve him from the curses which they had denounced against him. Theodorus, however, the high priest, evaded the last part of the decree, by alleging that he had never cast any imprecation on him if he had committed no offence against the republic. The tablets on which the curses against him had been inscribed, were taken to the shore and thrown with eagerness into the waters.

His next measure heightened, if possible, the brief lustre of his triumph. In consequence of the fortification of Decelea by the Lacedæmonians, and their having possession of the passes of the country, the procession to Eleusis, in honour of Minerva, had been long unable to take its usual course by land, and being conducted by sea, had lost many of its solemn and august ceremonials. He now, therefore, offered to conduct the solemnity by land, after the ancient custom, under the protection of his troops, thinking that if the Spartans should suffer him to pass unimpeded, he should add to his renown; and if they should attack him, he should fight in the cause of religion, and in the immediate view of his country. His proposal being gladly accepted, he placed sentinels on the hills; and, surrounding the consecrated band with his soldiers, conducted the whole to Eleusis and back to Athens, without the slightest opposition, or breach of that order and profound stillness which he had exhorted the troops to maintain. After this graceful act of homage to the religion he was once accused of refusing, he was regarded by the common people as something more than human. They looked on him as destined never to know defeat, and believed their triumph was certain so long as he was their commander.

But, in the very height of his popularity, the causes were arising of a second exile. The great envious hum

A. M.
3604.
B. C.
400.

Alcibiades
conducts the
procession
to Eleusis.

Biography.

A. M.
3604.
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n. C.
400.Cause of the
second exile
of Alcibi-
ades.Alcibiades
compelled
to leave the
fleet, which
is defeated.Offers battle
to Lysander
in vain.Charges
against him
at Athens.Suspended
and goes
into Thrace.Attempts
still to serve
the Atheni-
ans, but in
vain.

in proportion to the peoples' confidence, and that confidence itself became the means of his ruin. For as the people really thought the spell of invincibility was upon him, they were prepared to attribute the least falling off in his career of glory to a treacherous design. He departed with a hundred vessels, manned under his inspection, with colleagues of his own choice, to reduce the isle of Chios to obedience. At Andros he once more gained a victory over both the natives and the Spartans, who attempted to assist them. But, on his arrival at the chief scene of action, he found that he would be unable to keep the marines from deserting, unless he could raise money to pay them sums more nearly equal to those which the Lacedæmonians offered, than the pay he was able to bestow. He was compelled, therefore, to leave the fleet and go into Caria in order to obtain supplies. While absent on this occasion, he left Antiochus in the command, who, though well fitted from his experience in maritime affairs to preserve order, was too rash to be a fit judge of the proper time for battle. To this officer Alcibiades gave express directions that he should refrain from coming to an engagement, whatever provocations he might receive. Anxious, however, to display his bravery, Antiochus took the first occasion to sail out in front of the Lacedæmonian fleet, which lay near Ephesus, under the command of Lysander, and attempt, by insults, to incite them to attack him. Lysander, accordingly, pursued him; the fleets came to the support of their respective admirals, and a general engagement ensued, in which Antiochus was slain, and the Athenians completely defeated.

On receiving intelligence of this unhappy reverse, Alcibiades hastened to the fleet, and eager to repair the misfortune, offered battle to the Spartans; Lysander, however, did not choose to risk the loss of his advantage by accepting the challenge, and the Athenians were compelled to retire. This event, for which no blame really attached to Alcibiades, completed the ruin of his influence at Athens. It was believed that this, the first instance of his failure, must have arisen from his having been corrupted, or, at least, from a want of inclination to serve his country. He was also accused of leaving the navy under the direction of those who had no other recommendation to the charge but having been sharers in his luxurious banquets, and of having wandered about to indulge in profligate excesses, while the fleet of the enemy lay in sight of that of which he should have been the commander. It was likewise asserted that he had fortified a castle in Thrace, to serve as a retreat when his treacheries should have rendered it impossible for him to continue in safety at Athens. On these grounds, the people in his absence took from him his command, and confided it to other generals. As soon as he heard of this new piece of ingratitude, he resolved not to return home, but withdrew into Thrace, and fortified three castles, Bornos, Bvzia, and Macrloutichos, near to Perinthus. Here, having collected a formidable band, as an independent captain he made incursions on the territories of those of the Thracians, who acknowledged no sort of form of government, and acquired considerable spoils. But he did not resign his love for his ill-fated country, or refrain from exertions to succour the Athenians. The fleet which he had lately commanded lay in the river Egeos, and that of the Spartans under Lysander, was anchored at a short distance. He per-

ceived that the captains of the former were accustomed to sail out in the morning, and insolently offer battle to the foe, and then to return and spend the day in a state of tumultuous disorder. He feared lest Lysander should either protract the war till the small remains of the money by which the forces of Athens were supported was spent, or that he would improve one of the opportunities they so constantly afforded of falling on them in a state of security and confusion. At the same time he hoped, as the Lacedæmonian strength lay more on land than in their vessels, that he should be able, by the aid of the king of Thrace, to drive them from the shore, and compel them either to fight under great disadvantages, or to sue for peace. With these views he went to the Athenian camp, communicated his wishes, and warned the generals of their danger. They, however, treated his person and his counsils with a fatal disdain, which compelled him to retire without performing any of his proffered services. Too soon they felt the justice of his warnings. Lysander fell on them, when they were wholly unprepared to receive him, with such violence and success, that he destroyed the whole fleet, with the exception of six galleys, which escaped with Conon. This blow put an end to the long and ruinous contest. Athens had neither men nor spirit left to resist her foes. Lysander proceeded from this victory to the capture of Athens; burnt the shipping which lay in the harbour; razed the long walls to their foundations; and imposed thirty tyrants on the state which had been the cradle, and was now the sepulchre, of Grecian freedom.

Alcibiades was now the sole object of hope, to which the minds of his misguided countrymen were directed. They still had some confidence in his love for the country which had twice rewarded him with disgraceful exile, and could scarce believe, that while he lived the cause of freedom was desperate. In the estimate of his undying patriotism his Lacedæmonian oppressors unobscuredly concided, and felt that his death alone could secure their mastery over Athens. The feelings of both parties respecting him were well founded. Although he had been received with great cordiality by Pharnabazus, whose protection he had sought, and had been assigned a territory, from which he derived a considerable revenue, he was unable to enjoy a luxurious repose while his country groaned beneath intolerable oppressions. He saw the only hope of effecting its deliverance rested in obtaining the aid of the king of Persia. This he did not despair of obtaining, especially as he perceived with his usual political sagacity, that Cyrus, brother of the reigning sovereign, was about to raise war against him, with the assistance of the Spartans. If he could disclose this to the monarch he believed that he should not only lay him under obligation, which must conciliate his favour, but induce him, for his own security, to assist the Athenian cause against those who would soon appear as his own enemies. He, therefore, entreated Pharnabazus to suffer him to proceed to the king, with the design, like Themistocles, of offering his services, but for the purpose of raising not of destroying the state which had driven him from his efforts to avert its downfall.

But before he could execute this patriotic design, Death of Lysander, incited by the representations of Critias and Alcibiades, the other tyrants, whom he had placed over Athens,

Alcibiades.

A. M.
3604.
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a. C.
400.Athenian
fleet de-
feated, and
Athens
taken.Alcibiades
suspected by
the
SpartansAlcibiades
prepares to
seek the
king of
Persia.

Biography.

A. M.
3604.
B. C.
400.

entreated Pharnabazus to destroy him. He threatened that unless Alcibiades were delivered up, alive or dead, the Lacedæmonians would break off their alliance with his master. This threat induced the satrap to take immediate measures for destroying the fugitive whom he had protected. The victim of his treachery was, at this time, in Phrygia, with Timandra, his mistress, preparing for his journey to the capital. Thither Pharnabazus dispatched Sysamithres and Bagoas to murder him. But when they arrived at the place of his residence they durst not approach him, but surrounded the house with their band, and set it on fire. On perceiving the danger, Alcibiades threw clothes on the flames, and, seizing a sword, rushed through the fire without injury. He was now perceived by the barbarian troop, who, from a distance, threw their darts at him till he fell lifeless. Timandra then wrapped her vestments about his body and burned it in the flames of the house, as on a funeral pile. The assassins retired, without interrupting her in this last sad office of affection to the departed.

Character of
Alcibiades.

Thus fell Alcibiades, having scarcely passed the fortieth year of a most eventful life. Nature seemed to have lavished her utmost bounties upon him. A noble origin—a personal beauty—grace of manner—immense patrimonial riches—eloquence the most persuasive—acuteness the most penetrating—bravery the most undaunted—Pericles for his guardian, and Socrates for his friend and adviser—all seemed to mark him out as destined for a most happy and glorious career. Never, perhaps, was so fair a prospect dashed so early with clouds, and so soon overpiled with total gloom. Yet he can scarcely be said to have owed his ruin to the absolute preponderance of his vices. He possessed, throughout life, many virtues, to which even the plots of his adversaries bore witness. His love for his country, amidst all the injuries he received from her, was his ruling passion to the last. A second time an exile from her shores, after conferring numberless benefits on her, he died a martyr to his unshaken desire to effect her ransom. His public life—if we except the devious methods by which he sometimes proceeded to effect good designs, and his offer of advice to the Spartans after his first exile—was full of patriotism, forbearance, and wisdom. His great want was that of *principle*, and by that want he was undone. He acted from impulses which he had never learned to restrain. His love towards his country, though his strongest impulse, was essentially a personal feeling, and very different from a calm sense of duty or earnest desire for the general welfare. He had nothing which could lead him to become master over himself, and turn all his faculties into one unbroken channel. He often, indeed, adapted his manners with astonishing facility to

those of his associates; he was the most patient in Alcibiades. Lacedæmon, the most robust at Thebes, the most given to wine among the Thracians, and the most splendid and luxurious among the Persians; but, in none of his changes, was he actuated by any principle either false or true, but simply by a desire to surpass his colleagues in all which they esteemed most noble or dazzling. There was no common centre round which his mighty powers and vehement impulses could revolve. He gratified all his feelings of insolence, luxury, or pride, without regard to times or seasons, except when some temporary vanity gave him a short lived consistency of character. Never did any one, to whom interests so mighty were committed, suffer himself to be so often influenced by momentary fancies that destroyed the measures on which his dearest hopes were dependant. He was a partisan without revenge, and a victor without cruelty; but the feelings which made him thus distinguished availed him little, because he had not singleness of heart, or directness of purpose, to render his virtues effectual for his country's salvation. The constitution of his mind was oriental rather than Grecian. His personal character, and not that of his cause, predominated in all his actions. His sense of pleasure was too keen, and his pride too great, to allow of that absorption of himself in a state which alone could fit him for the subject, much less for the preserver of a republic. He could assume a thousand shapes, but in all he was but an actor. The abstraction of spirit, which made an ancient patriot lose all sense of personal identity, as a public character, in the idea of forming a part in a great whole;—which caused him to live only in the triumphs, and die with the fall of the body politic,—was totally averse from his nature. He would have risked his life a thousand times for his native city, but he would never have rejoiced with the Spartan that it contained three hundred worthier to govern. Hence he was unfitted to rouse the slumbering energies of a state in the cause of freedom. The bands which joined him were always actuated by regard to him as an individual, not by any general spirit inspired by his cause. His fortunes were strangely linked with those of a state, which, by casting him the first time from the summit of greatness, brought herself to the verge of ruin; and, after madly repeating the injustice, when his arm had raised her from the dust, sunk almost without a struggle. In his death, which she had once formally decreed, and now had remotely occasioned, she saw and felt her last hope expire. If he was not altogether worthy to be the preserver of the Athenian greatness, he merited the honour of casting the last rays of glory over it, and of having his fall identified with its destruction.

A. M.
3604.
B. C.
400.

THUCYDIDES.

FLOURISHED ABOUT A. M. 3533, B. C. 471; TO A. M. 3613, B. C. 391.

Biography.

From
A. M.
3533.
B. C.
471,
to
A. M.
3613.
B. C.
391.

Family of Thucydides.

THE details which ancient authors have left as respecting the life of Thucydides, the immortal historian of the Peloponnesian wars, are neither consistent nor ample. The total absence of egotism, and even of individual prejudice, in his writings, while it gives us the highest ideas of his fitness for the great office he undertook to fill, prevents us from gathering from these imperishable records many hints of his personal qualities. We shall attempt, however, to collect the unexceptionable information existing respecting him, before we examine the great monument of his genius which he has left us.

Thucydides, according to the testimony of Plutarch, in his Life of Cimón, was of the same noble family with that illustrious Athenian, and Miltiades, his still more illustrious father. The latter hero had not only enjoyed large possessions in Thrace, but had reigned over the Dolonci, a people in that country, by a right derived from his uncle, until forced to abandon his throne, and seek refuge and glory at Athens. He had also enlarged his possessions by a marriage with the daughter of Olorus, king of Thrace. In what degree of relationship the father of Thucydides stood to the chief members of this celebrated family does not appear. As he bore the name of Olorus, it is probable that the appellation was given him from respect to his Thracian ancestor. So honourable was the family of Thucydides regarded, that Cicero has said of him, "his name would still have been remembered, he was so noble and dignified, even though he had not written a history." If, however, his name had descended to us, merely as a branch of a splendid family, his fame would have derived little benefit from a barren remembrance with which no kindling association would be connected.

Education of Thucydides.

The authors who have professed to speak of the education of Thucydides differ. Marcellinus represents him to have been the pupil of Anaxagoras, and affirms, on the authority of Antyllus, that atheistical opinions were imputed to him, on account of his devotion to the theories of that philosopher, who was commonly regarded as rejecting all belief in the existence of the gods. As, however, the charge, in as far as it relates to the master, was founded only on his contempt for the degrading superstitions of his time, it can have no weight when urged, on such ground, against his admirer or pupil. Indeed the writings of the latter contain ample materials to prove it fallacious. Some have represented Thucydides as the scholar of Antipho, and others have reversed the supposition, and made the former the latter's preceptor. These theories seem to rest only on probability and conjecture. By whomsoever he was instructed, he appears very early to have felt those impulses which incited him to devote his whole mental energies to his immortal production. In the fifteenth year of his age, having been taken by his

father to the Olympic games, he heard Herodotus read his history to the admiring assembly, collected from every part of Greece. After listening with the deepest attention, he burst into tears of admiration and joy. Herodotus is said to have observed his emotion, and to have congratulated Olorus on the early passion of his son for intellectual exertions.

The remainder of the youth, and the early portion of the manhood of Thucydides, are only subjects of speculation and conjecture. Some have conceived that he was opposed to Pericles, in the domestic administration of Athens, and banished thence by ostracism, through the influence of his more powerful rival. It seems, however, more probable, that the Thucydides thus driven into exile was a different person, though of the same family; and Dr. Smith, in the first preliminary discourse to his translation of the history, supposes the object of the resentment of Pericles to have been the son of Milesias, and a leader of the oligarchical faction at Athens. This will appear more plausible, if we remember that there is no trace in the writings of the historian of any strong political feelings, nor any other ground, in the memorials of his life, for supposing that he ever directed his views to an active share in the civil government of the Athenians. He has besides described too minutely the circumstances of Athens, previous to the wars which he celebrates, to leave us at liberty to suppose that he was not an immediate observer of all which he so vividly pictures in the introduction to his history.

It has been affirmed that Thucydides accompanied Lampro and Xenocrates, together with his great forerunner Herodotus, on an expedition sent by the state to found a colony at Thuria, in Italy. If this were the case, his absence from Athens could not have been of very long duration. He was certainly present in Greece before the breaking out of the Peloponnesian wars; for he perceived their first indications, watched their earliest movements, and in anticipation of their mighty consequences, determined, before they actually commenced, to become the historian of their progress.

Thucydides, like the old poets of Greece, took an active share in the events which he afterwards dignified by his genius. As every citizen of Athens was, in time of war, a soldier, he must have marched with Pericles to attack the country of Megare, since the whole force of the state, on that occasion, took the field. He informs us himself, that he was at Athens when ravaged by pestilence, with which he was himself afflicted. In the forty-seventh year of his age, he was appointed to a command in Thrace, from which region he derived a large revenue from gold mines, and which had been the country of his ancestors. This appointment, however, which appeared so well suited to his circumstances and feelings, became the occasion of his exile.

Thucydides.

From
A. M.
3533.
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471,
to
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Manhood of Thucydides.

Military service of Thucydides.

Biography

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A. M.
3533.
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to
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391.

Occasion of
his exile.

Thucydides was stationed at the isle of Thasus, a Parian colony, when he received a message from Amphipolis, entreating his succour, as Brasidas, the Spartan general, had suddenly appeared before that city, and was plundering its environs. The party who had thus implored his aid were not, however, supported by the unanimous wishes of the citizens within the walls. A number of Argilinus who resided in the town were disaffected to the Athenians, and Perdiccas and the Caleidians had emissaries there who awakened in many a zeal for the Peloponnesian cause. Although, therefore, Thucydides immediately embarked with his forces, and sailed for Amphipolis, that city had been peaceably delivered into the hands of Brasidas before his arrival. A proclamation by which the Spartan commander promised to the Athenians as well as the Amphipolitans, the undisturbed enjoyment of their properties, liberties, and rights, or allowed them to remove within three days, with all their possessions, had completed the work which the intrigues of his partisans had half accomplished, and occasioned the surrender. The squadron of Thucydides, however, was far from useless. Brasidas had prepared to improve his success by the immediate seizure of the port of Eion, an important post at the mouth of the river, and only two miles from the place of which he was already in possession. But his adversary was, in this instance, able to prevent his design from being carried into effect; for, in the evening previous to the night when the seizure would have been made, he arrived at the harbour, and immediately prepared the town for defence against a sudden attack, as well as for the protection of those who might remove thither from Amphipolis, according to the conditions of the late surrender. When, therefore, Brasidas, after suddenly passing down the river, endeavoured to seize on the projecting point of land at its mouth, and, at the same moment, made an attempt to enter the town by land, he was repulsed in both quarters, and compelled precipitately to retire.

Exile.

It might appear impossible to ensure Thucydides for his conduct on this occasion. But with the people of Athens it was always criminal not precisely to answer the expectations they had formed, whether mere ill fortune compelled a general to fall short of them, or genius enabled him to rise above their level. They were as indignant at misfortune as they were covetous of superior worth. Incited by the miserable demagogue Cleon, they deprived Thucydides of his command, and sentenced him to exile.

Retirement
to Thrace,
and death
of Thucy-
dides.

But the conduct of his fickle and misguided countrymen does not appear to have been productive, in his mind, of any ungentle emotions. He might, indeed, well treat it with indifference, while he enjoyed already the perspective of an immortal and increasing fame. According to Plutarch, he retired to Scapteisyle, in Thrace, and there devoted all his energies to the composition of his history. The sentence of his banishment continued in force twenty years, at the expiration of which period it was, in effect, annulled by the general act of amnesty, passed while Euclides was archon, after the destruction of the Lacedæmonian tyranny. Whether, however, he availed himself of the liberty to return to Athens we have no means of deciding. He died in the year before Christ 391, at the age of eighty, and was probably interred at Scapteisyle, so long

the scene of his literary toils and delights, where a monument, supposed to have been a cenotaph, was erected to his memory. He is said to have left a son; but nothing is known respecting him.

Such is the brief sum of all that appears authentic of the details left us respecting the life of this great historian. Happily we are not reduced to gather faint glimpses of his literary as we are of his personal character. His great work remains fresh and uninjured by time, and seems destined to fulfil the design of its noble-minded author, who, in its introduction, declares that he placed it before the world to be a *possession unto it for ever!*

At first view, the subject of this mighty narration may appear to want importance, dignity, and grandeur. The contest celebrated is confined to a tract of country of insignificant size, and to a few years of duration. But its interest is not to be estimated by such standards. It was the mind, the virtue, the energy engaged, not the numbers of the armies, which ennobled the actions of the Grecian wars. Within the hills and rocks which encircled Greece with narrow boundaries, had the freedom, the arts, and the genius of the west found its birth-place and its cradle. All that was profound in thought, beautiful in poetry, noble in sentiment, and energetic in action, had there been developed in a perfection, of which the most extensive regions of earth had hitherto been blessed with no similar example. Genius there had known the mighty graspings, and boundless aspirations of its infancy; and the complete harmony of its prime heroic virtue, had there, not only assumed the sublimest and most unconquerable attitude, but, was at the same time, touched with the gentlest poetical bloom. Its band of illustrious conquerors and bards seemed destined to show the triumph of the spiritual over the material part of our nature; to prove that the smallest country on earth might become, by genius and prowess, the greatest; and that the intuitive faculties required no painful efforts or length of time to become at once gigantic and harmonious. When, therefore, Thucydides saw the energy of his hitherto unconquerable country, fresh from the triumph over the myriads of Persian invaders, divided, and about to be wasted in domestic war, he perceived that the destruction was preparing for institutions which might otherwise have lasted to delight or to astonish the world as long as it should endure. He perceived in the contest, the last and fatal exertions of a freedom which should have been immortal. With what deep interest then must he have contemplated struggles, in which every opponent was a hero, and the genius of the earth's mightiest sons was employed, by a dark and mysterious providence, to illuminate the ruin it was destined to prepare! The history of Thucydides contains a minute and most vivid picture of these events which extinguished the freedom of Greece; of the last efforts of her greatness about to pass away; of withering corruption clinging round, and poisoning her most heroic virtue; of her genius and valour nurtured from a gorgeous antiquity, in the madness of enthusiasm, putting forth their sublimest exertions to achieve their sepulchre!

This subject was not only grand and heroic, and calculated to excite his deepest emotions, but his opportunity and character peculiarly fitted him to write up "to the heights of its great argument." Before the actual commencement of hostilities, he was present

Thucydides

From
A. M.
3533.
B. C.
471.
to
A. M.
3613.
B. C.
391.

Character of
the history
of Thucy-
dides.

Qualifica-
tions and
situation
of Thucy-
dides for
his work.

Biography. in Athens, and marked them with the serious accuracy of one who was to be a witness before posterity, of all the indications of the contest which he felt must terminate in its ruin. He was himself acquainted with martial affairs, by practice as well as theory, and held a command in the wars which he was preparing to celebrate. Had he continued a leader in the Athenian armies, the circumstance which added to his information must have affected the impartiality of his spirit. The injustice of his country, in a great degree, neutralized his feelings, and rendered him as impartial a witness as he was an intense observer. Banished from Athens, he refused to join with its foes, and in a dignified retirement looked upon the warfare with no emotions but those of a Greek, who saw in its struggles the bloom of Grecian virtue destroyed, and its glorious energies wasted. Never did historian do more ample justice to every individual whose actions he recorded. Not only are praise and censure equally measured to the Spartans and Athenians, but to the internal parties and statesmen, in the delineation of whom, personal feeling might be suspected to influence the colouring. The aristocratical and popular factions—Nicias and Alcibiades—Erasistratus and Pericles—are represented with the truth as well as the vividness of a spectator, who united the cool wisdom of a philosopher with the life, energy, and spirit of a poet. His impartiality is like that of a being looking down from a lofty abstraction on the scene; and yet he puts human life, vigour, and passion into all. He feels with every one of his characters as though he were a partisan, and judges of all as if the ebb and flow of love, hatred, or sympathy had come not near him. His deep and profound sentiment rendered him a most fit chronicler of the events in which the noblest institutions of earth were destined to perish. The tears which he shed, in youth, on hearing the works and witnessing the triumphs of Herodotus, proved how deeply lay the springs of thought, hope, and passion within him. He had no love for the applause of the multitude, no taste for "the garishness of joy." His sympathies were worthy to be linked for ever with the decay of the most venerable and stately of human things. He wrote with the dignity, the earnestness, and scrupulous truth, of one who felt himself bearing

witness of the fatal causes which led to the ruin of his glorious country, before generations who, in distant years, would fondly and devoutly cherish its august memorials.

The work of Thucydides is exceedingly different, in form and structure, from the most celebrated of modern histories. It is distinguished from them by its minute representations of events, and by the elaborate speeches in which the author makes his leading characters develop their views of policy. It is, in short, more dramatic, picturesque, and vivid, but less extensive, elegant, and finished, than the works of later historians. The descriptions of public assemblies, sieges, and battles, are given with a vividness of detail, and a freshness of colouring, only exceeded in the *Iliad*. The whole forms a series of grand tragic scenes, over which one spirit of mournful solemnity appears to brood. The beautiful clearness and simplicity of Herodotus find a worthy contrast in the stern majesty of his younger rival. Thucydides could not, with the sad presages of his country's ruin ever before him, imitate the undulating course of his predecessor, who loved to give ear to miraculous tales, and lead his reader away, at pleasure, to follow him through enchanting digression. The genius which follows the decline of Greece through the dark catastrophe of the Peloponnesian wars, seems ever impressed with the sternness of the subject; it is massive, stern, unbending, and sometimes obscure, from its force and solemn energy. The whole is in a harmony and keeping as perfect as the noblest of the ancient tragedies. It is at once the brilliant representation of the events preceding the downfall of Grecian liberty and rights, and a high and mournful dirge over their ruins!

The History of Thucydides has been translated into our language by Hobbes, the celebrated philosopher of Malmesbury, and Dr. Smith, distinguished as a scholar of great elegance and taste. The work of the former is singularly faithful to the text, and as singularly destitute of the spirit of the author; that of the latter is at once nervous and clear, and seems to do all, which an English version can effect, towards expressing the power and majesty of the great original.

Subject of the history.

Composition and style of the history of Thucydides

HISTORY.

CHAPTER XII.

OF GREECE.

FROM THE BATTLE OF MARATHON, TO THE CLOSE OF THE PELOPONNESIAN WARS.

A. M. 3514, B. C. 490; TO A. M. 3600, B. C. 404.

History.

From
A. M.
3514.
B. C.
490.
to
A. M.
3600.
B. C.
404.

Prepara-
tions by
Xerxes for
an invasion
of Greece.

IN the lives of Themistocles, Aristides, Pericles, and Alcibiades, we have taken occasion to describe, with considerable minuteness, those events to which their genius directed, and which form a very large part of the brightest portion of Grecian history. We have now to supply the outline by which those individual pictures will be connected; passing lightly over those circumstances which have been described in connection with them, and dilating on those parts of national history which our plan has induced us hitherto to omit, or to which it has enabled us only briefly to allude.

Xerxes, having succeeded Darius on the throne of Persia, resolved to avenge the stain which had been thrown on the arms of his country, at Marathon. It is even probable that his views extended beyond the conquest of Greece, and that he regarded this extension of his dominions but as opening the way to the subjugation of regions still further to the westward, in which his young ambition anticipated a series of victories. Incited by the exiled party of the family of Pisistratus, he sent heralds to all the cities of Greece, except to Athens and Lacedæmon, where the Persian envoys had, in the reign of Darius, been put to death, to demand earth and water, in token of their submission. With this demand, many of the smaller states thought it prudent to comply. The mighty preparations of the great king proceeded on a scale the most appalling (See XERXES). To a superficial observer, the fate of Greece must have appeared to be absolutely decided. Even the small force which its united republics could have opposed to the invasion, was divided against itself; many of the states had yielded; Ægina had been at war with Athens; the resolutions of Argos, Corcyra, and Syracuse, were doubtful. Minds, however, were happily found with energies equal to the danger. Themistocles had already provided Athens with a naval force, which effected, ultimately, the deliverance of Greece, and raised that state to the highest glory and power (See ARISTIDES and THEMISTOCLES). Peace was immediately concluded between Ægina and Athens; but Crete and Argos declined uniting in the general cause. A meeting of deputies from the confederated states, to deliberate on the best means of resistance, was summoned to assemble at Corinth.

The stupendous forces of Xerxes (which we have

described in our life of that sovereign) now passed the Hellespont, and advanced to attack Thessaly. A body of infantry, under the command of Themistocles and Evannetus, was instantly sent to dispute the passes, which accordingly took its position in the vale of Tempe, between the mountains of Ossa and Olympus. Here they were joined by the Thessalian cavalry, and constituted a force adequate to the defence of the road between the natural fortresses by which the boundary was protected. But they were induced to retire, by intelligence derived from Alexander, the son of Amyntas, king of Macedonia, that there was another passage by which the Persians might enter Thessaly from Upper Macedonia; and that unless they retired, they must be surrounded and cut to pieces. They left Thessaly, therefore, to the mercy of the invaders; and the people of that region, thinking themselves forsaken by their allies, received the army of Xerxes with open arms, and exerted themselves to the utmost in their favour.

The force of the Grecians was now concentrated within their narrow boundaries, which were defended almost in every part by the sea or the mountains. The ridge of Æta, extending from sea to sea across the southern limit of Thessaly, now became their frontier, was accessible only by one narrow road, scarcely wide enough to admit a chariot, and defended by a wall, and an inundation from the neighbouring hot baths, which gave it the name *Thermopylae*, by which it has since been remembered with associations so deep and inspiring. Near this most advantageous position was a bay where the fleet could anchor in safety. Here, then, it was resolved by the confederates, that the first strenuous resistance should be made to the progress of the invader.

But small, indeed, were the numbers which Greece could arouse to assist in the cause of freedom. Even of the states which professed to unite in the league, most were either paralyzed by terror, or deterred by jealousies, from putting forth their utmost energies. Thebes contributed only four hundred, Corinth four hundred, and Sparta three hundred soldiers. The force of Athens was necessarily employed on board her fleet, so that the great body of the troops was composed of Locrians, Phocians, Arcadians, and the citizens of the smaller republics. These, with Leonidas, king of Lacedæmon, at their head, took their

Greece.

From
A. M.
3514.
B. C.
490.
to
A. M.
3600.
B. C.
404.

Army sent
into Thes-
saly, but
retires.

Defence of
Thermopylae
resolved on.

Forces of
the Greeks.

History.

From
A. M.
3514.
—
B. C.
490.
—
to
A. M.
3800.
—
B. C.
404.

Land forces
take the
station of
Thermo-
pyla.

Movements
of the fleets.

Advance of
the Persian
armies into
Greece.

Attack on
Delphi.

Attica
besieged.

station near the pass of Thermopylae, while the fleet was drawn up at Artemisium, in order to assist them. But on the approach of ten Persian gallees, sent to explore the sea, the fleet retired, after losing two vessels, and anchored at Calcis. On this retreat, the vast armament of Persia advanced to Lepias, where it was met by a violent tempest, was greatly shattered, and lost, by the lowest computation, four hundred gallees. Hearing of this disaster of their foes, the commander of the Grecian navy once more took the station at Artemisium, from which they had ignobly departed. Soon after, fifteen hostile vessels, which had been separated from the rest by the storm, fell into their hands, having mistaken their fleet for a division of the Persians. This success served to awaken the energy of the Greeks from the state of despair in which it appeared to be expiring. Religion aided the love of liberty, and taught the Greeks to believe that heaven was with them. For the transactions at Thermopylae (See *LEGONIDAS*).

The Persian armies having passed Thermopylae, over the bodies of their heroic foes, advanced without opposition into the country of the Dorians. They respected the property of the people of Doris, but ravaged Phocia with fire and sword, and advanced, scattering ruin everywhere along the banks of the Cephissus. While the main body proceeded to Attica, through the territories of the Boeotians, a detachment was sent to Delphi, to secure the rich treasures in the temple of Apollo. Herodotus informs us that, on the approach of this band towards the steps on which the fane was erected, thunder from heaven struck them, masses of the rock fell on them with tremendous sounds, and the Delphians rushing from the caves, attacked them in their dismay, and put to flight all who survived the prodigies. It is probable this apparent miracle was the result of contrivance, which the situation of the temple was peculiarly calculated to favour. While its summits appeared to be deserted, troops might well be concealed among its deep woods, who could roll down fragments of the rock through the steeples, at once to break the lines of their foes, and strike them with supernatural horror. Storms of thunder must have been of frequent occurrence, in the situation of the isle, during the summer season. And with all the advantages of position, knowledge of the ground, and a religious panic in the Persians, the Dorians, though with numbers very inconsiderable, might have gained an easy victory. It was affirmed, that two figures, more than human, appeared on this occasion to encourage the Greeks, who were supposed to be Phylax and Autonous, old heroes of whom traditions existed in Delphi; but this is an invention which naturally arose from circumstances which the friends of the oracle would desire to heighten.

Meanwhile, fresh disunion arose among the Grecians. The Peloponnesians resolved to decline assisting in defence of Attica, and to draw their lines of defence across the isthmus, so as to confine their operations to their own regions. Although this resolution was as short-sighted and foolish as it was base, it threw the Athenians into a state of great distress and confusion. Themistocles happily, in the manner which we have stated in his life, made this apparent evil the means of triumph. By his address, his countrymen were induced to send their families and ef-

fects to Egina, Trezenes, and Salamis, and to hasten with all their resources in arms, on board their ships. Shortly after the Persians entered Athens, plundered the town, and invested the citadel, where the priests and poorer citizens had taken refuge. These superstitiously believing that Minerva would not permit her temple to be profaned, defended the place to the last, and were all put to the sword, on its capture.

Although of the two hundred and seventy one trireme gallees, which, with a few smaller vessels, formed the Grecian fleet, a hundred and twenty-seven were furnished by Athens alone; the allies refused to be commanded by an Athenian. Eurybiades, therefore, the Spartan admiral, though apparently little competent to the office, directed the fleet. Themistocles, however, by the influence of his policy, was happily able to overrule the councils of the nominal commander, who was desirous of retreating into the inland seas of Greece; and after an undecisive combat off Artemisium, to force the enemy to a battle at Salamis. The result was most glorious for the cause of freedom. The Persian armament was broken, dispersed, or fell into the hands of the Greeks, in the manner which the reader will find more particularly related in the Life of Xerxes, and also in that of Themistocles, who obtained the first honour of the immortal action.

After the battle of Salamis, the remains of the Persian fleet retreated towards the Hellespont, and the army, destitute of supplies, fell back into Thessaly. Xerxes returned towards Asia, with the residue of his forces, exhausted, afflicted with pestilence, and in the greatest distress for want of provisions, though friends and enemies were alike plundered by his troops, to contribute to the supply of their hunger. When he reached the Hellespont, his stupendous force seemed reduced to an empty shadow. He left, however, Mardonius with three hundred thousand men, the flower of his army, to prosecute those designs which he had been so unexpectedly prevented from accomplishing in person. But this great force served but little to excite the apprehensions of the victorious Grecians. They resigned themselves to rejoicings, paid devout offerings to the gods, and rewarded with cheap but highly prized memorials, the valour of their commanders. Calcedice, a state, hitherto submissive, revolted from the Persians, and asserted its right to freedom. But this measure seems to have been unfortunate; for a detachment of Persians, hastening to join Mardonius, took the city of Olynthus; and, with deliberated cruelty, which recent misfortunes alone could have inspired, forced the inhabitants to repair to a marsh, and put them indiscriminately to the sword. Potidea was besieged by the same party, but a rising of the sea forced them to retire with great loss; and they joined Mardonius in Thessaly. Meanwhile the fleet of the Persians made no fresh effort against the Grecian coasts, but continued, through the winter, at Samos.

It could be little doubted that this wonderful deliverance of Greece, was chiefly due to the Athenians. Mardonius, therefore, justly conceived, that if he could detach them from the confederacy, he should find the other states an easy prey. Offers were, therefore, made to them, through Alexander, king of Macedonia, that their temples should be rebuilt, their

Greece.

From
A. M.
3514.
—
B. C.
490.
—
to
A. M.
3600.
—
B. C.
404.

Naval victory
of the
Greeks at
Salamis.

Xerxes re-
turns to
Asia.

Offers to the
Athenians,
through
Alexander
of Macedonia.

History.

FROM
A. M.
3514.
—
B. C.
490.
—
A. M.
3400.
—
B. C.
404.

**The Athe-
nians again
embark.**

dominions extended, and their own laws secured to them, if they would enter into an alliance with the Persian sovereign. Incited by Aristides, the first of the Greeks in real virtue, they instantly rejected the proposals. We refer our readers to the lives of Aristides and Themistocles, for the particulars of this noble act of heroism and justice.

The Lacedæmonians, however, were so little sensible of the disastrous resolution of the Athenians in the common cause, that, when Marquis advanced towards Attica, they sent no troops to its defence; and the men to whom Greece owed its liberties, were compelled once more to retire with their families and goods to Salamis. Still, though the offers of the king were renewed, they disdained to give them attention; and an Lycidas, who wished to refer them to the people, was stoned to death by the populace, and his wife and children slain by infuriated women. Upon this, the Phocians marched into Attica, ravaged the country and took possession of its capital. In the mean time the Spartans were thinking only of their own security, and fortifying the isthmus with walls which would separate them from their nobler allies. At length, however, aroused by the remonstrances of the Athenian ambassadors, they sent a band of forty thousand men, composed of citizens and Helots, to co-operate with the allies. On hearing that this force was in motion, Marquis left Attica, which from his bills and steep declivities, was peculiarly unfavourable to the movements of his cavalry, and fell back into Boeotia, where he fixed his camp along the borders of the Asopos. The Greek forces now united, and composing a body of 100,000 men, took their position at the foot of Mount Cithæron, in the face of the Persians, on the opposite side of the river. After a warm skirmish, in which the courage of the Spartans was victorious, they marched to Plataea. They were followed by the Persians. Here a great battle was fought, Marquis slain, and the Persians completely defeated with tremendous slaughter. On this same memorable day, the naval forces of Persia received an equally signal overthrow at Mysele, and were compelled, with severe loss, to retreat. Thus, almost at a blow, the second mighty attempt against the liberty of Greece was frustrated, and terribly avenged on its authors. (See "ARISTIDES AND THEMISTOCLES.")

After these victories, the germ of future animosities between Athens and Sparta began to appear, in the contest for the *Aristeia*, or first honours of the war, but the immediate dispute was appeased by awarding them to the *Plutarchs*. Vengeance was next exacted against Thebes for their treachery to the common cause; on her refusal to deliver up *Timocleides* and *Attagnus*, who were accused of having occasioned the defection, the confederates laid waste the territories, and besieged the city of the Thebans. At length, *Attagnus* having escaped, his children, with *Timocleides*, and other persons, were delivered up to *Pausanias*, the Spartan general, who dispatched them to the *Laconians* unhurt, but put the rest to death, without trial, at Corinth.

The Greeks were now at leisure to indulge their joy, and express their gratitude for their victories. The Platæans, to whom eighty talents of silver were awarded in testimony of their heroism, employed the sum in building and adorning a beautiful temple to Minerva.

They were appointed to perform a grand ceremonial annually to the memory of the departed patriots, and in honour of the protecting deities. It was also resolved to mark every fifth year with a solemn festival. Two monuments of marble were erected at Thermopylae, one in honour of the Peloponnesians at large, and the other of those yet braver 300 who fought and died with the Spartan prince.

The Athenians did not in their haste to rebuild their city, forget the tribute due to their preservers. They instituted annual ceremonies, in which the praises of the heroic dead were celebrated by their most gifted orators. They raised columns on the general tomb of those who fell at Marathon, among which they paid a tardy respect to Miltiades, who died not there, but in prison beneath their injuries.

Athena had suffered, in the great contest, the destruction of her buildings and temples; but had acquired a rich compensation in power and renown. Sparta, whose superiority over all the other states, had hitherto been disputed only by Argos, began to entertain jealous fears of the advances of a more potent rival. These apprehensions, although scarcely generous, were not unfounded. By the possessions of the Themistocles, the Athenians had already begun to surround their city now rising from its ruins, with strong and extensive fortifications, and carried on the work with the most enthusiastic zeal. Against this proceeding, the Lacedaemonians thought fit to remonstrate, alleging that experience had shown that Athens fortified only would be a strong hold for the invader. Unwilling to relinquish their design, and unprepared by open force to defend their right to fulfil it, the Athenians had no course but to temporize and dissemble. Themistocles undertook this difficult task, for which he was most peculiarly fitted. He departed on an embassy to Sparta, where he amused the chief magistrates by various pretexts until the fortifications were completed. Having by his positive assertions, that those who affirmed the work to be in progress uttered falsehood, procured Spartan envoys to be sent to ascertain the fact at Athens, he boldly avowed the treachery, and confounded the Ephori, by informing them that their deputies would be detained as hostages, until he should return in safety. He was then permitted to depart, and return home, exulting in the success of his policy.*

Themistocles appears immediately on the expulsion of the Persians, to have conceived the design of raising Athens to the situation of mistress and arbitress of Greece. He therefore procured the proposition of Sparta, for excluding the states who had refused to join in the confederacy against Xerxes, from the right of sending deputies to vote in the general council, to be rejected. For he perceived that thus cities who were friendly to Athens, would be deprived of all the influence by which they could serve her. That his projects might not be defeated by their premature discovery at Lacedæmon, he required that they should be communicated to two chosen men, with whose concurrence they should be effected. In concert with these, he caused the harbour of the Piræus to be enlarged, and connected, by long walls, with the city. He im-

* See a particular account of this transaction, and of the whole policy of Athens during the administration and intrigues of Themistocles in act. "ANAXANDROS AND THEMISTOCLES."

Grocery
From
A. M.
3514.
—
B. C.
490.
to
A. M.
3600,
—
B. C.
404.

Advance of
Athens, and
jealousies of
Sparta.

* A theme identified.

Battle of
Plata and
Mycal.

on the The
lans.

Tributes to
the Grecian
honey

History.

From
A. M.
3514.B. C.
490.to
A. M.
3600.
B. C.
404.Prosecution
of the war
with Persia,
and conduct
of Pausanias.

proved and increased the Athenian navy, and turned the energy of his mind towards the advancement of that moral power on which his bright hopes for his country's predominance chiefly rested. Being entrusted with the office of levying contributions from the allies, near the *Ægean sea*, towards the expenses of the war, he took every occasion to strengthen the interest of Athens, and preserve the way for that avowed ascendancy which he never ceased to meditate.

Notwithstanding the jealousies which were secretly increasing between Athens and Sparta, they continued to unite their efforts against the common foe. In the prosecution of these, however, fortune greatly favoured the aspiring views of the Athenians. Pausanias, the Spartan general, who at first commanded the fleet, soon became obnoxious by his pride to the minor confederates. After taking Byzantium, indeed, he became more than suspected of traitorous correspondence with Persia. He appointed one named Gongylus to be the governor, who connived at the escape of the most illustrious of the prisoners, and, after this, dispatched him to the court of Xerxes. There his offers are said to have been received with a favour, which quite intoxicated him with ideas of his approaching grandeur. The Peloponnesians retired in disgust, the chief of Chios and Samos publicly insulted him, and the Spartans themselves sent home accusations against him. Alarmed at his proceedings, the Ephori recalled him, and sent Dorcis to take his command. The inquiry, however, which Sparta had sustained in the afflictions of her allies, was too deep for this alteration to repair. Already had the people of Thrace, Asia-Minor, and the island of the *Ægean sea*, solicited Aristides and Cimon, the Athenian generals, to direct them. Their respect had been so conciliated by these virtuous men, that they refused to yield obedience to others. Dorcis returned, Sparta tacitly yielded to circumstances; and the Athenians, for the first time, appeared ostensibly at the head of the Grecian forces.

Desertion of
Pausanias
and Themistocles.

While the plan of Themistocles for the aggrandizement of his country, were thus successful, his own personal influence was declining. The stern virtue of Aristides, and the conciliating goodness of Cimon, effectually, though silently, reprov'd the conduct of a patriot, who, with all his courage, and consummate ability, showed on many occasions a want of noble principle. The people of Athens felt the immediate results of the administration of his rivals, and forgot to whom they were indebted for the origin of the consequences which they now saw unfolding. Instances of his pride and arrogance were studiously brought forward by his adversaries; and, having been accused, though perhaps without reason, of a guilty knowledge of the intrigues of Pausanias, he was sentenced, by ostracism, to exile. Pausanias, in the mean time, continued his haughty and luxurious career, until it ended in his total ruin. (See PAUSANIAS). After his death, the Spartans accused Themistocles of a participation in his treason, and demanded that he should be tried in a general council. He found means, however, to escape into Asia, and seek protection from the king, which he obtained, and under which he died in the manner which in our account of his life we have particularly related.

Policy and
success of
Athena.

It was the singular fortune of Themistocles to render great service to his country, both by his policy and his exile. His successful plans had rendered him so

obnoxious to the Lacedæmonians, that they never would have acquiesced in the ascendancy which they had procured for Athens, had he continued in possession of influence and favour. Aristides, his successor, on the other hand, was calculated to soothe their resentments, by his known inclination to the aristocracy, which they desired to uphold; and his nobleness of character which all agreed in revering. They offered, therefore, no obstruction to the plans by which he secured to Athens the management of affairs for all the states who had recently sought her alliance. He procured the place of meeting for the deputies, sent by the cities to the Grecian council, to be changed from Sparta to Delos, and thus deprived Lacedæmon of the external symbol of that superiority she had hitherto been permitted to assume. He fixed the sum which all the states should contribute to the support of that common freedom which their beaten, yet potent foe, still anxiously hoped to destroy. The tax, although amounting to four hundred and sixty talents, or 92,000*l*, was paid with a cheerfulness which could have been inspired by the virtues of its proposer. Of this treasure, Delos was made the depositary, and Athenians the guardians. Thus, on the death of Aristides, he left Athens in the course of acquiring, if she had not already attained, the first place among the Grecian republics.

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Aristides was succeeded by Cimon, son of Miltiades, ^{Commander} in the chief control over the affairs of Athens. (See of Cimon, and his successor.) Appointed to command the confederate forces by sea and land, he resolved on delivering all the Grecian cities, both in Europe and Asia, over which the Persians still held dominion, from the yoke of the barbarians. He began by attacking Eion, a city of Thrace, on the river Strymon, with his fleet, where much spoil was expected. Its commander, however, finding there remained no hope of retaining the fortress, instead of accepting the offer of Cimon of liberty to pass unmolested into Asia, collected the treasures, built a funeral pile, and, ascending it with barbaric heroism, burnt them, together with himself and his family. Musænes, the governor of Doricæ, however, was more successful, for he retained the place for his sovereign during his life, though it was the only hold in Europe occupied by a Persian garrison. All other fortresses in Thrace, and on the borders of the Hellespont, submitted to the Athenian commander.

The Grecian states having been greatly molested by the piracies of the inhabitants of Scyros, commissioned Cimon to chastise them. He soon took possession of the isle, devoted its people to slavery, and supplied their place by a colony from Athens. The Naxians, also, who resisted the terms of the confederacy, were reduced to submission, and, by a measure without example, compelled to own subjection to the Athenian republic. The war in Naxos being concluded, Cimon advanced into Caria, where the Grecian city of Phaselis remained under the control of the Persians. He reduced this city, after some danger from the treachery of the Chians, who were connected in affection with its citizens, and who acquired great spoils. Hearing, however, that a Persian fleet were assembled in the river Eurymedon, near the coast of Pamphylia, and an army was at hand to co-operate with the naval commanders, he hastened to embark his troops, and offer battle to the enemy. He obtained an easy victory over the fleet, great part of which fell into his hands.

History.

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404.

Prosperity
of Athens,
and distress
of Lacedæ-
mon.

and, landing his victorious forces, defeated, though after a severe struggle, the troops on the shores. The camp of the Persians, with all its riches, became his spoils, and the whole squadron of Phœnician gallees, which had been intended to assist the defeated fleet, were, shortly after, added to his spoils and his trophies. Shortly after, he repelled an incursion of the Persians into the Chersonesus, took thirteen of the hostile vessels, and completely expelled the invaders. These successes ended the memorable wars between the millions of Persian slaves, and the small but heroic band of Grecian freemen. All offensive operations on the part of the oriental sovereigns terminated here, and the Greeks had no task left but to which they were unhappily unequal, the consolidation of their institutions, and the maintenance of internal unity.

The chastisement of Thasos, and the possession of its mines of gold, added greatly to the riches and power of Athens. Possessed of great spoils, Cimon, with a taste as refined as his valour was hardy, adorned the city with porticos, plantations, and temples. (See CIMON.) While the Athenians were thus advancing in elegance as well as power, the Lacedæmonians were visited with the severest distresses. A terrible shock of an earthquake laid the city of Sparta in ruins, and buried the flower of its noble youths beneath them. Invited by the opportunity, the Helots, the oppressed and degraded slaves of the citizens, rose in arms to assert the rights of nature over their wretched masters. They were disappointed, indeed, in the hope of seizing the country by surprise, amidst its distresses, by the sudden appearance of a regular band; who, accustomed to an unrelaxed discipline, appeared in an instant, at the sound of the martial instruments, in military array. But, traversing the fields, they incited their fellows to join them, and soon greatly exceeded, in numbers, their late oppressors. They seized the strong fortress of Ithome, and thence took all occasions to harass their foe in keen revenge for former injuries. In the meanwhile, the Spartans were reduced to great misery, from the want of the assistance of the slaves in tillage, which, unaccustomed themselves to the arts of peace, they were little able to supply. In this state of difficulty and peril, they condescended to apply for assistance to Athens. Notwithstanding the jealousies which still existed, the aid required was granted, on the persuasions of Cimon. That noble-minded general marched at the head of an army to their deliverance, and rendered them most important services. Unhappily, however, the junction of the troops of Athens and Sparta gave occasion to perpetual irritations, which served to increase the hostile feeling existing between the republics. At length, the Athenians were dismissed by the Lacedæmonians, as those for whose assistance there was no further occasion. This measure so exasperated the citizens of Athens, that they renounced the alliance with Sparta, and made a league with its inveterate foes, the people of Argos. The Argives had, during the insurrection of the Helots, made war on the state of Mycenæ, the old antagonist of their pretensions, completely destroyed its forces, reduced its people to slavery, and razed its walls to their foundations.

Hatred of Sparta now became a very deep and pervading emotion in the breasts of the Athenian populace. It was heightened by Ephialtes, the leader of

the democratic party, whose love of a popular government quickened the other cause of dislike which he cherished towards the Lacedæmonian institutions and policy. So strong, indeed, was the feeling thus excited, that Cimon, who was anxious for peace with the Peloponnesians, and attached to oligarchy, was, notwithstanding all his victories, munificence, and equity, sentenced by ostracism to exile. Among those who joined in this popular act of injustice, was Pericles, the son of Xanthippus, who had acquired great popularity by his eloquence, during the absence of Cimon, when that general was engaged in extending the influence of Athens. After the banishment of Cimon, Ephialtes and Pericles continued to pursue, with great earnestness, their attempts to render the government purely democratic, and to aggrandize Attica, at the expense of the Spartan power. Fortunately for the views, a dispute between the states of Megare and Corinth, which had both been parts of the Lacedæmonian alliance, induced the former to leave its old protectors, now unable or unwilling to assist it, and to implore the alliance of the Athenians. The request of the Megarens was joyfully granted, and their city of Megare, and their port of Piræ, filled with Athenian garrisons. Meanwhile Pericles and Ephialtes gained a great accession of power, to the permanent injury of Greece, by persuading their countrymen to reduce the dignity and the powers of the court of Aropagus, and to take from it the direction of the public treasury. A decree, proposed by the latter, which gave the control over the state revenue, and the decision of important causes hitherto vested in that august tribunal, to the assembly of the people, was adopted by the flattered and deluded citizens. Thus were these chiefs enabled to bribe the people with their own treasures, and thus to secure the ratifications of any measures they thought fit to propose. They soon perceived the necessity of employing the confederates on some common enterprise, and accordingly sent Charitimus with two hundred gallees to reduce the isle of Cyprus. Scarcely, however, had the expedition departed, when Inarus invited the Athenians to assist in rescuing the noble country of Egypt from the dominion of the Persians. His offer was eagerly accepted by the chiefs of Athens, who hoped, in the riches of Egypt, to find spoils, which might attach even the fickle Athenians firmly to their cause. They, therefore, dispatched orders to Charitimus to abandon immediate designs against Cyprus, and assist the revolted battalions in Egypt. This distant contest was for a long time doubtful. Requests from the Persian monarch to Sparta, to make a diversion into Attica, which might draw the troops from Egypt, met with an honourable refusal. At length, a numerous fleet and army were sent to reduce Egypt, by whom the Egyptians were defeated, and their Grecian allies closely besieged in Prosopitis, an island in the Nile. This, their last hold, was taken, after they had long and vigorously resisted, and, though some escaped through Lybia to Cyrene, the greater number were put to the sword. Inarus, betrayed by his own soldiers, was crucified, and the whole of Egypt, with little exception, was compelled once more to submit to the yoke of the Persians.

During these disastrous operations in Egypt, the internal dissensions of the Grecian states continued to

Greece.

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404.

Prevalence
of the de-
mocratic
party, and
banishment
of Cimon.

Expedition
to Cyprus
and Egypt.

History. increase. The alliance with Megara naturally drew on the Athenians the resentment of the Corinthians and their Peloponnesian confederates. At Helia, the Athenians were defeated by the united forces of Epidauros and Corinth; but, shortly after, more than recovered the loss, by completely overthrowing the fleet of their foes, when assisted by the naval power of Ægina. After taking seventy vessels they landed and laid siege to the capital of the Æginetians, but were prevented from obtaining possession of its fortresses by large succours thrown into them by its allies. While the Athenians were engaged in blockading the town, the Corinthians, hoping to draw them from their main design, invaded the territories of Megara. Instead, however, of raising the siege, the people of Athens sent out a body of new recruits, composed of their old men and inexperienced youths, under Myronides, to repel the invaders. An action speedily ensued, in which the least in strength of the Athenian troops gained the advantage over their foes, and remained masters of the field. The Corinthians, on their return, being reproached as defeated by adversaries whom they had despised, returned to the place where the battle was fought, and erected a trophy. While they were thus engaged, Myronides sallied from Megara, fell on them while unawares, threw them into confusion, cut off their retreat, and pursued them with a slaughter so dreadful, that every Corinthian was slain. Ægina held out for some time longer, but was, at length, forced to capitulate, and to submit to the loss of its ships, the demolition of its fortifications, and the imposition of an annual tribute. After these successes, the Athenians began to build the long walls, from the city to its ports, which might secure to them the full benefit of that great arm of their power, the empire over the seas.

War between Doris and Phocia produces hostilities between the Athenians and Spartans. During the Corinthian war, Sparta had remained inactive, through weakness. She was, however, soon after incited to assist the Dorians, who were regarded with veneration as the first settlers of Peloponnesus, on an attack made upon them from Phocia. In the original object, the Lacedæmonian forces, under Nicomedes, were successful, as they repelled and enjoined terms on the Phocian invaders. But the democratic party, who now directed the affairs of Athens, resolved to oppose the return of Nicomedes to the Læonian borders, which their naval power and their possession of the Megaran territories afforded them the means of preventing. After suffering him to winter in Boeotia, they attacked him in the spring, near Tanagra, and met his troops in a fierce but indecisive set-piece. On the next day, by the aid of the Theban horsemen, who deserted from the Athenians, the Lacedæmonians obtained the victory. They, however, pursued the advantage no further than to secure their road homeward, through the regions of Megara, which they devastated in their passage.

Notwithstanding this check, the cause of Athens continued to prosper. The Thebans having entered into an alliance with Sparta, were opposed, with great vigour, by Myronides, who defeated them at Ænophyta, took from them Tanagra, and compelled all the towns in Boeotia, except Thebes itself, to submit to the Athenian power. This brave commander next secured Phocia, and terrified the Opuntian Locris into submission. Nor was the Athenian Fleet less successful than his army. Tolmides conducted it in a cruise round

Peloponnesus, during which he burnt the naval arsenal of the Lacedæmonians, at Gythium, defeated the people of Sicyone, and took Chalcis. He also collected the Helots, who, after holding Ithome for nearly ten years, had surrendered, on condition of leaving the peninsula, and settled them at Nisæus, under the name of Messenians. Thus another state was founded, naturally most hostile to the cause of Sparta, and devoted to that of Athens.

The Athenians were less successful in Thestaly, into which region they carried their arms at the request of its exiled prince, Orestes. Unaccustomed to contend against cavalry, they were forced, although commanded by Myronides, to retire. This repulse was soon counterbalanced by the success of Pericles, who, sailing with a squadron for Peloponnesus, defeated the Sicyonians, ravaged the Arcadian coast, and returned home with considerable spoils. (See PERICLES.)

The progress of the internal bustles of Greece was now, for a short time, happily suspended, by the recall of Cimon from banishment, on the proposal by his old antagonist, Pericles (See CIMON and PERICLES.) The influence of Cimon with the aristocracy and the Lacedæmonians, ensured, during the residue of his life, concord between the two great powers of Greece and their dependants and allies. To give employment to the citizens, whom continual wars had rendered unfit for the arts and duties of peace, he proposed the reduction of Cyprus. For this island he sailed with a fleet of two hundred gallees, and laid siege to its chief city, Citium. While his army were engaged in the blockade of this place, he died of a disease, and with him the hope of Grecian stability and repose expired. After his death his forces retreated, and fought victoriously for a passage to their ships. Having gained them and joined the relics of the numerous which had been an unsuccessful in Egypt, they sailed for Athens. Meanwhile Pericles restored to the Phocians the custody of the common treasures of Greece, at Delphi, which the government of Sparta had unjustly wrested from them, and given to the Delphians.

The death of Cimon was the cause of dissolving the amity which had recently been preserved by the veneration inspired by his character. Megara revolted from the Athenians, but was soon reduced to own their dominion. The Boeotians, who had been subdued by Myronides, threw off the alliance, and made inroads on the neighbouring regions. Against these Tolmides was sent, contrary to the opinion of Pericles, who expected no benefit from his plans. After taking Cheronea, he was attacked by a numerous force of the insurgents, slain in the action, and all those of his soldiers who survived it were taken prisoners. As many of the captives were related to the noblest families of Athens, the government of that city procured their deliverance by ransom, and a treaty, in which they resigned all claim to interference within the Boeotian domains. Eubœa next threw off the yoke of Athens; and, before Pericles could arrive there, to quell the insurrection, Megara once more rose against its Athenian masters. Nearly at the same time the Lacedæmonians resolved to take advantage of the difficulties which now beset their adversaries, burst, in great force, into Attica, under Pleistoneus, their youthful sovereign. Pericles, however, induced their army to retire, by bribing the tutor and confidential adviser of

Greece.

From A. N. 3514.

S. C.

490.

to

A. N.

3600.

S. C.

404.

Operations

in Thestaly

and Peloponnesus.

His expedition

to Cyprus.

His death.

Revolt of

the confederates from Athens.

History.

From

A. M.

3514.

—

B. C.

490.

to

A. M.

3600.

—

B. C.

404.

Truce for thirty years concluded. Internal greatness of Athens under Pericles.

the inexperienced prince, who having received ten talents for the exertion of his influence, persuaded the king to give up the enterprise. The insurgents of Megara and Eretria were soon after reduced by Pericles. That accomplished general, however, perceived the necessity of consolidating the Athenian power, which so many dependants had shown a disposition to oppose. To obtain peace, he consented to resign Nisaea, Pegae, Achaea, and Trazene; to desist from all claim on Boeotia, and to permit every state, hitherto neutral, to enter into an alliance either with Athens or Sparta, according to its free preference.

Athens now enjoyed repose for six years, under the splendid administration of Pericles. Although deprived of somewhat of her external influence during the wars, after the death of Cimón, her internal greatness had been progressive, and had now reached its summit, after most rapid advances. The finest of the arts and embellishments of life had there been first developed, and then shortly appeared in their fairest perfection. Tragedy, but lately a rude ceremonial, had been elevated by Æschylus to the most heroic dignity, and softened by Sophocles into the most harmonious sweetness. Painters, who had attained the noblest parity in design, and the freest grace in outline, were employed to adorn the places of assembly with the forms of illustrious heroes. Sculpture had sprung to life at the magic touch of Phidias, and rendered every part of the city august and venerable by the breathing shapes of warriors and deities. At the head of a number of consummate artists, whom his noble works had excited to excellence, Phidias was engaged by Pericles in refining and adorning temples, of which the smallest portions still excite the utmost delight and wonder. The imagination can conceive nothing more glorious than this city—its halls and temples, all of the most beautiful materials and most exquisite workmanship—the dazzling whiteness of its buildings, relieved by trees of the freshest green—the multitude of statues, disposed with the finest taste, each limb and feature of which might hold the gazer in breathless delight—and all its far-stretching crowd of domes and columns, over-bung by a sky of the deepest blue, and connected by a noble line of fortresses with the free and sparkling ocean! Yet still more worthy of admiration were the actors on this gorgeous scene—poets almost the inventors, as well as the perfectors, of their art—orators endowed with powers to sway the passions at will—and a race of freemen, fresh from a triumph over millions! Unhappily, corruption was insensibly making way amidst this throng of noble spirits, too soon to destroy the energies which they lived to inspire. But we cannot dwell on the short-lived greatness of Athens, without a feeling of triumph that earth has known a grandeur so stately and a beauty so exquisite, even when those principles of truth and virtue were but imperfectly understood, by which alone they could be rendered lasting.

The Samian war.

The dissensions continually arising among the smaller republics of Greece offered perpetual temptations to the greater to interfere, for the purposes of extending their own domination. Thus, after six years of the truce had expired, the Athenians were induced to interfere in behalf of the Milesians, who were engaged in a war with Samos. Notwithstanding the power of Athens, the opposition made by the Samians was long, and the final triumph was not achieved

before the Athenians had sustained considerable losses. At first, Pericles, who, on this occasion, commanded in person, made an easy conquest of the island, and transferred the government from the nobles to the people. But a new and determined revolt soon after compelled him to return to the attack with increased forces. During a short absence from the investment of Samos, occasioned by false intelligence respecting the approach of the Phœnician navy, that part of his fleet which he had left before the island was destroyed by the Samians. He returned, however, with great vigour to the war, and succeeded in reducing the foe to submission, after a siege of nine months; in which, for the first time, tortoises and battering rams were employed for the reduction of hostile fortresses. (See PERICLES.)

This fiercely contested struggle served to inflame those animosities which were shortly to incite all the Grecian states to engage in a domestic warfare, in which all their glories were destined to perish. Another cause of provocation arose in a war between Corcyra and Corinth, which took place in consequence of the interference of the latter to settle disputes at Epidaurum, a colony of the former. The Corcyreans, though victorious, fearing the naval power of their foes, entreated the assistance of Athens; and the Corinthians, at the same time, sent deputies thither to oppose the request of their foes. Both parties were admitted formally to plead their cause before the people, which they did, in the elaborate orations which Thucydides has left us. In this agogostion the Corcyreans were, in some measure, successful, since they obtained a defensive alliance with Athens, and some naval succours to assist them. With these they engaged with the Corinthian fleet in a naval action, in which neither party obtained a decisive victory. A fresh squadron having arrived from Athens, intimidated the Corinthians from renewing the battle which incited by their foes; and the Athenians, not wishing further to irritate them, suffered them to retire without injury. Each party erected a trophy, and the war ended with no other result than that of increasing the feuds among the Greeks, and strengthening the feeling of hostility which numbers of them cherished against the Athenians.

Another cause of irritation afterwards arose in consequence of the intrigues of Pericles, king of Macedonia. This artful prince was desirous of inciting Corinth to war with Athens, in order that the latter state might be unable to continue its opposition to his ambitious designs against two neighbouring princes, his relatives, to whom it had extended its protection.

Fortunately for his purpose, Potidaea, a city within the borders of Macedonia, now a dependency of Athens, had originally been built by Corinthian emigrants. This town he now offered to restore to Corinth, its mother country, in expectation of the resentful such a step would occasion. Before he could execute his design, the Athenians received information respecting it, and sent to the Potidæans, requiring that they should demolish their walls, give hostages for their fidelity, and disavow their Corinthian magistrates. Having in vain attempted to obtain a remission of these orders, the Potidæans openly revolted, and were shortly after joined by the Chalcidians and Bottiæans, with whom they concluded a treaty. The Corinthians sent a considerable force, under Aristeus, to assist them; and Pericles gave them aid, by his troops and his

Greece.

From

A. M.

3514.

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B. C.

490.

to

A. M.

3600.

—

B. C.

404.

War between Corinth and Corcyra.

War respecting Potidaea.

History.

From
A. M.
3514.
—
B. C.
490.
to
A. M.
3500.
—
S. C.
404.

Sparta
resused to
oppose
Athens.

councils. To oppose this combination, the Athenians despatched first Arehstratus, and afterwards Callias, with naval and military forces, who succeeded in compelling the enemy to take refuge within Potidea, and lay down before it. Aristarchus, however, found means to escape to Olynthus, and thence sent dispatches in Corinth, to entreat fresh succours, without which the city must be taken.

The Corinthians were now indefatigable in stirring up a confederacy against Athens. The people of Argina, who panted to be freed from their subjection, were most active in inflaming the resentments which the Corinthians had excited. All the foes of Athens applied eagerly to Sparta to take the lead in the general cause. These, at a public assembly convened at Lacedæmon, brought forward their charges, which the Corinthians most vehemently supported. Ambassadors from Athens, accidentally in the city, were admitted to hear and answer them. They disclaimed, however, to acknowledge the competence of the tribunal to judge the conduct of their republic, and offered to yield to the mode of decision, pointed out in cases of dispute, by the existing league. After all parties had withdrawn, warm discussions ensued among the Spartans, on the great question of peace or war; but a large majority voted for the contest, on a division. Another general assembly was, however, deemed requisite before further steps were hazarded, where the larger part, urged by the Corinthians, again declared for war. But the confederates were compelled to seek delay. An embassy was sent to Athens, under pretence of requiring the exile of all the descendants of those who were concerned in a pollution, which had been incurred by some with whom the family of Pericles was connected. This was met by a demand for a similar purgation of the sacrilegious guilt incurred by the Spartans, in the death of Pausanias and the execution of the Helots, who had been forced from the altar of Neptune. After this solemn trifling, requisitions were made by the Lacedæmonians that the Athenians should raise the siege of Potidea, open their ports to the Megareans, and renounce all dominion over the states of Greece. The Athenians, animated by the eloquent harangues of Pericles, returned for answer, that they would repeal their restrictions on the Megarean commerce, if the Peloponnesians would open their ports to them and their allies: that they would resign all authority over their dependences, if the Spartans would do the same; and that they would submit all other points in dispute to a judicial determination, according to the treaty with which the truce had been protected. These terms were, as was anticipated, refused; and all parties prepared with great earnestness for the approaching contest.

Summary
of the two
first years
of the war.

As, in the life of Pericles, we have related the chief events of the Peloponnesian wars which occurred until the death of that illustrious Athenian, we shall here only give such an outline of them as may be necessary to preserve the connection of the history. Before the principal states were ready for the battle, hostilities were commenced by an attempt of the Thebans to seize the small but heroic town of Plataea, which had always been distinguished for its fidelity to the Athenian cause. This attempt was attended with failure, and its circumstances, especially the conduct of the Plataeans in putting their prisoners to death, tended to heighten every hostile feeling, and render the contest more obstinate and more savage. The Pelopon-

nesians shortly after advanced into Attica, and laid waste its fields and villages, while the Athenians, following the councils of Pericles, persisted in declining a battle. They sent, however, a fleet to revenge the injuries committed on their soil, by devastating the coasts of Peloponnesus, which took Thorion and Argina, and secured the latter by placing in it an Athenian colony. At length Archidamus, the Spartan king, retreated, and Pericles sallied forth and plundered Megara. In the following year, the pestilence bringing confusion with it, enfeebled and distracted Athens, while the enemy again advanced to insult and defy its citizens. An expedition against Chalcis and Potidea proved disastrous, in consequence of the ravages of the plague, which destroyed the flower of the soldiery. Maddened by these calamities, the people rebelled against their great leader, set on him a line of eighty talents, and dismissed him from his officers of power. His domestic afflictions, arising from the baseness of one, and the death of both his sons, added to his public disgrace, seemed to fill up the cup of human wretchedness, for one whom a little before kings might have regarded with envy. He was, however, recalled to the helm of government for the short remainder of his days. Meanwhile, the Lacedæmonians ravaged the isle of Zacynthus, and the siege of Potidea terminated by its surrender to the Athenians. Pericles, soon after this success, expired through the influence of the disease which had rendered his house and the city desolate. The best hopes of Athens perished with him.

Unable to make any impression on Athens, or to incite its citizens to a battle, the Peloponnesians, under Archidamus, turned their arms against the Plataeans. They hoped by this course to bring some of the Athenian forces to the relief of their faithful allies, and thus to compel them to risk an engagement which hitherto they had carefully avoided. They first, however, offered to withdraw, on receiving the promise of the Plataeans to remain neutral. The citizens were desirous of accepting this offer; but, as they had pledged themselves to the cause of the Athenians, who were now protecting their wives and children, they thought it necessary to consult them on the measures which they should pursue. In answer to the application, they were desired to refuse the terms, and promised assistance. On this, they immediately, from their walls, informed the Lacedæmonians that it was out of their power to accept their proposals. Archidamus, when he heard this reply, solemnly invoked the gods to witness that the league was broken voluntarily by the citizens of Plataea, and prepared vigorously to besiege the city. Although the whole garrison consisted only of four hundred Plataeans, eighty Athenians, and a hundred and ten women to prepare food, the siege which followed the rejection of the conditions, is one of the most renowned in the annals of war. The Spartans began by surrounding the town with a palisade, and building a pile from whence they could make an assault on the fortresses. These works, for which they procured the materials from Mount Cithæron, occupied seventy days in their progress. Meanwhile the besieged threw up a frame-work from their walls, opposite to the mound, behind which they constructed a rampart of equal altitude. Finding, however, that they could not continue this work to a greater height without endangering its stability, they broke through the wall against which the mound was erected, and removed the earth which con-

Greece.

From
A. M.
3514.
—
B. C.
490.
to
A. M.
3500.
—
S. C.
404.

Third year
of the war.
Siege of
Plataea.

History.

From
A. M.
3514.
—
B. C.
490.
to
A. M.
3600.
—
A. C.
401.

stituted its foundation. For some time this scheme was undiscovered by the Lacedæmonians; but, at length, perceiving their work, though continually supplied, made no progress, they enclosed the earth in basket-work, which the enemy could not destroy. On this precaution, the Platæans undermined the work, and built an additional wall in the form of a crescent, to shield them if the outer fortification should be taken. At length the besiegers commenced the assault with battering rams, one of which placed on their mount shook the structure on the rampart, while the others were employed against various parts of the fortresses. These engines were disordered and broken by ropes let down from above, and fragments of rock hurled on them by the Platæans. Every means of attack was tried by the besiegers, and rendered futile by the courage and skill of their foes. At length the Spartans tried by stupendous masses of wood, dipped in sulphur, to set fire to the town; but a tempest of rain and thunder delivered it from this imminent peril. Finding all their efforts to take the city by force in vain, the besiegers had recourse to a blockade, and sat down before it to compel a capitulation for want of provisions. For more than eighteen months this heroic town continued to defy them. After the expiration of this period, as the garrison seemed likely soon to be destitute of provisions, Eupolipides, its governor, formed the bold design of escaping with his whole company. Only two hundred and twenty, however, persevered in the execution of the heroic plan. With these, in a dark and stormy night, he left the town, crossed the ditch, and advanced with ladders to the line of building which constituted at once the means of blockade and the place of rest for the besiegers. In the middle of the space between two turrets, six light armed soldiers mounted silently, gained the parapet unperceived, and waited for their companions. Others hastened to support them, and numbers had ascended, or were climbing, when the fall of a tile from a battlement roused the troops from their slumbers. Darkness, however, still favoured the Platæans, and their friends within the town, by a feigned attack on the fortifications, diverted the attention of the enemy. Meanwhile the party who had first gained the summit, had forced the towers on each side, and thence were able, by the discharge of missile weapons, to prevent any from approaching to obstruct the ascent of their companions. All, as they mounted, formed in regular line, and united with those on the turrets in protecting the passage until the whole had ascended, when they drew up the ladders, and descended in good order from the opposite battlements. In passing the ditch, which unfortunately was half frozen, much confusion arose, during which the enemy's guard approached them. Missile weapons, however, still availed them; they arrived in safety on the banks, and struck off instantly into the road towards Thebes, leaving the direction which the Spartans would least expect them to pursue. They judged rightly; the besiegers sought them along the Athenian road, as they perceived by the light of their line of torches. The heroic band soon changed their course, reached the passes of the mountains, and, with the loss of only one taken prisoner in the ascent, arrived in triumph at Athens. A different fate was reserved for the residue of the garrison who had declined the perilous enterprise. In the third year of the siege, reduced to the extremity of suffering by hunger, they accepted a proposal of the Lacedæmo-

nians for their surrender, on condition "that only the guilty should be punished, and even those not without trial." When, however, they came to this trial, the only question asked of them was, "whether, during the war, they had done any service to the Lacedæmonians or their allies?" Perceiving that this demand was only made in order to afford a pretext for their destruction, they urged their strong and unanswerable claims on the mercy and the justice of their foes. They alluded to their great services in the common cause against the Persian invaders, after which these temples now devoted to ruin, had been dedicated to that grateful worship which the Platæans were selected to perform. They urged that in seeking the alliance of Athens, they had only followed the councils of Sparta, who had declined receiving them into her protection, and that having once joined the Athenian cause, they could not without infamy forsake it. They reminded the Lacedæmonians of the assistance they had rendered to them when reduced to the deepest misery by the earthquake and the rebellion of their slaves. They, at least, asserted a right, if the terms of the capitulation were thus to be distorted, to be restored to the city which they had been induced to leave, that there they might choose their own means of perishing. The appeal was made in vain. The Thebans, the inexorable foes of the Platæans, incited the Spartans to the murder of their captives. The absurd question originally asked was repeated to each in succession; and as all answered it in the negative, they were, one after the other, led out to the slaughter. A deed at once so mean and so atrocious, was worthy only of the masters of the Helots, and can be accounted for alone by an education in which fierce and harsh emotions seemed to have been inspired even by their mothers!

During the protracted siege of Platæa, the war was vigorously prosecuted in other regions, both by sea and by land. The Athenians, under Xenophon, the son of Euripides, were defeated in Chalcidice; the general, and four hundred citizens slain; and the rest of the army forced to return to Athens. In Acarnania, on the other hand, the Athenian cause was crowned with success. The people of Ambracia having united in the Spartans' cause, laid plans for the conquest of Acarnania, and the reduction of Zacynthus, Cephallenia, and Naupactus, by which they would prevent the Athenian fleets from cruising in the western sea, and making incursions on the Peloponnesian shores. In the commencement of the operations for this purpose, they were joined by hands of the allies, and a number of Spartans led by Cnemus. Part of the army marching in confusion were attacked near Stratus with so great an effect, that Cnemus found it necessary to retire. Phormion, meantime, with only twenty Athenian galleys, gained a most brilliant victory over the Corinthian fleet of forty-seven ships, by an union of the most consummate skill, with the most determined valour. But finding that his adversaries, by using the utmost exertions to repair their loss, had collected a fleet of seventy-seven vessels, he sent to Athens for an addition to his squadron. Instead of directing a reinforcement immediately to join him, the rulers at Athens, now influenced by Nicias, suffered the forces intended for his aid, to make a descent on Crete in their way, where they only acquired plunder, and were detained by contrary winds. Phormion, however, while they thus delayed to join him, gained some wonderful advantages over the hostile

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Defeat of
Xenophon.

Victories
of the Aca-
rnians.

Victories of
Phormion.

History,

From

A. M.

3514.

B. C.

490.

to

A. M.

3600.

B. C.

404.

Thracian
expedition.State of
Athens.Revolt of
Mitylene.Dreadful
contentions
in Corcyra.

fleet, which was almost four times as numerous as his own. The Spartan commanders thus unsuccessful, resolved to attempt the redemption of their fame by an effort to surprise the port of Piræus itself, now left unguarded. They accordingly sailed from Nisæa with forty galleys, and would have succeeded, had not a contrary wind delayed their course, and induced them to land at Salamis. Hence, after taking spoils and a few prisoners, they returned to Nisæa, having given the Athenians a salutary lesson to keep an adequate guard for the defence of their harbour, on the safety of which their whole power rested.

During the winter, Situlæ, king of Thracæ, with whom the Athenians were in alliance, excited great alarm by his irruption with an immense army into Macedon, to wrest the throne from Perdicas, and bestow it on Philip his nephew. These movements, however, soon terminated in an accommodation, and the Thracians returned home without disturbing Greece. In the following autumn, the confederates invaded Attica; and, although they speedily retired, effected great damage on the ripening corn, and thus added to the internal distresses of Athens. That ill-fated city had now no Pericles or Cimon to direct its councils. Over these, Nicias and Cleon attained the chief influence: the first, generous, mild, of excellent disposition, and of elegant taste, but diffident and wavering; the latter, coarse, bold, and sarcastic, where eloquence chiefly swayed the lowest of the people. The decisive folly and imposing rashness of the latter, too often, as might be expected, prevailed over the calm wisdom of the former, which had firmness to support it. Great difficulties were experienced in raising supplies for the support of the war, which were obviated for a time by the expedient of raising a sum of four hundred talents by the contributions of the citizens.

While Athens was distracted by famine, disease, and misrule, news arrived that Mitylene had revolted, and that Attica was threatened with another invasion. This intelligence aroused the Athenians to put forth their utmost exertions. The rebellious city was invested; Ascepius, son of Phormion, was employed in a diversion on the Peloponnesian shores; and a fleet of a hundred galleys were manned, and sent out to intimidate the confederates. Sæthrus, an emissary from Lacedæmon, having found means to enter Mitylene, distributed arms to the lower citizens, who soon forced their generals to capitulate, on terms which placed the people at the mercy of Athens. Paches, the Athenian admiral, having taken Notium, and treacherously caused Hip-pias, the general of the Arcadian forces, to be slain, returned to Lesbos, and sent Sæthrus, and other chiefs, to Athens as prisoners. On their arrival, the people ordered the immediate execution of the Spartans; and, incited by the ferocious hurraque of Cleon, dispatched orders to Mitylene, commanding that all its males should be put to death, and its women and children reduced to slavery. The next day, however, Diodorus, the son of Encrates, succeeded in procuring a countermand to be issued, and his messengers happily arrived just in time to prevent the massacre.

Corcyra, which had been the immediate cause of the war, now became the scene of most tragical events, occasioned by a contest between the aristocratic party, who yet favoured Loricth, and the democratic body, who were devoted to the Athenians. The nobles, at first, succeeded in procuring a declaration of neutrality;

but venturing to accuse Pitbias, the leader of the opposite cause, they failed, and five of them became in their turns objects of prosecution, on charges of having cut stakes in the sacred groves, which subjected them to severe pecuniary fines. Unable to pay the penalty, they fled, and Pitbias, now master of the council, proposed an alliance, offensive and defensive, with Athens. Rendered desperate by this change in affairs, the five nobles left the altars where they had taken refuge, rushed with arms into the place of public deliberation, and, taking advantage of the surprise of the assembly, murdered Pitbias and sixty of his associates. Sallying from these murders into the city, they re-established their power over citizens petrified with fear and wonder. But a civil war shortly ensued, in which the popular party were joined by the slaves, and the nobles by auxiliaries from Epirus. The hostile hands came to a terrible engagement in the ports and the city, in which the women, inspired with the general fury, hurled down tiles and stones from the tops of houses on their enemies. In this combat, the aristocratic party was defeated, and only escaped to the port and arsenal, which they held, by setting fire to the buildings, which spread with tremendous fury. The next morning they were deserted by their allies, and saw no hope of being delivered from the hands of their infuriated countrymen. While affairs were in this condition, Nicostatus, commander of the Athenian fleet at Næpactus, arrived; and, while he restored the democratic government with great moderation and address, procured for the despairing nobles an indemnity, and the liberty of enjoying their rights as citizens. Fresh disturbances, however, arose from the distrust of the aristocratic party, and the resentment of the suspicion by the popular leaders. Four hundred of the oligarchical faction took refuge in the temple of Juno, where they quitted on the notice of the citizens to spare them, and retired to a neighbouring island; but soon after a Peloponnesian fleet, under Alcidas, appeared, and the supplicants, to prevent their co-operation, were removed to the sanctuary which they had quitted. An engagement ensued between this armament and the inferior squadrons of Nicostatus and the Corecyæns, in which the former gained an advantage, though, by the skill of the Athenian commander, it was prevented from becoming decisive. Alcidas, destitute of energy to improve his success, merely ravaged the fields of Leucimæ; and, on the approach of a fresh Athenian fleet, under Eurymedon, retreated. This commander having arrived, and Nicostatus having left the station for Næpactus, the democratic party at Corcyra gave vent to their fierce desires of vengeance. They caused their fleet to pass from one of their ports to the other, and threw into the sea all the crew who favoured the oligarchical faction. They then commenced a dreadful massacre in the city. For seven days they were employed in searching for and destroying their foes. The supplicants only who had taken residence in the temples, protracted a miserable existence a little longer. Some were induced to leave the sanctuaries by hunger and promises of a trial; but they were immediately condemned and slain. Others saw a wall built round their place of refuge, to immerse them alive living in the grave. Those who remained killed each other, or hung themselves in the sacred groves, to escape the lingering horrors which threatened them. Meanwhile, Eurymedon lay with his fleet

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Battles of
Demosthe-
nes in
the west.

in the harbour, the quiet and guilty spectator of the accursed scene. Even yet the miseries of Corcyra were not ended. Five hundred of the aristocratical party, who escaped, harassed it from the opposite coasts; and, at length, invaded its fields, fortified a castle among the mountains, and thence making incursions on the country, made it experience all the miseries of a ferocious domestic warfare.

In the sixth year of the war the affairs of the Athenians seemed at first to decline. The pestilence, after two years' intermission, again ravaged their city. The Peloponnesians, under Agis, son of Archidamus, who had just before died, prepared to invade their territories, but were deterred by repeated shocks of an earthquake. After some unimportant operations under Nicias, Hippocrates, and Eurymedon, Demosthenes, with a fleet of thirty ships, was sent to Naupactus. After gaining some advantages in the Leucadian territory, he was induced, instead of proceeding to invest its capital, to employ his force on an expedition against the Ætolians, by whom he was completely defeated near Ægium. This misfortune was followed by the declaration of the Orgilian Locrians for the Spartan cause. But Demosthenes, who, after his defeat, had not ventured to return to Athens, soon retrieved his ill success by procuring a force from Acarnania and Amphiloehia, and putting to rout the army of the Amphibacians, commanded by Spartan leaders. Two of the hostile generals, Eurylochus and Macarius, fell in the battle. The conquering Athenian pursued his advantage, surprised detachments of the Amphibacians near Olyon, who were ignorant of the previous defeat, and cut them off with tremendous slaughter. After thus restoring the Athenian power in the west, the victorious general returned in triumph to Athens.

Transac-
tions and
defence of
Pylus.

The Athenians now began to project the conquest of Sicily, and sent forty ships thither with Eurymedon and Sophocles, desiring them, in their course to relieve the democratic party in Corcyra, who were now hard pressed by their domestic foes. With these they permitted Demosthenes to sail, without any nominal office, but with authority to exercise a control over the proceedings. He was anxious to execute a plan for fortifying Pylus, a deserted port of Messenia, and fixing there a garrison of Messenians, from Naupactus. They refused, however, to delay their progress, but were soon compelled, by a storm, to take refuge in the harbour. While they remained here, the soldiers, for their amusement, threw up fortifications, which they had refused to erect at the request of Demosthenes. As soon as the work was completed, he determined to remain there, with five galleys, which were allowed him for his defence. Here he was soon besieged by the Lacedæmonians, whom he gallantly repulsed, though they were commanded by the celebrated Brasidas. Thus baffled, the Spartans turned the siege of Pylus into a blockade, and regularly invested it. Meanwhile Eurymedon arrived to relieve it, and entering the harbour defeated the fleet of the besiegers. At this time 420 Spartans, with Helots, who had been chosen by lot from the troops, were in possession of Sphacteria, an island at the mouth of the harbour. Those in their turn, were now surrounded by naval forces, from which there appeared no hope of escaping. Alarmed at the danger of some of the most illustrious of the citizens, the magistrates of Sparta came to the camp, and per-

ceiving that no other hope of their deliverance was left, opened negotiations with the Athenians. A truce was granted by the generals, but not ratified by the Athenian people, who were justifying to reject the accommodation by the boisterous eloquence of Cleon. An Nicias weakly yielded to this demagogue, he was sent to join the forces of Pylus. Aided, however, with Demosthenes, he was, on this occasion, successful. After a most brave resistance, the island of Sphacteria was taken, and all the Spartans who survived made prisoners. The commanders, except Eurymedon, who proceeded to Corcyra, returned to Athens with the captives, who ordered them to be kept in chains, with a threat that they should be put to death in case of an invasion of Attica by their countrymen.

The Athenian ascendancy continued for some time rapidly to increase. Nicias made a descent on the shores of Corinth, and returned with his spoils. Anæstorium was taken by the Athenian force at Naupactus, and the inhabitants expelled from their possessions. In the following spring, the island of Cythera, governed by Spartan magistrates, and defended by Spartan soldiers, yielded to Anticles and Nicias. Thyrea, to which the remaining Æginetians had retired, was burnt, great part of its inhabitants slain, and the survivors, by a ferocious decree of the people, led out to slaughter. Meanwhile the wars in Corcyra were terminated with a catastrophe worthy of their origin. Eurymedon and Sophocles surrounded the remaining aristocrats, and compelled them to surrender. The prisoners were placed, for a time, in the island of Pylus, on condition that if any escaped, the whole should forfeit their claim to mercy. Thirsting for their blood, the democratic party persuaded them to attempt an escape, by which they broke the terms of capitulation, and subjected themselves to the vengeance of the Athenian commanders. They were then delivered to their infamous deceivers, who, having first shut them up in one edifice, called on them to pass from it, one by one, through their ranks, and stabbed them as they passed, each selecting the object of his peculiar hatred for his victim. After sixty had been thus butchered, the rest closed the entrance of the house, and refused to leave it. Their foes then unroofed the building, and poured missile weapons on them from above, while they remained totally defenceless. Those who endured the misery of surviving this work of horror, killed themselves during the night; so that, in the morning, when the murderers entered the scene of their expected revenge they found only the lifeless bodies of all their captives, whom death had released from their fury.

The Spartan affairs now seemed reduced to a state of hopelessness, and the cause of Athens to be, in all parts, triumphant. The hopes of Sparta, however, were soon revived by the courage, spirit, and virtue of Brasidas, who appears to have been endowed with the virtues without the vices peculiar to the Lacedæmonian character. He had already distinguished himself rather by merit than fortune, at the siege of Pylus. By his valour and policy he now procured the return of Megara to the alliance of Sparta, after it had revolted to the Athenians. He next, with a band of scarcely 5,000 men, marched into Thrace and Macedonia, procuring by his skill and power of conciliation, a safe passage through the hostile regions of Thessaly. By his policy he procured the accession of Arribæus, king of Lyncestis, to the Spartan al-

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of the
Athenians.

Termina-
tion of the
contest in
Corcyra.

The Spartan
affairs im-
proved by
Brasidas.

History. Next, in conjunction with Perdiccas, he marched to Acanthus, and being singly admitted into the city, won the people by his eloquence, to revolt from Athens, and form a treaty with him. Shortly after, he procured the citizens of Stageirus to declare for the Spartans. The important city of Amphipolis, commanding a rich territory and a noble river, was surrendered to him on his promise to respect the properties of the people, and allow such as chose to retire, five days for their departure. Thucydides, the historian, came too late to relieve this port, but succeeded in preventing the seizure of Elion, a port at the mouth of the river. Notwithstanding the great success of Brasidas, he was regarded with so much envy at Sparta, that the government there refused his application for an increase of his forces. He still, however, continued his exertions with unabated vigour. All the cities of Acte, except Sane and Diium, yielded to his arms. He took Torone, one of the chief Chalcidian sea-ports, and became master of the neighbouring fortress of Leceythus, to which the citizens and such of the Athenians as were with them had resorted. Meanwhile, the Athenians, attempting to revolutionize Bœotia, were completely defeated by the people of that territory, at Delium. These fluctuations of fortune inclined the Athenians to pacific measures, and they agreed to a truce for a year, on the terms that each party should keep what it had acquired, and that the dominion over the seas should be conceded to Athens.

This arrangement did not completely suspend the hostilities of the two rival republics. Before it was known in Thrace, Brasidas had succeeded in disconnecting Scione from the Athenian cause; on which, the citizens of Athens, by the instigation of Cleon, passed a decree equally cruel and impolitic, that the town should be invested, and all its inhabitants destroyed. The effect of this savage denunciation was to provoke the people of Mende, a neighbouring city, in the peninsula of Pallene, to enter into an alliance with the Spartan general. Having removed the families of the citizens of both places to Olynthus, in order to protect them from the vengeance of Athens, Brasidas went to assist Perdiccas, who was now at war with the prince of Lyncestis. In a joint invasion of the territories of the latter chief, the soldiers of the king of Macedonia, on the defection of the Illyrians, fled, and he followed them without communicating his design to his Lacedæmonian allies. Thus deserted, Brasidas was compelled to retire; but conducted his retreat in so masterly a manner, that it became almost a victory. Unhappily, the irritation of his troops at the behaviour of Perdiccas, could not be restrained within prudent boundaries. They committed aggressions, and heaped insults on the Macedonians, which induced the prince to break his alliance with Sparta, and renew his engagements with Athens. In consequence of his influence, Brasidas and his army were refused permission to pass homeward through Thessaly.

Meanwhile Cleon, by his ranc and boisterous eloquence, obtained the chief direction of affairs at Athens. By his advice, his countrymen added another to their numerous acts of injustice. He imputed the reverse of fortune which their arms had recently experienced to the vengeance of the gods, on account of a deficiency in purifying the consecrated Isle of Delos, and urged them to expel thence all its unoffending inhabitants, and to appease heaven by solemn lustrations. The pious

design was executed; and the Delians, forced from their homes and possessions, found an asylum on the Æolian coast, through the charity of the Persian satrap Pharnaces. Cleon was now, however, attacked by a most potent weapon, directed by a masterly hand. Aristophanes dared to hold him up to ridicule, in the play of *The Knights*; in which, from the fears of the actors, the poet himself was obliged to perform the character intended for Cleon. The hazardous attempt was completely successful. Popular odium immediately fell on the object of this most caustic satire. His foes took advantage of the common feeling, to prefer a charge against him of secreting the public treasures, upon which he was convicted, and fined five talents. But the feebleness of his public opponent Nicias, and his own singular boldness, soon restored him to his wonted power. He caused all proposals tending to peace to be rejected, and a formidable expedition to be sent into Thrace, of which he himself should take the command. He accordingly sailed, with the flower of the Athenian youth, for the scene of action. On his first arrival, he succeeded, during the absence of Brasidas, in taking Torone by surprise. But he was far indeed from possessing ability to oppose the Spartan commander. The skill of Brasidas compelled him reluctantly to engage in a general battle near Amphipolis, in which he was defeated and slain. The victor fell mortally wounded in the action, and only lived to hear that his army was victorious. His death was not only a great disaster to Sparta, but also to all the Grecian republics. His personal bravery was only equalled by his skill and wisdom. The neglect of his country had no power even to chill his energies for her welfare. His humanity towards prisoners affords a refreshing contrast to the usual conduct of his own countrymen, and of their foes. All the Peloponnesian troops with their allies, under arms, attended his funeral. He was buried in Amphipolis, where the place of his sepulchre was ever regarded as sacred. A monument was erected over his ashes, and solemn honours were decreed to be every year paid to his memory.

The chief obstacle to peace was removed by the death of Cleon. Sparta was inclined to repose, by the loss of the ablest of her generals, and Athens by a series of reverses. Nicias, now left in possession of the chief influence among the Athenians, had the satisfaction of performing a task, in every way fitted to his disposition, in concluding a general treaty. By this arrangement, Sparta resigned Amphipolis without conditions, agreed that Acanthus, Stageirus, Scolus, Argilus, Sinctolus, and Olynthus, should be suffered to join in the Athenian league, and agreed to procure the restoration of Panæcius, which had been taken by the Bœotians. Athens consented to restore Pylus and the surrounding country, Cythera, Methone, Pteleum, and Atalanti to her rival. All prisoners were to be set at liberty without ransom. The garrison of Scione was to leave its fortress, and the people to be left to the mercy of the Athenians. Against these terms the Lacedæmonians, Corinthians, Eleans, and Megarenses protested, but they met with the concurrence of a majority of the allies of Sparta. The treaty was confirmed by solemn sacrifices, at which fifteen Lacedæmonians, and seventeen Athenians assisted. Columns were erected at Olympia, at Delphi, at the isthmus, in the citadel of Athens, and in the Amyclæum of Sparta, as monuments and pledges of the apparently felicitous union.

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A. C.

404.

Satirized by

Aristo-

phanes.

Fined.

Appointed to

command

Parasce.

Defeated.

and slain.

Death and

character of

Brasidas.

Battle of

Delium.

Truce.

Operations

in Thrace.

Cleon ad-
vises the
expulsion
of the Del-
ians.

History. But the treaty thus concluded was not likely to be lasting. While it gave satisfaction to the two great contending powers, it left the smaller states occasion for murmuring. The Corinthians, who had originally fomented the war, were indignant that it should be brought to such a conclusion. Their deputies, with others from the states of the late confederacy, who were still at Sparta, remonstrated against the conditions. These, flinching they had no hopes of altering the disposition of the Lacedæmonians, determined on soliciting the aid of Argos, which had once claimed the precedence in Greece by ancient privilege, and had been increasing its power and resources, in a state of peaceful neutrality, during the late contentions. The people of Elis and Mantinea, having each cause of complaint against Lacedæmon, also brought the Argives to grant them their alliance. They found abundant disposition in Argos to listen to their proposals. A league was speedily formed, in which Argos, Corinth, Mantinea, and Elis were the leading members. Meanwhile, jealousies were excited between Athens and Sparta, in consequence of the inability of the latter to fulfil the stipulations of the treaty. The garrison, after some hesitation, was withdrawn from Amphipolis; but the people of that city protested against the transfer. The Boeotians declined to restore Panactum, and when they, at length, agreed to evacuate its fortresses, destroyed them, and left them in ruins. Athens, on the other hand, insisted on holding Pylos, as a pledge for the performance of the still unexecuted conditions. At the earnest request of the Spartans, however, they consented to withdraw the Helots and Messenians from it, who were necessarily and peculiarly offensive to their neighbours, and suffered the Athenians alone to possess it. In taking possession of Scione, the citizens of Athens once more stained their reputations with a deed of horror, by sentencing all the men surrendered to their mercy, to the sword, and reducing women and children to the condition of slaves. On the other hand, conceiving that they had incurred the displeasure of heaven, by the expulsion of the Delians, they restored them all to their possessions.

Athenian confederacy. The new confederacy, of which Argos was at the head, opened up small field for intrigues throughout Greece. A change of administration at Sparta, by which the power was thrown into the hands of men favourable to the Corinthians and the other seceders, had nearly given the whole weight to the Lacedæmonians, and placed them at the head of their old confederates, with the important addition of the Argives. Although the refusal of the Boeotians, to conclude an alliance with Corinth, occasioned a delay in the prosecution of the scheme, it seemed approaching its completion, by the treaties which both Boeotia and Argos made with Sparta. But its accomplishment, which would have necessarily been destructive to the Athenian preponderance, was prevented by a great stroke of policy. The author of this important measure was Alcibiades, who had just appeared among the candidates for political renown and influence at Athens. (See *ALCIBIADES*.) He perceived that the Argives had altogether mistaken the real state of parties in making their hasty alliance with Lacedæmon, and that they might easily be awakened to a perception of their error. He knew that the prejudices of Argos must be more congenial with the Athenian, and the Lacedæmonian cause, because their government was not aristocratical, but popular, and they yet retained the memory

of their old friendship and connection with Athens. He had personal friends at Argos, whom he so effectually employed to promote his design, that deputies from that city, as well as from its allies, Mantinea and Elis, shortly arrived in Attica to negotiate a general league. Alarmed at this circumstance, the Lacedæmonians sent an embassy to Athens, to remonstrate against the measure, which would place their rival precisely in the situation they had aspired to occupy. The ambassadors were entrusted with full powers, and declared their commission to be thus extensive in their interview with the council. Alcibiades persuaded them to contradict themselves in the general assembly of the people, and to affirm that their instructions only allowed them to agree to certain specific conditions. He then turned against them the treachery he had prompted, and thus threw discredit on their mission, and the national character of their masters. Although an embassy was sent to Lacedæmon, on the advice of Nicias, in which that pacific negotiator was included, it returned without success, as the terms demanded by Athens could not be complied with by her rival. Alcibiades then succeeded in his utmost wish; an alliance was concluded with Argos and Elis for a hundred years; and Athens became the head of a confederacy, in which the leading states of the Peloponnesus itself were included.

This, as might have been expected, did not, however, occasion the renewal of direct hostilities between Athens and Sparta. The treaty between these states continued nominally in force, although, by both parties, it had been virtually broken. But war between the Lacedæmonians and the Argives soon arose in consequence of the recent league. A dispute between the people of Elis and Sparta, contributed to heighten the animosities which already existed. The people of Lepreum having refused to pay the accustomed tribute to the Eleans, appealed to Sparta, and were declared by the latter free, and protected by a Lacedæmonian force. This conduct the Eleans had never forgiven. They now, as presiding over the Olympian festival, accused the Spartans of adopting hostile proceedings after the conclusion of the armistice, and procured them to be entered in a fine of two thousand minæ. The Lacedæmonians refused either to pay the sum, or to restore Lepreum; and when the Eleans excluded them from partaking in the solemn games, of which they were the directors. A Spartan, however, named Leichas, being desirous of contending in the chariot race, caused a chariot to be entered on the lists, as belonging to the Boeotians, and, under this disguise, obtained one of the prizes. On this success, his vanity would not allow him to keep the secret, and he stepped forward to crown the victorious driver with a chaplet. His boldness was checked by a blow from one of the officers, who, in the execution of their duty, knew no distinction of persons. This insult passed unrevenged at the time, but it was not of a nature to be forgotten. Sparta, thus incited, was, at length, aroused to open war by the oppression of her faithful allies, the Epidaureans, whom the Argives, on the most frivolous pretences, had invaded. Her rulers felt the necessity of putting forth all the strength which they, or their allies, could bring into action. Agis, with a considerable force of citizens and Helots, took the field about the middle of the summer. He was joined by the Tegeans, by a large

Greece.
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3514.
—
B. C.
490.
to
A. M.
3600.
—
B. C.
404.

War between
Athens
and
Sparta.

History.

From
A. M.
3514.—
B. C.
490.
to
A. M.
3600.
—
B. C.
404.Truce be-
tween Argos
and Sparta.

force of Boeotians, by considerable bands from Corinth, and by a number of recruits from Sicyon, Epidaurus, Megara, and Pallene. The Argives were supported by the troops of their allies, the people of Mantinea and Elis.

The movements of Agis brought his adversaries into a situation, in which it appeared impossible that they should escape destruction. But from this peril, they were extricated by the bold determination of Thamyllus, and Alciphon, Argives of high rank, who went unattended to the tent of the Spartan king, and pledged themselves to induce their countrymen to join in the Spartan alliance. They succeeded in their mission; a truce for four months was proclaimed, and Agis retreated. So little, however, were the Argives aware of their danger, and so insensible were they consequently to the value of their deliverance, that they accused Thamyllus of treason, in having deprived them of a certain conquest over their foes. They confiscated his estate, and only spared his life from reverence for an altar, to which he had fled for protection. Soon after the retreat of the Spartans, a thousand Athenian infantry, and three hundred cavalry, under the command of Nicostratus and Laches, arrived at Argos. The aristocratic party would have dismissed them, but the partisans of democracy, urged by Alcibiades, and supported by the allies of Elis and Mantinea, prevailed in retaining them, and in procuring the recommencement of the war.

The conduct of Agis in permitting the foe to escape him, naturally drew on him the censures of the Spartans. They were on the point of condemning him to the payment of a heavy fine, and the destruction of his house, when he entreated the opportunity of effacing the stain cast on him, by agio leading the army. His request was granted, and he took the command; but, with the aid of ten councillors, without whose concurrence he was not to lead his troops beyond the Spartan boundaries. Meanwhile the allied forces moved against Orchomenus, where the hostages from the Arcadian cities of undoubted fidelity had been placed, took the city, and procured its union with their cause.

The Eleans now urged their march to recover Lepreum, but they preferred attempting to gain possession of Tegæa, which so offended the soldiers sent from Elis that they peaceably retired to their own city. Tegæa was soon protected by a force which rendered the design of the allies abortive, and the Spartan army advanced into the territory of the Mantinians.

Battle of
Mantinea.

The armies now encamped within sight of each other, the Argives occupying the most advantageous position. Hence Agis desired to draw them; and, for this purpose, diverted a stream which descended from the mountains so as to cause it to overflow the country. Believing, however, that they were resolved to maintain the situation they occupied, he was returning towards the hills, when he met them in order of battle. So admirable was the Lacedæmonian discipline, that his troops, although taken entirely by surprise, formed instantly, and almost instinctively, into the closest and most unbroken lines, and marched slowly on, in perfect phalanx, to the sound of their solemn but inspiring music. This firm and deliberate valour was successful. The Argive and allied forces were completely defeated, but the number of the slain was not great, from the prudence of Agis, who declined pursuing the foe, after

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he had ensured the victory. This brilliant success restored the Lacedæmonian character in Greece, and with it that power which character alone can bestow among an energetic and thinking people.

The immediate consequence of the battle of Mantinea, was the transference of the government of Argos, from the people to an oligarchy, and its defection from the alliance at Athens. A treaty was concluded between the Argives and Spartans, and the Mantinians soon after yielded to the victors. Thus all the hopes of Athens resulting from the new confederacy were destroyed, and her rival advanced in glory and in strength. But the chiefs of Lacedæmon were unequal to the improvement of their successes. A second revolution soon took place in Argos, which caused the restoration of the people to their rights, and the expulsion of the nobles. Alcibiades personally assisted in completing this change, yet the Spartans remained inactive. They also suffered the Athenians to invade and subdue their allies, the Melians, without offering them the least assistance. After the surrender of Melos, the Athenians, with more than savage cruelty, put to death all the men capable of bearing arms, and reduced the women and children to slavery.

While the Lacedæmonians remained thus torpid, the Athenians were elated with brilliant hopes of extended conquest, which proved eventually more injurious than any inactivity which might have paralyzed their energies. Dreams of the conquest of Sicily and even of yet more extended fields of glory and spoil, were now enticing them to their ruin. They had, in the course of the war, sent naval forces to aid the Leontines against the Syracuseans, but these expeditions had been planned with little interest, and attended with little success. The restless ambition, and high spirit of enterprize of Alcibiades, now incited by the magnificent idea of conquering Sicily, imparted a new feeling to his fellow citizens. An application from the people of Eggesta, against the Salustines and Syracuseans, was the immediate occasion of the splendid and fatal visitus with which the Athenians were deluded. The Eggestans sent an embassy to Athens representing themselves possessed of the most ample treasures to defray the expenses of warfare. To ascertain the truth of this declaration, ambassadors were sent to Eggesta, who returned with sixty talents in silver, and the most brilliant tales concerning the wealth which they had inspected. In vain did Nicias remonstrate; the expedition was resolved on; sixty galleys were ordered to be made ready; and the command was entrusted to Nicias, Alcibiades, and Lamachus. (See *ALCIBIADES*.)

About Midsummer, the immense preparations were completed. When all was prepared for sailing, solemn prayers were offered to the gods for success, the navigators to every ship poured libations into the sea, and drank to the felicitous issue of the enterprize out of golden cups, and the navy majestically moved from the shore to the sound of the psalm.

The fleet first sailed for Corecra, and was joined by vessels from the allies. The whole navy consisted of a hundred and thirty-four trireme gallees, of which a hundred were Athenian, and the remainder contributed by the people of the minor states, chiefly by the Chians. After the commanders had been refused admittance into several ports, they were allowed a market at Rhegium, though not admitted within the city. Meanwhile

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B. C.
404.Conse-
quence of
the battle.The Sicilian
expedition
projected.Departure
of the fleet
for Sicily.Movement
of the fleet.

History.

From
A. M.
3514.—
B. C.
490.
to
A. M.
3600.
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B. C.
404.Alcibiades
ordered
home.Feeble con-
duct of
Nicias.

they received the report of commissioners, whom they had sent to ascertain the true amount of the hoarded treasures of Eggesta, whose answer destroyed all the golden dreams which had been entertained respecting its resources. On finding that the people of Athens had been deceived by the allies, to whose succour they had sent out their armament, the commanders entertained different notions respecting the proper measures to be taken. Nicias proposed that they should relieve Eggesta and return; Lamachus, that they should sail at once to Syracuse, and make an immediate attempt against that city; and Alcibiades, adopting a middle course, urged the propriety of endeavouring to attach the Sicilian states to their cause by negotiation, excepting those whom they were immediately sent to oppose, and that, afterwards, they should direct their arms against the Syracusan power. The last advice was followed; and the generals succeeded in procuring the alliance of Naxos and Catana, and the liberty of purchasing supplies from the Messenians. On a message from Camarina, that the people of that city were ready to unite with the Athenians, the fleet sailed thither; but the chiefs, finding the invitation to have been prematurely made, returned to Catana, their former position. Here they found the Salaminian galley, bearing an order for the immediate return of Alcibiades, and other officers, to answer charges which had, before their departure, been advanced against them. This order they obeyed; but Alcibiades found means to escape at Thurium. On the arrival of the Salaminian vessel, he was condemned to death in his absence.

It soon became manifest, that the only chief really suited to the conduct of the expedition, was removed from it. Feebleness and irresolution marked the steps taken by Nicias and his remaining colleague. The season of action was wasted in a fruitless negotiation with Himera, the capture of Hyccara, and the seizure of a great number of defenceless Sicels. As the people of Eggesta were unable to fulfil their promises of pecuniary aid, Nicias raised a large sum by the sale of his unhappy captives, among whom was a girl named Laïs, said to have been the person afterwards so famed for her seductive attractions.

On the approach of winter, however, the Athenian commanders seem to have been roused to a degree of energy, of which they had hitherto displayed no symptoms. They resolved to invest Syracuse; and, having by false intelligence thrown its citizens off their guard, sailed from their station, and seized on a post of great advantage in the vicinity of the capital. This movement excited no small alarm in the minds of the Syracusans, who perceived that the great strength of the position occupied by their foes, precluded all hope of carrying it by storm. The next day, the Athenians drew out in order of battle, and succeeded in compelling the Syracusans to take refuge within their walls. But Nicias and Lamachus were not prepared to take any vigorous measures for improving their successes. They left their position, sailed quietly to Catana, laid up the fleet, and dispersed the army in winter quarters.

Measures of
the Syra-
cusans.

During the interval which the winter afforded, the people of Syracuse took the most prudent measures for averting the dangers of the expected siege. Happily for them, Hermocrates, a man of great ability and patriotism, was the chief director of their councils. He renewed their confidence in their own energies,

which the late defeat had shaken. Chosen commander in chief, with two colleagues, he proceeded to extend the fortifications of the city, and to place garrisons in the forts in its neighbourhood, which might prevent it from being surrounded. He next endeavoured to win over or secure allies to the Syracusan cause, and succeeded in obtaining from the apparently hostile people of Camarina, a promise that they would remain neutral. But his chief measure was the appointment of an embassy to Greece, to solicit aid from the foes of Athens.

His deputies first proceeded to Corinth, by the citizens of which place Syracuse had been originally founded. Here they experienced a most favourable reception, arising not only from regard to Sicily, but from that inveterate enmity to Athens, which the Corinthians had never ceased to cherish. Ambassadors were appointed to accompany them to Sparta, and add weight to their requests for aid, before the Lacedæmonian senate. Happily for their mission, they found Alcibiades, who had been received with cordiality at Lacedæmon, ready to support them with all his information, and all his eloquence. Endowed with consummate abilities, acquainted with all the strengths and weaknesses of the Athenian people, and necessarily possessed of the most extensive and accurate knowledge respecting the plans and the resources of the expedition of which he had been the chief adviser, he was able to decide the hesitating councils of the Spartan magistrates. They consented to send Gylippus to command the troops which Corinth could supply, though they declined furnishing either men or treasures. They also resolved to fortify Decelæa, and to renew the war with Athens.

Meanwhile the Athenian commanders in Sicily prepared for the intended siege. Finding the mountaineers ready to revolt against Syracuse, they engaged them in their cause, and obtained from them money and provisions. They procured horses to afford them cavalry, of which they were greatly in need. Stone, iron, and other materials, they also succeeded in collecting. Early in the spring, they moved their forces, gained the advantage in a skirmish, took the town of Centoripa, and ravaged the surrounding regions. On returning from Catana, they found reinforcements and supplies from Athens, consisting of two hundred and fifty horse soldiers, three hundred talents in silver, and a considerable quantity of military stores. On receiving these, they determined immediately to sail for Syracuse.

The first measures of the Athenian generals were taken with great judgment, and prosecuted with great success. They landed at Leon, near Syracuse, and took possession of the hill Epipolæ, commanding the city, before the enemy knew that they had left their position at Catana. Immediately, however, on observing that the forces had attained the height, the Syracusans attacked them with great vigour, but were soon repulsed by the steady discipline of the Athenians, and forced to retreat within the city. The next day, the citizens declined renewing the combat. Their foes improved the occasion by fortifying the height of Labdulum among the steep slopes of the mountain, and commencing the contravallation of the city. This they succeeded in completing on the northern side, having repelled another attempt of the Syracusans to impede them. On the southern side, Hermocrates carried out

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404.Prepara-
tions for the
siege of
Syracuse.Con-
sequence of
the siege
of Syra-
cuse.

History.

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B. C.

490.

to

A. M.

3600.

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404.

Desper-
den-
cy at
Syracuse.Arrival of
Gongylus
and Gylip-
pus.

a work from the wall, to break the line, but it was shortly after surprised by the Athenians, and its garrison forced to retire. Another work erected with the same design occasioned a fierce contest, in which Lamachus was killed, and Epipolæ would have been taken, had not Nicias, who was afflicted with sickness, ordered fire to be set to the outworks, and thus checked the progress of the enterprising troops. After this engagement, the Athenians were permitted to continue their circumvallation for some time without further resistance.

Every thing seemed now conspiring to favour the Athenian arms. Despair crushed the energies, and faction divided the resources, of the people of Syracuse. Many of the cities of Sicily, believing the Athenians must succeed, came to offer them their alliance. Repented propositions were made in the public assemblies of the Syracusans for a capitulation to their besiegers. While affairs were in this critical situation, Gongylus, a Corinthian commander, arrived in the harbour, and revived the almost expiring hopes of the people, by assurances of immediate support from Lacedæmon and Corinth. Nicias, meanwhile, remained in a singular state of inaction. Gylippus, who now arrived in the neighbourhood with 5,000 soldiers, was actually suffered to pass Epipolæ by the same road through which the Athenians themselves had attained its summit. The lately dispirited people of Syracuse went out to meet and welcome him, and escorted him into the town without the least opposition from their foes. Willing to show his confidence of success, he sent a herald to the Athenians, with a message, that if they would quit Sicily, he would allow them a truce of five days for their peaceable departure. To this bold intimation no reply was given, nor was any attempt made to show, by action, the futility of the defiance. The Spartan general was allowed to choose his own position, and pitched his camp in the quarter of Tementes, on an elevation suited to his plan of warfare.

The next day Gylippus drew up his troops in order of battle before the works of Nicias. Perceiving that general still passive, he sent a detachment, which took possession of Epipolæ, and destroyed the Athenian garrison. After this, Nicias appeared to stand on the defensive, and erected three forts near the southern entrance of the great harbour, for the protection of his forces. Two actions soon ensued, in the first of which he gained the advantage, but in the second was compelled to retire. He was about the same time dispirited by the arrival of the squadron of Spartan and Corinthian ships, and the capture of an Athenian galley at the mouth of the harbour. So completely, indeed, were affairs changed since the appearance of Gylippus, that Nicias sent home a letter to Athens, in which, after stating the difficulties of his situation, he implored that he might be allowed to resign the command, and impressed on the people that either the forces must be recalled, or increased to double their number. This remonstrance, as far as it related to the recall of Nicias, or the troops, was in vain. The Athenians could not endure the frustration of hopes which they had cherished with so great an ardour. They commanded Nicias to remain with Menander and Euthydemus, as his colleagues, sent Eurymedon with ten vessels, and twenty talents of silver, to reinforce

him, and prepared to dispatch Demosthenes for the same purpose, with larger succours.

But while Demosthenes was on his voyage, the Athenians in Sicily were suffering a continuance of reverses. Gylippus took the bold measure of causing an attack to be made on the Athenian fleet, while he led the infantry towards the three forts occupied by the army on the southern side of the harbour. In the naval action which ensued, the Syracusans were beaten, after a hard contest; but, while the troops of Nicias were drawn to the shores to assist the fleet, Gylippus took their three fortresses, almost without experiencing resistance. Thus large quantities of stores, ammunition, magazines, masts of vessels, and three ships laid upon the shore, fell into his hands. He demolished one of the fortresses, placed garrisons in the other two of them, and drew up a squadron near them, by which the supplies would be prevented from reaching the Athenian camp. New allies were induced, by the successes of the people of Syracuse, to assist them with money, recruits, and arms. Agatharchus forced his way through the harbour with ten vessels, one of which he dispatched to the Peloponnesus, and with the remainder intercepted store-ships and transports, which were proceeding to relaunch the Athenians. And Gylippus, hoping to strike a decisive blow before Demosthenes could arrive, made preparations for another attack on the hitherto victorious navy.

When the fleet was ready for action, the Spartan commander drew out his land-forces, and made a feigned attack on the Athenian lines, by which he diverted the attention of the generals from the scene where his real operations were commencing.

At the period agreed on, the fleet of the Syracusans, consisting of eighty vessels, moved towards the naval station of their foes, who hastily manned seventy-five galleys to resist them. An obstinate contest ensued, in which neither party gained a decisive advantage, but two Athenian vessels were destroyed. The event of this doubtful engagement was exceedingly dispiriting to the Athenians, who had long been accustomed to know no rivals on the ocean. Instead of meditating conquest, they sought to provide for the security of their marine, by a kind of naval fortification, consisting of a line of merchant-vessels, bearing instruments of great weight, which might sink any hostile ship attempting to pass them. The day after the battle was occupied by these preparations, which the Syracusans did not impede. On the following morning, the engagement was renewed, and continued for a long time with dubious success. At length the Syracusans retreated in good order, and the Athenians retired, little expecting a renewal of the contest. But the troops of Gylippus, having taken a hasty refreshment, prepared for them, returned to the ships, sailed forward, attacked their foes while wholly unprepared for combat, and compelled them to retire with loss behind their floating fortresses.

While the hearts of the Athenians were sinking within them on these repeated misfortunes, Demosthenes and Eurymedon arrived with a force calculated once more to inspire them with confidence of victory. They saw with joy seventy-three galleys majestically entering the port, with five thousand heavy armed troops and light armed infantry and slaves, which swelled the total number to nearly twenty thousand soldiers. The sight

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Naval en-
gagement.Arrival of
Demosthe-
nes with
succours.

History. of this new force, so fresh and so vigorous, struck the Syracusans with terror. To them the resources of Athens, which could equip a second armament thus noble, seemed boundless. The effort was, indeed, nation-ising under the present circumstances of Athens. By the fortifications of Decelia, the whole of Attica was overruled, and the Spartans enabled to ravage its fields. The city was almost in a state of siege; it was changed from an imperial commonwealth to a secessitous garrison. And yet such was its power, such the magic of its name among the allies, that it was enabled to raise, as by enchantment, one of the greatest fleets which ever left the Grecian shores; and such was still the spirit of enterprise in its people, that they chose to employ this mighty force in a scheme of distant conquest, hitherto unsuccessful, rather than to use it against their domestic invaders.

Attack on Epipolæ.

On the arrival of Demosthenes, the generals resolved to attack Epipolæ, the possession of which, by the foe, was a great obstacle to the progress of the siege. As, however, the place was exceedingly strong, as well from the advantages of its natural position as its fortifications, there seemed little hope of effecting its capture, unless by surprise. At the hour of repose, the army was set in motion, seized one of the out-works, and advanced to the second line of fortresses. But the garrison was now alarmed, and the troops under Gylippus advanced to oppose the progress of their foes. Still the Athenians proceeded with great vigor, climbing the steep, and repulsing the Syracusans, till they were met by a body of Boeotians, who firmly opposed them, and increased the confusion, which, from the declivity and the unevenness of the ground, had already prevailed through the ranks. Dreadful carnage ensued; the moon gave on uncertain light, which only served to confuse the Athenians; in their ignorance they fell on each other, and, in their disunion, suffered their watch-word to be learned by their enemies. Broken, fatigued, and bewildered, they endeavoured to retreat, but the flight was attended with a series of disasters. Many perished amidst the rocks, dashed to pieces in falling from the heights; many were killed by the enemy in the steep and narrow roads; and those who escaped to the woods were found and cut to pieces. The Athenians lost two thousand soldiers, whose bodies were, the next day, given to them, on the usual request of the defeated.

Determination of the Athenians to retire.

On this sad and unexpected disappointment, Demosthenes proposed the immediate return of the forces to Athens. But Nicias, who had secret negotiations with a party friendly to his cause within the walls of Syracuse, at first earnestly pressed the continuance of the siege. At length, finding that the troops were wasting away with sickness, and that Gylippus was receiving new succours, he assented to the proposals for retreating. Measures for this purpose were taken with the secrecy requisite for their success; but an eclipse of the moon prevented the embarkation, for which all the preparations were completed. The augurs being consulted as to the import of the phenomenon, declared that it indicated the will of the gods that the fleet should not sail until three times nine days were past. On this, Nicias, superstitious as he was just, refused to consent to any removal until that period should be concluded.

The design of retiring, of which the execution was

thus delayed, was most injurious to the Athenians. It inspired the Syracusans with additional boldness. They resolved to prevent the retreat of the enemy, and, if possible, by the signal destruction of the fleet, to crush the means of any future invasion. They accordingly set both their land and naval forces in motion, and compelled the Athenian fleet to meet their navy. They were inferior to their adversaries by ten galleies in the number of ships; but taking advantage of the extension of the Athenian line, by which Eurymedon hoped to surround them, they broke through the centre, and defeated the armament after a fierce contest, in which Eurymedon fell. But a detachment of the land forces, sent by Gylippus to prevent the landing of the crews of such Athenian vessels as were driven beyond the range of the fortresses, were met by part of the infantry of Athens, and compelled to retreat, after considerable slaughter. This advantage was, however, a very inadequate compensation for the naval defeat which the late masters of the seas, with superior numbers, had been compelled to endure.

Want of provisions now began to occasion great distress among the Athenian forces. It was, therefore, determined to attempt a withdrawal of the armament, with whatever risk it might be attended. When the mariners had embarked, the generals, Demosthenes, Menander, and Euthydemus, led on the navy to force a passage through the entrance of the harbour. They had succeeded in taking the vessels which blockaded the port, and proceeded to unmoor them, when the Syracusan fleet advanced in order of battle. A terrible combat now ensued, in which the Syracusans obtained a decisive victory, and such was the despondency of the Athenians, that when Demosthenes and Nicias proposed that they should all embark on board their remaining vessels, which were still superior in number to the Syracusan fleet, they refused, offering to pursue any course by land, but alleging, that as they were fated to destruction. The time seemed favourable for this object, since it was the eve of the festival of Hercules, when no persuasions could induce the Syracusans to march. But the opportunity was lost through a stratagem of Hermocrates, who sent one of his emissaries, under pretence of friendship, to the Athenians, to advise Nicias not to move that night, as the Syracusans occupied the passes, and lay in ambush to destroy him. He believed the intelligence, and remained that night and the next day taking measures for retreating. While he thus delayed, Hermocrates and Gylippus burnt the whole of the Athenian fleet, seized the passes of the country in those directions which they conceived Nicias would pursue, guarded all the paths through the mountains, broke down bridges, and spread cavalry over the plain, so that there could be no passage without a combat. On the third day the march commenced, in agony and despair. No sooner did the soldiers move, than all the slaves and attendants deserted, so that they were reduced to the necessity of carrying their own baggage and provisions. The retreat resembled the flight of a city from a besieging army. Nicias, greiter in adversity than ever he had been in prosperous fortune, still strove to animate the soldiers with a prospect of their yet becoming the deliverers of Athens from its dangers, and the restorers of its glory now so unfortunately shodded. The Athenians marched in two divisions, with the baggage in the centre, Nicias

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B. C. 404.

Distress of the Athenians.

Attempt to escape, and naval defeat.

Retreat from Syracuse.

History. commanding the van, and Demosthenes the rear. They were so harassed by the enemy from the rear, who did not dare to come to a general engagement, and found so many obstacles in front to their advance, that their progress was exceedingly slow, and every day added to their distresses. They now resolved to change the direction of their march; and, instead of attempting further to reach the Sicel territory, by the direct and mountainous road, to proceed near the coasts, by Gela and Camarina, through a more circuitous and more level road. The change was effected in the night, and in the movement, the division commanded by Demosthenes was separated from that under Nicias. The former troop being unable to reach their comrades, marched till they came to the brook Erineus, where they were overtaken by the Sicilian cavalry. Demosthenes anxious to engage, changed his line of march so as to gain the best ground for annoyance. On perceiving this, the Syracusean horsemen stopped to give time for the infantry to come up, and the Athenians were surrounded. After defending themselves with great bravery, they were reduced by losses, hunger, and despair, to surrender, on the mere condition that their lives should be spared; and were, to the number of six thousand, conducted to Syracuse.

Meanwhile, Nicias crossed the Erineus, and encamped on an elevated position beyond it. Here he was informed, by some of the enemy's horse, who called to him to surrender, of the fate of his colleague, which at first he refused to believe, but soon ascertained beyond question, through a messenger whom he was permitted to send to make inquiry. On the confirmation of the melancholy tidings, he offered to pay the Syracuseans all the expenses of the war, if the troops under his command might be allowed to quit Sicily in safety. The Sicilians having rejected this offer, surrounded Nicias, but declined coming to a close engagement, and continued dreadfully to harass his troops with missile weapons. Thirst and hunger compelled him to make an effort to escape, and at midnight he began silently to withdraw his forces. But the enemy discovered his intention, and rushed to arms. He then with his forces, excepting three hundred, who broke through their foes, but were afterwards taken, remained in the camp till the dawn, when once more he endeavoured to proceed, and gained the banks of the river Assinarus, which there ran through a steep and rocky channel. Extreme thirst maddened his troops—they forgot their discipline—rushed down to the stream, and, while death pressed on them from behind, drank of the waters with a ferocious eagerness. Meanwhile the light-armed Syracusean troops gained the opposite bank, and thus surrounded the miserable Athenians in the craggy bed of the river. Numbers were slain while fighting with desperate valour, or drinking the bloody stream, half choked with the bodies of their fellows. At length, seeing all further resistance absolutely hopeless, Nicias surrendered himself to Glyippus, and his surviving troops were made prisoners.

Fate of the The two Athenian generals now experienced the atrocious revenge of the Syracuseans, drunk with rage and with victory. They solemnly decreed the death of Nicias and Demosthenes, who fell immediately by the hands of the public executioner. There is every reason to hope, that this cruel and perfidious act was sanctioned neither by Hermocrates, nor Gly-

lippus, although, in the time of the great contemporary historian of the Athenian calamities in Sicily, the real circumstances of the dreadful catastrophe were unknown at Athens. The fate of those of the soldiers taken, who were public property, was more dreadful, because their misery was of longer duration. The slaves were sold by auction, the freemen confined to a quarry in the hill Epipolæ, without shelter from the burning sun, or the chilling air of the night, and with food scarcely sufficient to protract a wretched breathing time in this their living grave. Those who died were left to putrify amidst their still existing comrades. The islanders who survived, were, after seventy days of horror, indulged by being sold to private masters. The fate of the residue of the Athenians is doubtful. Some of the captives who became the property of individuals, met with a gentler destiny. They are said to have conciliated kindness by their ability to repeat the verses of Euripides, whose soft, flowing, and tender strains were better calculated to win a Sicilian, than the more austere and majestic works of his nobler rivals. This tale affords the only gleam of humanity to be discerned amidst the complicated horrors with which all narratives of the expedition to Sicily are crowded.

The intelligence of these dreadful calamities was not credited when it first reached Athens. The person who accidentally heard, and dared to repeat it, was punished by tortures. It was only by degrees that the astonished citizens learned the full extent of their misfortune. Grief, rage, and terror, alternately agitated their bosoms. At length, their passionate feelings had subsided, and they began to seek consolation from despair. They retraced their public expenses, strove to renew their navy, and appointed a council of elders to examine all measures before they should be proposed in the popular assembly. But no prudence or wisdom could prevent the dependent states of Athens from revolting from her in her change of fortunes. A part of the Lesbians and Eubœans offered their services to Sparta, and the former obtained aid to accomplish the revolution desired by their chiefs. It soon became evident, that the Athenian power had been withered for ever in one mighty and vain exertion. The naval force which had acquired complete dominion over the sea, was totally destroyed; and the Peloponnesian fleets now sailed round every coast without a rival. The flower of the Athenian youth had perished; the high feeling of invincibility was for ever chilled; and, though some gleams of prosperity yet remained for Athens, her glories, as the imperial republic of Greece, had vanished for ever.

The Grecian cities in Asia, which had been hitherto tributary to Athens, now manifested strong symptoms of a desire to throw off the yoke. Mutual interests consequently united the Lacedæmonians and Tissaphernes, the satrap of Sardis, in an alliance most dangerous to the existence of Athens. But while revolt seemed spreading in every direction, and danger threatened the Athenians from every side, the state of their affairs was greatly changed by the decline of the power of Alcibiades in Sparta, the shameful order of the Lacedæmonians for his murder, and his retreat to the court of Tissaphernes, to which these occurrences speedily led. From this period, Alcibiades appears to have been uniform in his exertions in behalf of the Athenian cause. For the present, he persuaded Tissa-

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490.
to
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Reception
of the news
at Athens.

Interference
of the
Tissaphernes
in the
affairs of
Greece, and
return of
Alcibiades.

phernes to temporize, to decline effecting the ruin of Athens, and to relax in his efforts to serve the Peloponnesian cause. His intrigues, at length, effected his recall, after an oligarchy had obtained, the direction of the government of Athens, and had been expelled thence by popular champions. Before his return, he once more raised the character, and, in some degree, restored the naval superiority of Athens, by a series of most brilliant successes. We refer our readers to his life, for a more minute detail of the occurrences of Grecian history, in which he was the principal actor.

While Alcibiades was raising the fame of the Athenian arms by repeated victories, the Lacedæmonians gained a great advantage by a fresh negotiation with Persia. Artaxerxes, advancing in years, resolved to commit the chief administration of the provinces, bordering on the Grecian seas, to his son Cyrus. Before the youthful prince left the capital, to execute the trust thus committed to him, ambassadors who were at the court of his father from Sparta, obtained his ear, and completely won him to favour their cause.

He came, therefore, to Sardinia, with prepossessions friendly to Lacedæmon, and hostile to the Athenians. At the time of his arrival, the commander of the Spartan fleet for the year, was one exactly calculated to confirm the impressions of an oriental prince, Lysander was bold, yet crafty; proud, yet cringing; valiant, yet luxurious; equally fitted to solicit or to command, to labour or to enjoy. He immediately visited the prince, and experienced a most gracious reception. Through his means a treaty was concluded with Persia, by which the king stipulated that he would allow thirty Attic mna for the pay of every galley engaged in the war against Athens. Defeated in his endeavours to procure a much larger allowance, Lysander took a favourable occasion after supper, on his royal host making use of liberal expressions towards him, to request that an obolus a day should be added to each seaman's wages. His desire was readily granted, and not only gave high satisfaction to the marines, but was calculated to occasion large desertions from the Athenian fleet when opportunity should offer.

These circumstances were unknown at Athens when Alcibiades sailed from the Piræus. His force consisted of fifteen hundred heavy armed infantry, a hundred and fifty horse, and a hundred triremic gallees. After defeating the Andrians, but leaving their city as too strong to be reduced, he sailed for Samos, where news of Lysander's success excited in his mind considerable alarm. He dreaded the effects of Persian gold, not of Persian arms. Distressed for money, he left the fleet in order to raise it, leaving strict orders with Antiochus, the second in command, that he should not engage in his absence. These directions were disobeyed; Antiochus defeated Lysander, and was defeated near the head land of Notium. This victory of the Spartans, of no great importance in itself, was, in the highest degree, injurious to Athens, by directing popular fury against her ablest, and now most devoted, chieftain. Alcibiades was superseded, and ten generals, with Conon at their head, were appointed to the command of the naval and military forces of the republic.

Conon, who was engaged in prosecuting the siege of Andros, was immediately directed to hasten to

Samos, and take the command of the fleet. Finding, on his arrival, that the forces under his direction were not animated by a spirit which could encourage him to seek a battle; he divided the navy into squadrons, with which he collected contributions, and made prizes. But Callieratidas, who, according to the rule now adopted by the Spartans, that no one should remain more than a year in the command, had superseded Lysander, resolved to prevent the mischief with which this mode of warfare was attended. After taking Methymne, in Lesbos, he pursued the Athenian fleet to Mitylene, took or destroyed thirty gallees, and compelled the remainder to seek refuge beneath the fortresses. Here he besieged Conon by sea, while the Lacedæmonian infantry invested Mitylene by land. But the Athenian commander, though closely blockaded, found means to send a vessel home with intelligence of his perilous condition. The people of Athens immediately prepared to relieve him, with a vigour astonishing, after their repeated losses. They equipped and manned a hundred and ten gallees, on board which, not only the citizens, capable of bearing arms, but even men of the dignity of knights, who had always been exempt from naval service, were collected. Meanwhile the situation of Conon became more alarming. Dionedon, another of the ten officers lately appointed, while coming to his assistance with twelve ships, was intercepted, and ten of his vessels taken. The fleet before Mitylene became also greatly distressed for want of provisions, as no supplies could reach it. But while all things seemed to promise Callieratidas an easy triumph, he received intelligence that a large Athenian armament was approaching. Detaching, therefore, fifty ships to continue the blockade, under Etonicus, he sailed with a hundred and twenty to meet the more formidable enemy. He came up with the fleet, which was commanded by the colleagues of Conon, among the islands of Arginusæ, near Lesbos, and, failing in an attempt to surprise it, he soon found that his numbers were superior to his own. Hermon, the master of his vessel, advised him not to risk an engagement under such a disadvantage; but he replied, in a truly Læconic spirit, "Sparta will not miss me if I fall, but my flight must disgrace her." The contest was long and obstinate, both while the fleets preserved their order, and after the line, on both sides, had been broken. At length, the galley of Callieratidas, striking with its beak an Athenian vessel, he fell overboard at the shock, and perished in the water. By his fall the event of the engagement was decided. The Peloponnesians fled in disorder, lost seventy of their ships, and left their foes in possession of a victory, purchased by the loss of many soldiers, and thirty-five gallees.

After this brilliant, though hardly-won success, it was determined that the great body of the fleet, with all the generals, should sail to the relief of Conon, while Thimystulus and Thieramenes, who in this expedition served only as the captains of single gallees, should be left with forty-six ships, to succour those who had been wrecked or wounded in the recent contest. But a storm arose, which compelled the whole armament to seek shelter among the islands; and thus the citizens, who had been cast on the seas, were left to perish. During the delay thus occasioned, news reached Etonicus of the defeat of his comrades,

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B. C.

490.

to

A. M.

3500.

B. C.

404.

Spartan negotiations with Cyrus.

Ill success of the Athenian fleet.

Naval operations under Conon.

Relief of Conon.

History.

upon which he instantly decided on escaping. He directed the soldiers who brought the tidings, to sail back, and, in the morning, to return, wearing chaplets as though they brought ovens of victory. This being done, he assembled his troops, offered sacrifice, and while he deluded his foes with the belief that he was celebrating a conquest over their friends, he ordered preparations for his departure. When all was ready, he set sail with a favourable wind, reached Chios, and led his infantry to Methymne. Thus Conon found himself unexpectedly relieved, and was soon after joined by his victorious countrymen.

Accusation
of the victor-
ious gen-
erals at
Athens.

Two of the generals only who had commanded in the battle of Arginusæ, Aristogeus and Pholomachus, remained with Conon, who took his station at Samos, while the remaining six, Aristocrates, Diomedon, Erasimides, Lysias, Pericles, and Thrasyllus, returned to Athens. There they met with a reception very different indeed from that which their success had led them to anticipate. A previous decree had deprived them of their offices. They were accused by Theramenes before the council, of having neglected to take measures for the safety of the crews, wrecked during the late battle, and thrown into prison. They were not allowed the privilege of making a full defence, but only permitted briefly to address the people. They then asserted that they were engaged in the important duty of pursuing the foe, but that they had been far from neglecting measures for the preservation of their fellow-citizens. This charge they had committed to two most competent officers, one of whom now appeared as their accuser. If any neglect had arisen, then, they might not only remove it from themselves, but retort it on their adversary; but they had no wish to throw blame on any one, as they well knew the violence of the storm precluded all efficient exertion. Moved, or rather, convinced by these statements, the majority voted for acquitting the generals; but the party against them proposed to adjourn the assembly, on the pretence that it was growing too dark to distinguish the hands held up on either side, and then, with the inconsistency of passion, made a proposition of their own, that the council should consider and decide on the manner in which the trial should be conducted. This proposal, which really gave to the council a power of dispensing with all the constitutional forms, was hastily carried without a division.

The members of the council, thus invested almost with the power of determining the fate of the accused, were instigated by Callixenus, one of their bitterest foes, to determine that the people should ballot by wards for their destiny. In the mean time, a number of persons, habited in mourning, were directed to traverse the city as the relatives of those who were wrecked at Arginusæ, imploring vengeance. But the friends of the generals, and especially Euryptolemus, earnestly protested against the mode of trial proposed, as illegal. Overborne by clamour, they, however, thought it prudent to give up this point to their foes, and entreated the people to allow each individual a separate trial, and a day to prepare for his defence. This modest request was denied; the proposition of Callixenus, after some doubt as to the majority, was carried, and the people proceeded to the ballot. The judgment thus obtained was for death; the eight commanders were sentenced; and the six who were

then at Athens led to execution. As Diomedon was conducted to the place where he was to suffer, he addressed the crowd in the most heroic, yet mourning terms. "I wish, Athenians," said he, "that the judgment which you have passed on us may not prove the source of affliction to the commonwealth! We have one favour to beg of you, that you will perform for us, in the temples, the vows which we made before the battle, on our behalf and your's, to the gods who honoured us with victory." No word of resentment or complaint escaped the noble sufferers. Yet were they terribly avenged. In their death, faction the most wretched had been triumphant, and all order, justice, and dignified virtue forsook the Athenian councils. Athens, her honour sunk, and liberties profaned, hastened, even amidst victory, to her ruin.

The allies now earnestly requested of the Spartan rulers, that Lysander should be sent to command them. With this desire, the magistrates complied in effect; but chose to adhere to the terms of their law, by which the same individual was never eligible a second time to command the navy. They sent out Archus as nominal commander in chief, and Lysander as vice admiral. This able chief hastened to Ephesus, in the beginning of the winter, and exerted all his energies to equip a fleet which might be able to cope with that of Athens. At Sardis he was again received with great kindness by Cyrus, who furnished him with ample supplies of money for the payment of his troops, and manifested the warmest interest in his success. Thus assisted, he soon raised his fleet to an equality with that of the foe, but chose rather to direct his arms against the Athenian dependencies, than to risk a general combat. He took Cudræa, a city on the coast of Caria, and gave it up to be plundered by his soldiers. Thence passing along the Asiatic shore of the Hellespont, he attacked Lampacus by sea and land, and became master of the city. Meanwhile the Athenians, struck with some remorse for the murder of their commanders, compelled Callixenus and his friends to fly from the city. They committed the charge of their fleet to six chiefs: Menander, Tydeus, Cephalodotus, Adeimantus, Philocles, and Conon. These, with the whole armament, went in pursuit of the Peloponnesian fleet, and finding that it lay at Lampacus, took their station at Aigospotamos, near the opposite shore of the Hellespont, the width of which did not there exceed two miles.

The Athenian commanders were anxious immediately to give battle to Lysander. But that politic general, though he ranged his ships in proper order, and drew up his land forces on the shore, did not think proper to engage. He soon learned that the fleet returned, after offering him battle in the morning in disorder, and that the troops afterwards were dispersed in quest of provisions, or amusement on the shore. Three days he suffered them to defy him, that their insolence and security might increase, while he prepared for their destruction. At this crisis, Alcibiades, perceiving the danger of his countrymen, made one effort more to save them. He hastened to their naval camp from his Thurian residence, exposed the perils they were incurring, entreated the commanders to change their measures, and even offered to co-operate with them, at the head of a band of Thuriacs. But they scornfully rejected his admonitions and his offers, and forced him to leave them to

Greece.

From
A. M.
8514.
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B. C.
490.
to
A. M.
3600.
—
B. C.
404.

Battle of
Aigospo-
tamos.

History.

From
A. M.
3514.

—

B. C.

490.

to

A. M.

3600.

—

B. C.

404.

their destiny. This was not far distant. On the fifth day, when they had retired as usual, and the troops were dispersed on the shores, Lysander suddenly attacked the fleet, when wholly unprepared, and seized every vessel almost without resistance, excepting nine gallees, with which Conon fled. Thus nearly the whole naval force of Athens, consisting of a hundred and seventy ships, fell at a single blow into the hands of the Spartans. Troops, amounting to three thousand, and all the generals, except Conon, were made prisoners. These, dreadful to relate, were all, with the exception of Adimantus, put to immediate death, under pretence of retaliation for the fate of the crews of two vessels, from Andros and Corinth, whom Philoetes had ordered to be cast down a precipice. It was also urged by the advocates of this horrible massacre, that the Athenian commanders had, with the exception of Adimantus, agreed on reaching the Hellespont, to cut off the right hand of any prisoner whom they might secure. On Philoetes being asked what he could urge in his defence, he replied, "Ask not those for a defence who have no judges; use the right conquest has given you, and dispose of us as we would have done of you had we been the victors." Meanwhile Conon escaped to Cyprus where he was hospitably received by Evagoras, the monarch of Salamis.

Miserable
condition of
Athens.

The whole residue of the Athenian power was thus in one day destroyed. Athens had exhausted all her resources in sending out the noble armament, which was now added to the trophies, and the naval strength of her foes. Still the state in its despair, preserved something of a lofty attitude. As a siege by sea and land was expected, preparations were made to endure it. All the ports but one were blocked up, the gates barricaded, and guards mounted on the walls. While Lysander was making triumphant progress, receiving the submission of states now eager to hail the victors, Pausanias, son of the unfortunate Spartan of that name, entered Attica, and joined by Agis from Decelæ, fixed his head quarters in the gymnasium of the academy, near the city. The people, thus blockaded, became, in a short time, greatly distressed for want of provisions. Scanty supplies were indeed sometimes procured by the intrepidity of the youth, who with still unconquered spirit, broke through the mouth of the Piræus, and returned with the means of appeasing the hunger of the people. At length an attempt was made to open a negotiation with Agis, which he sternly repressed by declaring that all proposals must be addressed to the government of Sparta. An embassy was then dispatched to Lacedæmon, to offer the resignation of all the pos-

sessions of Athens, excepting the city and the harbour, and a treaty of offensive and defensive alliance, which implied subjection. But the envoys were stopped on the borders of Laconia, by a message from the Ephori, commanding them to return, since the terms with which they were charged were already known at Sparta, and, if they desired peace, they must come with different conditions. On the return of these messengers, Theramenes offered to go to Lysander, and endeavour to negotiate with him for a treaty; but, after an absence of three months, returned without success. He was then, with nine others of his fellow citizens commissioned to go to Lacedæmon, with no instructions but to procure peace on the best terms he could obtain for the despairing Athenians.

Greece.

From
A. M.
3514.

—

B. C.

490.

to

A. M.

3600.

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B. C.

404.

On the arrival of the embassy at Sparta, an assembly of the deputies of the Lacedæmonian confederacy agreed on. was convened to decide the fate of Athens. The deputies from Thebes and Corinth, with those from others of the states, vehemently urged the total extermination of a republic, which they alleged had attempted to deprive all Greece of its freedom. But the Spartans checked this ferocious spirit of revenge, and declared that they could not think of wholly destroying a people who had once rendered services so important to Greece in the Persian invasion. Peace was, therefore, concluded on the following terms: "That all the Athenian ships of war, except twelve, should be surrendered; that the long walls of the city should be destroyed; that all exiles should be restored to their country, and their possessions; that the Athenians should treat the allies of Lacedæmon as their friends, and its foes as their enemies; and that the forces of Athens, by sea and land, should be at the complete disposal of the Spartans." These hard conditions having been ratified, Agis, with his army, took possession of the walls; and Lysander, with his fleet, entered the harbour. The fortifications which connected the city with its ports were demolished, while military music was played, and exulting shouts everywhere proceeded from the conquerors. The nobles of the aristocratical party, who were in exile, returned to their homes. On their arrival, the popular constitution was overthrown, the assemblies of the people prohibited, and the powers of government vested in thirty rulers. When this revolution was completed, the Peloponnesian forces withdrew, and left the humbled Athenians to enjoy all the repose which their new governors would allow. Thus, in its twenty-seventh year, ended the Peloponnesian war, after totally subverting the grandeur of Athens, and destroying the finer spirit of Grecian freedom.

INTRODUCTION

TO THE

GREEK PHILOSOPHY;

WITH A SUCCINCT ACCOUNT OF THAT WHICH IS USUALLY TERMED BARBARIC.

History.

Greece may, with propriety, be designated the cradle of philosophy. That was the distinguished country which nursed its infancy, and first brought its features to light; there its opening powers developed themselves; there its "nursing fathers" resided; and there it acquired that degree of vigour, maturity, and character, which have gained for it an immortal celebrity.

But whatever opinion we may be disposed to form of the systems of Greek philosophy, and of the particular merits of their various founders and promoters, it is necessary to guard against being led into error by indulging an undue and disproportionate admiration. While contemplating the struggles of mighty minds with the difficulties and perplexities which involved them, and observing the patience, the skill, and the perseverance with which some of them groped their way amidst the most palpable darkness—exploring with assiduity every nook and corner for the discovery of truth, hailing with rapture every gleam of light that broke upon the deep obscurity, and following with eager steps, its bright direction, we must not forget that we are favoured with an illumination infinitely superior; and that in possessing, under the Christian dispensation, the "wisdom of God," even the "hidden wisdom" and the "mind of the Spirit," we have risen to the summits of true philosophy, in consequence of combining scriptural knowledge, in all its practical influences, with an exalted and heaven-born ethics. In reviewing the period we are now to survey, and the biography of men who have transmitted their names to all posterity, by recording their researches into the region of morals; we are furnished with the instructive opportunity of seeing what the human intellect could accomplish, without a divine revelation, and consequently, of being able, in some measure, to appreciate the importance of those discoveries which that revelation unveils. We acknowledge, and we admire, the light, glimmering as it was, emitted by those stars which appeared during the benighted ages of the world; and through that very twinkling which rendered the "darkness visible," we are taught to rejoice with a more glowing enthusiasm in the manifestation of the "Sun of righteousness."

Term.

The term *philosophy* may be considered as importing the love of wisdom, or of those principles which refer to the general happiness of mankind; for, though its legitimate purpose has, at different periods and by different individuals, been either misunderstood or misapplied, this is unquestionably its genuine meaning; and the name, so explained, indicates its great design. Reason and revelation are the two springs of philosophy; of which the latter has, as we have remarked, incomparably the pre-eminence, and includes the former, which is, at present, the object of our inquiries. It is the business of philosophy, as Brueker judiciously

Greece.

states,* to cultivate the understanding, and to show the manner in which it may best perform its operations; to correct the will and improve the affections, by discovering the objects that are desirable, comparing their respective claims, and showing how they may be rendered most productive of happiness; to investigate the causes of natural appearances, and thence arrive at the First Cause; to conduct to a knowledge of the properties of natural bodies, and their reciprocal actions, in such a manner as shall enable them to promote and secure their own personal advantage; and, above all, to assist men in discovering the principles of social virtue, and such rules of conduct as spring from convenience and interest, from justice and humanity, and the voluntary engagements of civil society.

The original application of the word was very extensive, embracing every discovery and useful art: and hence persons of very different claims and characters were, at first, heterogeneously classed together as philosophers. The devices of ingenious imposture, and the researches of profound and comprehensive intellect, were blended in one undistinguishing appellation. The inferior order of men, indeed, assumed the higher epithet, and, with presumptuous boldness, aspired to the character of wise men, or sophists; but the genuine modesty which ever characterizes true science, induced those of superior merit and juster pretensions to prefix a qualifying name, indicative of their own conviction, that they were rather in the pursuit of wisdom, than daring to pronounce that they had attained it. Hence they took the title of *philosophers*, which, according to Cicero, was first assumed by Pythagoras. He used it in a conversation with Leon, prince of the Philaians, who inquired in what he principally excelled: to which his reply was, that he was a *philosopher*, without pretending to be absolute master of any art; explaining his meaning to be, that he was in search after wisdom.

A cursory survey of the state of philosophical inquiry in the other nations, whom the Greeks had Barbaric civilised and courtesy to denigrate *barbarians*, will naturally introduce us to a view of the more regulated and systematic pursuits of civilized Greece; for, while this country advanced philosophy to a high degree of improvement, to the barbaric nations is to be attributed its origin.

Placing the Israelitish community not of the question, who, though favoured with those extraordinary communications which constitute the purest philosophy attainable, in the form of a revealed theology, cannot be admitted to the rank of philosophers, in the common sense of the term: the next most ancient people to

* Hist. Crit. Philosophiæ.

History. whom such an epithet may be deemed applicable, is the
Chaldeans. It is not, however, easy to detect the truth,
amidst the traditionary accounts we have received of
their antiquity. It is a matter of indisputable cer-
tainty, that the magi cultivated learning at a very early
period, and even previous to the time of Moses, of
whom we read, that "he was learned in all the wis-
dom of the Egyptians;" and there is good evidence
that these obtained their knowledge from a Chaldean
source. The magi, were, in fact, the priests, whose
office it was to teach the principles of their religion to
the people, and to interpret the laws; and availing
themselves of the ignorant credulity of the age, a por-
tion of which indeed may be safely attributed to their
own minds, and naturally produced a self-delusion,
they pretended to divination, the interpretation of
dreams, the power to confer good or avert evil, and
the science of astrology. The name of Chaldean sooth-
sayer is familiar upon the page of history, from the
remotest times, and their profession no doubt origi-
nated in the circumstance of their being the first to
pay attention to the motions of the heavenly orbs.
From these they asserted their ability to predict na-
tivities, and calculate events; maintaining that human
affairs were influenced by the stars, and that by their
skill, they could read the destinies of the earth, by the
light of the firmament. Within this compass the chief
of their science was compressed, and they contrived to
secure the public admiration, by throwing over their
studies the deep veil of mystery. A chosen few only
were initiated, and their instructions were communi-
cated by means of symbolical representations. They
had among them a variety of sects, or schools, which,
however, differed only in certain unimportant points;
all of them faithfully and regularly transmitted from
father to son. Zoroaster may be regarded as the
founder of Chaldean philosophy in general, and of
him we have already given an extended notice. *Belus*
is another name of some celebrity, as the promoter
of astronomy among the Assyrians: he enjoyed the
posthumous honour of a place among the divinities.
Berous also, at a later period, acquired considerable
fame. He was a Babylonian, and a priest of Belus,
and commenced a school of astrology in the island of
Cos. He acquired great reputation by his predic-
tions, and a statue was erected to his honour at
Athens.

The Chaldeans believed in a Supreme Deity, as the
governor of the world, by his providence; but imagined
that the universe was pervaded by several other orders
of spiritual beings, good and evil, gods, demons, and
heroes, sub-divided into many classes. They worship-
ped the sun, moon, planets, and stars. Their magic
consisted in certain incantations, which were supposed
to produce happy effects, and their astrology related
to the beneficial, or malignant influence of the stars,
as the ground of certain predictions. Their astronomy
is not transmitted to us, but we have reason to be-
lieve they made some real discoveries. They had a
notion, that, when all the planets meet in Cancer,
the world will be consumed by fire, and when they meet
in Capricorn, it will suffer destruction by a flood.
They imagined a boat to be illustrative of the earth's
true figure. Their ideas of the origin of the world,
and of the nature of the human mind, seem borrowed
from the Mosiac history.

Among the Persians, the magi were the guardians
and teachers of religion and learning from the earliest
times. Like the Chaldeans and other oriental nations,
the religion of Persia embraced the worship of the
sun, or rather the invisible deity, whom they named
Mithras, supposed to be resident in that luminary.
Herodotus and Strabo say, that the Persians sacrificed
horses to the sun.* Another of their deities was
Oromasdes, whom they considered as the author of
all good. They also adored the supposed author of
all evil, under the designation of Arimanius. He was
not, however, called a god, but a demon, and they
wrote his name with the letters inverted. Their Zo-
roaster introduced a variety of alterations into the an-
cient system of the magi, which indicate the state of
philosophy. The sacred fire, instead of being main-
tained on altars exposed to the atmosphere, was now
enclosed within temples, and placed under sacerdotal
superintendence. The priests were of three orders:
the inferior, for the performance of the ordinary cere-
monies; the second class, for presiding over the sa-
cred fire, and the high priest, or archmagus. There
were three kinds of temples—common oratories for the
people, having the sacred fire in lamps; public temples
with altars, where the fire was continually burning, and
where the superior magi guided the public devotions,
and the people performed magical incantations, and
heard interpretations of dreams; and the grand seat of
the archmagus, which was visited by the people at
particular seasons, with great solemnity. No images
or statues were permitted in their worship. Its mys-
teries were required to be understood by the kings,
before they could assume the crown and the sceptre.
The doctrine of Zoroaster, or Zoroastrianism, is thus given
by an Arabian writer, Sharristan, cited by Brucker—
"Zoroastrian affirmed light and darkness, Yazdan and
Ahreman to be contrary principles, which were the
origin of every thing subsisting in the world; the
forms of nature being produced from the combination
of these principles: but maintained, that the existence
of darkness is not to be referred to the only Supreme
Deity, who is without companion or equal, but must
be considered as the unavoidable consequence of his
determination to create the world, in which light can
no more subsist without darkness, than a visible body
can exist without its shadow."

Diogenes Laertius gives the following account of
the Persian magi: "They are employed in worshipping
the gods by prayers and sacrifices, as if their worship
alone would be accepted; they teach their doctrine
concerning the nature and origin of the gods, whom
they think to be fire, earth, and water; they reject the
use of pictures and images, and reprobate the opinion
that the gods are male and female; they discourse to
the people concerning justice; they think it impious to
consume dead bodies with fire; they allow of marriage
between mother and son; they practise divination and
prophecy, pretending that the gods appear to them;
they forbid the use of ornaments in dress; they clothe
themselves in a white robe; they make use of the
ground as their bed; of herbs, cheese, and bread for
food; and of a reed for their staff." Strabo speaks of a

* Ovid alludes to this circumstance,—

Flacet equo Persae radiis Hyperionis, electum.
Ne datur celeri victima turba Deo.

History. large number of magi in Cappadocia, who were denominated fire-worshippers (*Pyrethi*), and many temples of the Persian gods, in the midst of which were altars, whose fires were daily renewed by the priests; the ceremony being attended with music. From comparing the authorities, Brucker observes, that "it will appear probable, that Zoroaster, adopting the principle commonly held by the ancients, that from nothing, nothing can be produced, conceived light, or those spiritual substances which partake of the active nature of fire and darkness, to be emanations from one eternal source; that to the derived substances, he gave the names already applied by the magi, to the causes of good and evil, Oromasdes, and Arimanius; and that the first fountain of being, or the supreme divinity, he called Mithras. These active and passive principles he conceived to be perpetually at variance, the former tending to produce good, the latter evil: but that, through the mediation or intervention of the Supreme Being, the contest would at last terminate in favour of the good principle."

Indians. It may be inferred, from the circumstance of some of the most distinguished men of Greece visiting India, to enhance their stores of knowledge, that at a very early period that was a country of eminent attainments—eminent, at least, in comparison with the rest of the world. There existed among the inhabitants a sect called Gymnosophists, from the habit of appearing almost in a state of nudity. The Brahmins, or Bramins, properly speaking, constituted a subdivision of this class of wise men; as did the Samanvans, who relinquished all ideas of separate property, and gave their children to the protection of the state; and while supported at the public expence, devoted themselves to meditation, conversation, and religious performances. They were frequently known to take a sudden leave of their relations, and throw themselves upon funeral fires, prepared for their destruction. The Hylobeans lived in the solitude of forests, and upon the most precarious modes of subsistence. In general, the Gymnosophists were indolent, and of a proud independency of temper, but, with little exception, addicted to extreme abstinence. When Alexander sent them an invitation to visit him, they are said to have replied, with an ample share of the petulance of philosophy, that if Alexander had any business with the Brahmins, he might come to them. It is well known that, even to the present day, those amazing self torments, for which they are celebrated, are still persevered in; such as standing in some painful posture, looking steadfastly, and with unverted eyes, at the sun from morning to night, performing luminous pilgrimages, lacerating their flesh, &c. all which have a powerful tendency to impress a race of people addicted to superstition, and buried in profound ignorance, with a conviction of their superior sanctity.

The opinions propagated by these people respecting God, resemble those of the Persian Zoroaster. They represented him as light, from whom the mysteries of wisdom are communicated; the source of good and not of evil; the soul of the world, the principal seat of whose divinity is the sun. He pervades the universe, which invests him, as a garment, and is immortal. They conceived the sun, moon, and stars, to be his eyes. The human mind they considered as an

emanation of the intellectual fire which animates the world, and, therefore, of divine origin; at death they believed it would return, and reanimate with the fountain of light and life. They fully taught the doctrine of a periodical restitution of all things in nature; when returning to their source they would be again emitted, and thus in perpetual revolution. They worshipped inferior deities as emanations from the Supreme, but without the presentation of animal sacrifices.

Of the ancient *Arabians* we can obtain scarcely any information. They had some acquaintance with astronomical sciences, were skilful in solving enigmas, and practised the arts of divination. Like the Chaldeans and Persians, they had their magi, or wise men, who were their instructors in general knowledge, and their priests in religion. A sect of philosophers, called the Zabians, is assigned them at a remote age, but upon very dubious authority; they are said to have worshipped the sun, stars, and planets.

Celebrated as the ancient *Phœnicians* have been, we may yet venture to question the probability of their having acquired very extensive knowledge, or explored, to any considerable distance, the paths of real science. From their commercial habits, indeed, they were necessarily acquainted with some things that may come under this classification, and possessed, as we have before intimated, * skill in arithmetic and astronomy, as applicable to the purposes of navigation; and, doubtless, from their general intercourse, they were able to import true learning from foreign countries. Their most ancient philosopher was *Mochus*, or *Mochus*, a native of Sidon. Some have ascribed to him the source of the Atomical philosophy, which afterwards acquired so much celebrity in Greece, under Leucippus and Epicurus; but there is sufficient evidence that his opinion is destitute of a solid foundation. *Cadmus* was born also at Sidon. He formed the Greek alphabet upon the foundation of the Phœnician. But though this is a well ascertained fact, the notion that he instituted schools of philosophy at Thebes is destitute of probability. The Phœnicians maintained the same general views respecting the origin of the world which were at an early period diffused over the oriental nations. The fragments of Sanchoniathon, preserved by Eusebius and Theodoret, contain a philosophy perfectly opposed to the Mosiac account of the creation; namely, that from the necessary energy of an eternal principle, active, but not intelligent, upon an eternal and passive mass of matter, arose the visible world. This doctrine was afterwards advocated in Greece. But the fragments in question are not deemed authentic.

No people have been more the subject of panegyric than the *Egyptians*, who undoubtedly furnished some of the most culprits of the Greek philosophers, as Thales, Pythagoras, and Plato, with much valuable information. To their country it was common to travel, in order to accumulate those stores of wisdom by which they were enabled to improve their minds, and embellish their systems. "A country which," as Brucker observes, "has claimed the honours of being the first seat of learning, and the fountain whence the streams of philosophy flowed to Chaldean, and other Asiatic nations, till it reached the remotest borders of India." But though, as he says,

* Hist. ch. vi. sec. 2.

History. "there seems to be no sufficient ground for admitting these high pretensions, Egypt is unquestionably to be ranked among the most ancient civilized countries, and was early famous for wisdom."

In communicating instruction, the Egyptian priests assumed hieroglyphical characters, or symbols, which were only taught to the initiated, and have since unhappily been lost; so that the real knowledge which existed, and the different fluctuations of opinion, cannot, at this time, be ascertained. A few fragments only, of some of the Egyptian writers, have escaped the wrecks of ages, and these exist in a dispersed and mutilated form.

Thoth is generally considered as the father of Egyptian literature, and after him they named the first month of the year. He is the same with Mercury. According to Diodorus Siculus, he was the inventor of letters, and introduced a variety of improvements into language. He moreover taught astronomy, music, and other arts; and instituted religious rites. Hermes Trismegistus, or the second Egyptian Mercury, is said to have translated the sacred characters which had been written by his eminent predecessor on tables of stone, and buried in the earth; and in addition, very considerably advanced the state of the arts and sciences, particularly geometry. He entrusted to the care of the priests, in order of his own institution, the columns which had been previously inscribed by symbols, with his own interpretations. From the priesthood Egyptian learning was transmitted to other places and times, while they acquired in consequence an extraordinary reputation. Part of their time was devoted to the worship of the gods, and another portion of it to the pursuits of science and learning. Their attainments, however, were sedulously concealed from the great mass of the people, by adopting the hieroglyphical mode of writing, which modern critics have been unable to decipher. They also used alphabetical writing to explain the former, but with this the priests only were acquainted, and their literary treatises were deposited in the innermost recesses of the temples. Hence the perpetuation of their own influence, and the promulgation of the political designs of government, were the chief ends likely to be answered by this proceeding.

The Egyptians were acquainted with geometry; but, as it appears from the best evidence, in a very imperfect degree. We may ascribe the same with regard to astronomy, the invention of which science is often ascribed to them. They had a knowledge of the rising and setting of the stars, the aspects of the planets, and the signs of the Zodiac. They observed the equinoctial and solstitial points, by which they ascertained the length of the year. They ascribed the origin of the medical art to their demi-gods, an evidence that there were men among them in remote ages, who had made some proficiency in the method of healing diseases. Homer represents the country as abounding in drugs. Herodotus mentions their physicians, who, however, can scarcely be termed philosophers, if the statement of Diodorus be correct, that every physician was required to follow a written code, from which he could not deviate without endangering his life. Medical practice was connected with magical incantations, and in fact was altogether empirical. In astrology, they were great adepts. The philosophy or theology of the Egyptians subsisted in two branches, the esoteric,

belonging to the multitude, and the esoteric, or the theology of the priests and those who were destined to regal power. The mysteries of the latter were represented by images of sphinxes, set up at the entrance of their temples. The *croteric* doctrine abounded in the most extravagant superstitions, which are ridiculed in the fifth satire of Juvenal, in the following manner:

*Quis necit, Vultu Bythiæ, galla demens
Ægyptus portenta colat? Crocodiles adorat
Pars hæc; illa pariet auras serpentibus ibile.
Effugies sacri silet aures Cerophylæ,
Disiuncto magice resonant ab Æthere chorde,
Atque vetus Thebe centum jacet abstrusa portis.
Illic cæruleæ, hic placem fluminis, illic
Oppida tota cæcum venerantur, nemin Dianam;
Porcum et cepe nefas violare, ne frangere iunon.
O sacras proles, quibus hæc nascuntur in horris
Nemina!*

Who has not heard where Egypt's realms are nam'd,
What monster gods her frantic sons have fram'd;
Here this scorp' d' with well grown æsculapi, there
The Crocodile commands religious fear:
Where Memnon's statue magic strings inspire
With sweet sounds, that enslave the tyre;
And Thebes,—such, Fate, are thy disastrous turns!
Now prostrate o'er her pompous ruins mourns;
A monkey god, prodigious to be told!
Strikes the beholder's eye with burnish'd gold.
To gossip here hear Triton's acoly herd,
The river progeny in there prefer'd!
Through towns Diana's power neglected lies
Where to her dogs aspiring temples rise;
And should you lack æcræonæ eat, no time
Would capitate the sacrilegious crime;
Religious nations sure, and blest abodes,
Where every orchard is o'er-run with gods!

The witticism of Lucian upon this subject is well known, and no less correct than cutting. "In Egypt," says he, "the temple itself is found to be beautiful and ample in its dimensions; built with choice stones, and ornamented with gilding and hieroglyphics. But if you pry within to find out the god, you meet with a monkey or a crane, or a goat or a cat." Hence Cicero remarks (*De Nat. Deorum*), "it was never known that any person in Egypt ever abused a crocodile, an ibis, or a cat; for its inhabitants would have suffered the most extreme torments, rather than be guilty of such sacrifice."

The following is in brief the learned Brucker's account of the *esoteric*, or *philosophical* doctrine of the Egyptians:—They imagined nature to be the first principle of all things, and that originally an eternal chaos existed, which contained the materials of future beings. This was worshipped under the name of night, or athen, in the earliest ages, and was represented to their temples by the symbol of a cow. In addition to their material, the Egyptians admitted an active principle or intelligent power, eternally united to the chaotic mass, and operating in the separation of the elements and the formation of bodies. This they believed to preside over the universe as the cause of all effects. They represented this ruler as good, under the name of Cneph, which signifies a good genius, and assigned him the serpent as his symbol. The following remarkable inscription was placed upon a temple dedicated to Neith, at Saïs, in Lower Egypt:—"I am whatever is or has been, or will be, and no mortal has hitherto drawn aside my veil; my offspring is the sun." Hence Plutarch observes, the ancient Egyptians worshipped the Supreme Deity. With this belief, however, they connected the doctrine

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History. of inferior divinities, conceiving emanations of the highest intelligence to reside in various parts of nature when they witnessed life, motion, and enjoyment communicated to the inhabitants of the earth from the sun, and from other heavenly luminaries. These effects were ascribed to the influence of divinities inhabiting, as they fancied, these bodies. Hence the worship of the sun under the names of Osiris, Ammoo, and Horus—of the moon, under those of Isis, Bubastis, and Buto; of the Cabiri, or planets, called the sons of Phthas, or Vulcan; of Sothis, or the dog-star, and other celestial divinities. Whenever they approached the deity under the idea of his being offended, they called him Tithrambo; and the evil principle, the source of misfortune, they deprecated under the name of Typhon. As in other nations, it is probable, though not certain, that they had among them deified men whom they thus exalted from the supposition that a portion of that divinity which animates all things, resides abundantly in illustrious heroes, legislators, or other eminent individuals, and that after their decease the good demon that animated them passes into the society of the divinities. Their opinion respecting the human soul is variously represented; but all writers agree that they believed in its immortality. Diodorus Siculus says, that instead of lamenting the death of good men, they rejoiced in the assurance that in the invisible state they would dwell for ever with the pious; and he mentions the custom of bringing the characters of the deceased under a public trial, and offering prayers to the gods on behalf of those who were proved to have lived in a virtuous manner, that they might be admitted to their kindred society. There have, however, been many debates with regard to the place where it was supposed the souls of men passed after death. Plutarch, Diodorus Siculus, and others, intimate their cherishing the notion of a subterraneous region, corresponding with the Grecian idea of Hades; but Herodotus, on the other hand, affirms, that the Egyptians imagined the souls of men to pass at death into the bodies of other animals; and, that after traversing the circuit of birds, beasts, and fishes, for a period of three thousand years, it resumed its pristine dignity as the tenant of a human frame. It has been suggested, with great probability, that these different opinions were maintained by the different colleges of priests; of whom some advocated the doctrine of transmigration, while others held, that after wandering for some time among the stars, the souls of good men were allowed to return to the society of the gods. It is likely, also, that they supposed these migrations were of a purifying nature and design, and consequently that men of different classes and characters would, according to their respective merits, wander through the universe for a longer or shorter time. The Egyptians believed in the existence of a continual tendency in nature to dissolution, and that the universe undergoes a periodical conflagration, when every thing is restored to its original form, to be again, at the predestined season, subjected to a similar process.

With regard to their ethical principles, superstition is blended with them in so intimate a manner, as to render them, in many respects, imperfect and erroneous. Their divinity corrupted their morals. The prevailing ignorance must, of course, prevent many sound or elevated sentiments, whose practical influence

might refine their character; and we have before seen, that their religious writings were carefully concealed, and have, perhaps, deservedly perished.

We copy a few particulars from Brucker relating to the Ethiopians. Their wise men, he says, like those of the Indians, were called Gymnosophists, from their custom of wearing little clothing. They discharged the sacred functions after the manner of the Egyptian priests; had distinct colleges and classes of disciples, and taught their dogmas in obscure and mythological language. They were remarkable for their contempt of death. Strabo speaks of the Southern Ethiopians as atheists; but we must understand by this character, not that they were destitute of all belief in a supreme power, but that they did not worship the same gods, nor make use of the same ceremonies with their neighbours. In another place, the same historian says, that they acknowledged two gods, one immortal, and the other mortal; that the immortal god was always the same, the first cause of all things, but that the mortal god was uncertain and without a name. Perhaps this mortal god was the principle of evil, which the Egyptians acknowledged under the name of Typhon, who being at length to be overcome by the good principle, might properly be said to be mortal. However this be, it is certain that the Ethiopians were scrupulously exact in their religious worship, and therefore could by no means deserve the charge of atheism.

If we pass from Asia and Africa, into the northern and western parts of Europe, we shall still perceive nations much to deplore in the general state of the human mind, at the period in question, as to all the great points of speculation, or practical philosophy, and sound wisdom; a cursory glance, however, will serve to prepare us for estimating, with more exactitude, the progress of truth in these places which have the reputation of being the most enlightened, and for tracing with deeper interest the investigation of individual philosophers. The first of the nations which here presents itself to view, are the Celts, but their history is extremely obscure from the defect of sufficient records, arising from the unhappy disposition of the ancient Gauls, Germans, and Britons, to discourage their being kept. Hence the songs of bards became the principal medium of transmitting to a distant posterity, what has survived of their general knowledge and public transactions.

In the remotest period of antiquity, we hear of that extraordinary order of men denominated Druids, who have been compared with the Persian magi, the Chaldean soothsayers, and the Indian Gymnosophists, Cæsar, in his Commentaries, has given an account of their origin and character in Gaul, with their mode of communicating instruction, and various other circumstances. He represents them as presiding in religious concerns, directing the public and private sacrifices, and interpreting the will of the gods. They were held, he says, in the highest respect by youths who were sent to them to receive instruction: to them was referred the decision of almost every controversy, whether of a public or private nature; in case of any crime, any murder, or dispute respecting an inheritance, or the boundaries of lands, they pronounced sentence, and decreed the rewards to be given, or the punishments to be inflicted; and if any one, of whatever station, refused to submit, they excluded him from

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the sacrifices. They were under one chief, never went to war, and were exempted from taxes and military service. They were divided into three classes: the Bards, the Eubages, who performed religious rites and divinations, and the Druids, properly so called, whose business it was to administer public affairs, and educate their youth. They taught their disciples in caverns and retired solitudes, forbidding them either to divulge, or commit to writing, their doctrines. Their rites were extremely barbarous; and, according to ancient writers, they offered human sacrifices.

— Et quibus insculptis placatur sanguine dolo
Tutates, horrendaque feri altibus Hecus,
Et Taraula Scythicum non mitior ora Dianæ.

Lycen. Pharsel. l. 1.

And you where Hecus' horrid altar stands,
Where div Tutates human blood demands;
Where Taraula by wretches is obeyed,
And rics in slaughter with the Scythian maid.

The Celtic priests, or Druids, explained to their disciples the allegories which they were accustomed to adopt, and which were delivered in verse; and a poetical representation of their notions is given in a book, called the Edda, written in the Runic language, which has furnished fictions to the Icelandic rhymists. It is the most ancient account of the Northern mythology, and was probably compiled from Asiatic originals.

The Attic theology stated the universe to be animated by a divinity, of which, portions reside in different parts of nature. From this idea originated their adoration of the sun and moon, and their reverence of rocks, caverns, and groves, where they believed that certain deities had taken up their residence, and from which oracular communications were issued. Divination prevailed amongst them; and in Gaul and Germany, women pretending to prophecy, obtained the name of Samnites, and acquired great reputation. Tacitus says the Germans were much addicted to divination by omens and lots. A singular account is given of the Cimbric women by Strabo, in his seventh book. "The women who follow the Cimbri to war, are accompanied by grey-haired prophetesses, in white vestments, with canvass mantles fastened by clasps, a brazen girdle, and naked feet. These go with drawn swords through the camp, and striking down the prisoners they meet, drag them to a brazen kettle. This has a kind of stage above it, on which the priestess ascending, cuts the throat of the victim; and, from the manner in which the blood flows into the vessel, she judges of future events. Others tear open the bodies of the captives thus butchered, and, from the inspection of the entrails, presage victory to their own party."

They had numerous divinities, of whom *Hertha*, or *the Earth*, was a general object of worship among the Celts and Scythians. As a specimen of the simplicity of ancient manners, and of the ingenuity of the priests, in treating on the mysteries of religion a passage is quoted from Tacitus, by Brucker, containing an account of the worship of this goddess. (Tacit. de Mor. Germ. c. 40.)

"The Reudigni, Aviones, Angli, Eudoses, Suar-dones, and Nithuones, unite in the worship of *Hertha*, or Mother Earth, and suppose her to interfere in the affairs of men, and visit the different nations. In an island of the ocean stands a sacred and unviolated

grove, in which is a consecrated chariot, covered with a veil, which the priest alone is permitted to touch. He perceives when the goddess enters this secret recess, and with profound veneration attends the vehicle, which is drawn by yoked cows. At this season, all is joy, and every place which the goddess deigns to visit is a scene of festivity. No wars are undertaken; arms are untouched; and every hostile weapon is laid aside. Peace and repose are then only known, then only loved; till, at length, the same priest re-conducts the goddess, satisfied with mortal intercourse, to her temple. The chariot, with its covering, and, if we may believe it, the goddess herself, there undergo ablation in a secret lake. This office is performed by slaves, whom the lake instantly swallows up. Hence proceeds a mysterious horror, and a holy ignorance of what that can be, which is belied only by those who are about to perish.

The Celts believed in one supreme deity, the animating principle of the world, and the source of all other ruling powers. They named him *Odin*, the father of all; by this power they supposed the sun, moon, and stars, to have been produced from the deep and chaotic mass. They ascribed immortality to the human soul, and conceived it to be of a divine original. This sentiment was diligently propagated among them, in order to inspire courage, and it must be admitted to have been highly calculated to produce such an effect. Their most generally received fables countenanced and gave circulation to this doctrine, a perfect contempt of death was the consequence. Hence Valerius Maximus speaks of a people of Thrace, who were accustomed to shed tears at a birth, and testify pleasure at a funeral, believing the end of life to be better than the beginning. To those who died in battle, the gates of the palace of *Odin* were supposed to be opened immediately. They were to live in his hall in the utmost state of enjoyment. The good, who at length died by sickness, were to pass through a stage of purification, and then live for ever in *Girule*, a glorious and happy dwelling; but the perpetrators of enormous crimes were to be sent to *Hela*, remain in a state of punishment till, what they termed "the twilight of the gods;" meaning by the phrase, the general restitution of all things, when a new era of existence was to commence after the burning of the world.

The information of the ancient Celts on astronomical and other scientific subjects, must have been very circumscribed; and the sum of their moral doctrine was to worship the gods, to do good, and to exercise fortitude.

It is probable that the Celtic mythology was of an oriental origin, being brought into Europe by the migrations of the Scythians at an early period.

Few, and these generally uninteresting, particulars have descended to us respecting the philosophy of other barbaric nations, as the Etrurians, or Tuscans, and the Scythians, inhabiting the eastern part of the north of Europe and the west of Asia. The latter led a wandering life, and seem to have had few ideas beyond an admission of a Supreme divinity and the immortality of the soul. The first most notorious name amongst them was *Abaris*, who lived at about the time of the third Olympiad, and whose skill appears to have consisted chiefly in imposing upon the vulgar by magical

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arts and oracular predictions. After him arose *Anacharsis*, the brother to a Scythian prince, who is celebrated as an extensive traveller in search of wisdom, which he endeavoured to implant in the minds of his countrymen, though with little or no success. At Athens he went in company with *Toxaris* to Solon's house, and desired an attendant to inform him that he was at the door, and wished to be received as his guest and friend. Solon sent for answer, "that friendships are best formed at home." *Anacharsis* replied, "then let Solon, who is at home, make me his friend, and receive me into his house." This apt retort produced his admission, and laid the foundation of a lasting friendship. This eminent Scythian acquired at Athens a distinction never before conferred on a barbarian, that of citizenship.

When, upon one occasion, an Athenian reproached him with being a Scythian, he remarked, "My country is indeed a disgrace to me, but you are a disgrace to your country." Having been asked, how a person addicted to intemperance might be taught sobriety, "by placing before him," said he, "a drunken man." "The vine," he observed, "bears three kinds of fruit: the first, pleasure; the second, intoxication; the third, remorse." He was celebrated for a noble and manly mode of speaking, which, from his time, acquired the epithet of Scythian eloquence. His death is introduced by Herodotus in the following manner. In his passage over the Hellespont, he touched at Cyticus, at the time when the inhabitants were celebrating a solemn and magnificent spectacle to the mother of the gods; upon which, he vowed, that in case of his returning safe and without injury to his country, he would institute the same rites which he had witnessed at Cyticus, and the same solemnities observed on the eve of the festival, in honour of this deity. When, therefore, he arrived in Scythia, in the district of Hylæ, near the Course of Achilles, a place full of trees, he performed all the ceremonies to which he had pledged himself, having a number of small statues fastened about him, with a cymbal in his hand. In this situation, he was observed by a native, who communicated intelligence of his proceedings to Saulius, the king of Scythia, who went immediately to the spot, and killed him with an arrow. This Saulius is said to have been his own brother.* He deeply lamented with his dying breath, that his countrymen would not suffer a wiser man than themselves to live among them.

Toxaris.

Similar views and feelings with those which had inspired *Anacharsis* influenced *Toxaris*, another of the Scythian luminaries, who resided at Athens, and formed an intimate acquaintance with Solon and other eminent philosophers. During several years he practised medicine in that city with great success, and expired there universally lamented. A sepulchral monument and statue, to which superstition attributed a healing virtue, were erected to his memory.

Zamolxis.

But Scythia boasted chiefly of her *Zamolxis*, who is represented as teaching the doctrines of immortality and transmigration to the Celtic Druids, and to Pythagoras: the latter, however, may be justly questioned; and Herodotus says, that he flourished at a much earlier period than Pythagoras. *Zamolxis* was a Thracian, and is regarded as the father of Scythian wisdom.

* Herod. Mel.

His name was enrolled among the divinities, and the notion was generally circulated, that they should, at death, go to dwell with him in the invisible world. On certain festivals they chose several persons, by lot, who were sent as messengers to *Zamolxis*, and who were put to death for this purpose by throwing them up into the air, and catching them as they fell upon the points of their spears. Profound, however, as was the superstition which this and other revolting practices indicated, and slow as these uncultivated nations were to admit even the feeblest glimmerings of real wisdom into their dark recesses, we cannot but unite in the congratulatory language of *Ælian*, "No Indian, Celt, or Egyptian, ever questioned whether there were gods, or whether they concerned themselves in human affairs." (*Ælian. Var. Hist.* l. ii. c. 31.)

Leaving the dreary wilderness of barbaric philosophy, Greeks, we now turn to the more cultivated regions of Grecian science; where, after passing over the mythological and fabulous period, we meet with the names of *Prometheus*, *Linus*, *Orpheus*, *Musæus*, *Eumæpua*, *Hesiod*, and *Homer*, to whom we have before alluded in our general view of the early Greek poetry (*Div. Æli.* p. 121, &c.) We have also had occasion to record the principal facts respecting Solon and others, who, in Greece, founded the science of legislation upon the basis of moral wisdom, and thus evidently advanced the interests of genuine philosophy. Next to these may be ranked those eminent sages who acquired the distinctive appellation of the seven wise men of Greece, of whom Solon, already mentioned, was one, and Thales another; whose biography we shall presently give, with some detail, as having been the founder of a sect, and the father, in some sense, of Grecian philosophy. The rest were Chilo, Pittacus, Bias, Cleobulus, and Periander.

Chilo was, according to *Laertius*, an aged man, in Chilo, the fifty-second Olympiad, and expired through excess of joy, upon his son's returning victorious from the Olympic games. He was one of the *Lacedæmonian* Ephori, and acted with such extraordinary and rigid integrity, that he declared he remembered nothing that gave him regret in his public conduct, excepting that he once screened a friend from merited punishment. The following are his chief maxims:

Three things are difficult: to keep a secret, to bear an injury patiently, and to spend leisure well.

Visit your friend in misfortune, rather than in prosperity.

Never ridicule the unfortunate.

Think before you speak.

Do not desire impossibilities.

Gold is tried by the touchstone, and men by gold.

Honest loss is preferable to shameful gain; for by the one, a man is a sufferer but once; by the other, always.

In conversation, make use of no violent motion of the hands.

In walking, do not appear to be always upon business of life and death; for rapid movements indicate a kind of frenzy.

If you are great, be condescending; for it is better to be loved than to be feared.

Speak no evil of the dead.

Reverence the aged.

Know thyself.

PITTACUS was born at Mytilene, in Lesbos, in the Pittacus.

Greece.
Zamolxis.

History. thirty-second Olympiad, and had the command of a fleet in a war with the Athenians; and having overcome the Athenian commander Phryno, in single combat, by the stratagem of throwing a net over his antagonist, he acquired a very high reputation among his countrymen, and was elevated to the supreme power. His moderation was, in all things, exemplary. He was offered as much of the recovered territory as he chose, but he only took what he could measure by a single cast of the javelin, and of this, declaring that half was better than the whole, he dedicated half to Apollo. He, at length, retired into private life, and left these maxims to posterity:

The first office of prudence is to foresee threatening misfortunes, and prevent them.

Power discovers the man.

Never talk of your schemes before they are executed; lest, if you fail to accomplish them, you be exposed to the double mortification of disappointment and ridicule.

Whatever you do, do it well.

Do not take to your neighbour which you would take ill from him.

Be watchful for opportunities.

Bias. Bias was a native of Priene, in Ionia, and remarkable for his generosity. Some female captives from Messene having been brought to Priene, he not only rescued them, but educated them as his own daughters, and then returned them to their parents, with a dowry. During an invasion, his friends remonstrated with him, for not endeavouring to secure his most valuable effects as others did; "I carry," said he, "all my treasures with me," referring to the superiority of a well-stored mind to the amplest fortune. His maxims are—

It is a proof of a weak and disordered mind to desire impossibilities.

The greatest infelicity is, not to be able to endure misfortunes patiently.

Great minds alone can support a sudden reverse of fortune.

The most pleasant state is to be always gaining.

Be not unmindful of the miseries of others.

If you are handsome, do handsome things: if deformed, supply the defects of nature by your virtues.

Be slow in undertaking, but resolute in executing.

Praise not a worthless man for the sake of his wealth.

Whatever good you do, ascribe it to the gods.

Lay in wisdom as the store for your journey from youth to old age, for it is the most certain possession.

Many men are dishonest; therefore love your friend with caution, for he may hereafter become your enemy.

Cleobolus, of Lindus, in Rhodes, surpassed all his contemporaries in corporeal strength and beauty, and was also highly celebrated for his skill in unravelling enigmas.

Be kind, said he, to your friends, that they may continue such; and to your enemies, that they may become your friends.

Happy is the family where the master is more loved than feared.

When you go abroad, consider what you have done; when you return home, what you have done.

Marry among your equals, that you may not become a slave to your wife's relations.

Be more desirous to hear than to speak.

Avoid excess.

Periander, of Corinth, who died at the age of eighty, in the fourth year of the forty-eighth Olympiad, offended his countrymen by the rigour of his discipline, and the rest of the Grecian states, by changing the form of government from an aristocracy to a monarchy. He was fond of the society of wise men, and framed very useful and important institutions. He was, moreover, skilful as a poet. His moral doctrines are—

Let the prince, who would reign securely, trust rather to the affection of his subjects, than to the force of arms.

Pleasure is precarious, but virtue is immortal.

Conceal your misfortunes.

Study to be worthy of your parents.

There is nothing which prudence cannot accomplish.

Greece.

HISTORY.

CHAPTER XIII.

OF GREECE.

History.

We have now arrived at the end of the second of the three great leading epochs in the history of Greece. The interest which is excited in the mind of the reader for that extraordinary nation, by their heroic resistance to the overwhelming force which had been poured against them by Persia, as recorded by Herodotus, is well sustained by Thucydides in the narrative which he has left us, of the domestic wars among the different states which arose, after the cessation of all danger from without; but after the conclusion of the Peloponnesian contest, the amusement as well as the instruction to be derived from Grecian history rapidly diminishes. It has been well observed by Mr. Mitford, that the proper point of view in which we ought to consider that obstinate and protracted war, is in the light of a civil contention. It was not the ambition of Athens disputing with the pride of Sparta, for political ascendancy; but it was the turbulence of the many arrayed against the prescription of the few, it was a question between the democratical party in the several states, which composed the Grecian confederation, and that of the oligarchical; and it is in this circumstance, that we must trace the cause of that deep interest which every reader is made to feel in the progress of the contest, and which is so disproportioned to the magnitude of the stake, and so greatly superior to that which is commonly excited by the ordinary details of war and conquest. Mankind have few sympathies to spare, except where they are personally concerned in the occasion, for mere ambition and lust of power, whether exhibited in the history of nations or in that of individuals; and unless our interest on one side or the other can be excited in the cause, for which the respective parties contend, and our moral feelings and attachments be put into motion, it is seldom that any strong and permanent hold can be gained upon the imagination, merely by eloquence of description.

The truth of this is strongly felt, when we close Thucydides, and take up the continuation of the history of Grecian affairs, which has been left us by his accomplished successor. If ever there existed an individual, whom natural talent and actual circumstances of every kind, would have pointed out for the office of historian of the transactions which happened during the age in which he himself lived, it was surely Xenophon. Distinguished, perhaps, even above the very

greatest of the captains whose exploits he has recorded in genius or war; having access to means of information, which no individual besides himself could probably have commanded; with a taste the most refined, and an understanding strengthened and enlarged, not merely by an experience of mankind and of public affairs, such as falls to the lot of few; but also by the instruction of the father of all that is sound and elevating in philosophy, we may safely take for granted, that he has imparted to the history which he has left us of the affairs of Greece, all the interest and value, of which the facts that he had to record were properly susceptible. And yet while the work of Thucydides is known almost by heart by every scholar, and quoted by every writer as the great repository of political wisdom and historical illustration, the work of Xenophon, which as a piece of composition is one of the purest specimens of Attic taste, which has been spared by the destructive hand of time, is almost unknown to the general reader, and not always read even by those who feel ashamed to confess their ignorance of Livy or Herodotus.

The fact is, after the submission of Athens to the will of the conqueror, that which follows of the history of Greece, until the rise of the Macedonian power, when a new state of things begins to arise, is like that part of a drama which is protracted after the catastrophe. Some curiosity is perhaps felt to know what afterwards became of the several cities and states; just as in a novel, we linger to be told the final destiny of the persons of the story; but our curiosity is merely adventitious—it is unconnected with any hopes or fears—it is a mere desire to know, without regard to any wish that we seek to gratify. On this account, we may the less regret that the knowledge which we possess of the events that intervened between the fall of the Athenian power, and the rise of that of Thebes under Epaminondas, is, in many respects, imperfect. The principal events themselves are indifferently known to us by means of Xenophon and Diodorus; but the reader is often puzzled in what way they ought to be interpreted. Wars arise; jealousies and heart-burnings are manifested; alliances are broken and concluded; but what that particular state of things may have been in the several states, from which they originated, or by what accidents that constant revolution of parties is brought

Greece.

State of parties in Greece.

Xenophon peculiarly adapted for the historian of this period.

History.

about, which is for ever happening at Corinth, at Argos, at Thebes, and, to a certain point, even at Sparta itself, we are, for the most part, left only to conjecture. From these circumstances the narrative is broken, as it were, into pieces, without any clue being left to us by which to connect the events with each other. How detrimental this necessarily is to the interest of the story needs not be pointed out; and what is perhaps no less important, the instruction to be derived from this part of Grecian history, is diminished in a still greater degree. When every thing appears accidental and capricious, and to be the result simply of a disorganized state of politics and parties, it is difficult to reason either to or from any general principle; the only moral which a philosophical reader is able to deduce, is a strong feeling of the discomfort and insecurity which belong to all forms of government, be they of what denomination they may, the principles of which are not laid upon the foundation of hereditary institutions.

For these reasons we propose to pass over with

rapidity that period, which ensued in the interval between the termination of the Peloponnesian war, and the rise of the Theban power. The only prominent incident in this part of Grecian history, was the expedition of the Greeks under Cyrus, in the rebellion of that prince against his brother Artaxerxes. This event may be considered, as having ultimately led to the overthrow of the Persian monarchy, by opening the eyes of the Grecians to the internal weakness of that large and ill-constituted empire. The details of the expedition also, as they have been handed down to us by Xenophon, at once the historian and the lender of that unfortunate but marvellous achievement, throw no inconsiderable light upon the manners and customs of the times, both in the east and among the Greeks themselves. This interesting and celebrated event, which forms perhaps the most curious episode in the annals of Greece, will form the subject of our present chapter; and it falls with propriety under the head of Xenophon, whose life will thus furnish the material for an important article of biography.

Greece.

XENOPHON.

Biography.

Early years of Xenophon.

Or the origin and early years of Xenophon, the Athenian, our information is extremely scanty: the political party to which he was attached, the interest which Socrates took in the formation of his principles, the high connections which he formed wherever his fortune cast him, and the resources which he appears to have commanded, all conduce to establish the probability that he was well born and well educated; but history affords us no positive intelligence, further than the name of his father, Gryllus, and that he belonged to the Archian division of the Egeid ward. The date of his birth has been the subject of much ingenious discussion; and the result of the accurate investigation of Mitford, which determines the commencement of his military career to have been about his twenty-fifth or twenty-sixth year, and which, consequently, would place his birth about B. C. 437, does not differ materially from the statement of Diogenes Laertius that he became of age (ἡλικίᾳ) O. 94. 4. A. C. 400, and subsequently joined the expedition of Cyrus. The last-mentioned author

Account of his youth by Diogenes Laert.

insinuates, that Xenophon in his youth was not exempt from the vices of his age and country; and it is probable, that before he became acquainted with Socrates he had not given much attention to the duties of morality.—“He was,” said Diogenes, “well mannered, and finely formed to a miracle, and to these advantages were added extraordinary vigour of body and hardihood of constitution. His introduction to the great philosopher to whom he became so deeply indebted, and so affectionately attached, was highly characteristic of the abrupt, yet winning, manner of the teacher, and of the ingenuous docility of the pupil.” It is said that Socrates, meeting him in a narrow gateway, extended his walking-stick across it, so as to hinder his passage, inquiring how a man could acquire the means of profit? and upon receiving a

suitable reply, he inquired further, how men could attain to virtue and honour? Xenophon being at a loss for an answer, the philosopher added, “Follow me then, and learn.” And from that time he became a hearer of Socrates, and was the first who took notes from his lectures, which he afterwards published, with the title of memoirs. *Memorabilia*.—(Diogenes Laertius.) This connection, however favourable to his future happiness, and to his fame, did not conduce, at the moment, to render his situation at Athens more comfortable. It appears probable that he was, from his birth and family, attached to the aristocratic party, which suffered at that period all the exactions and mortifications which the low tyranny of the mob, exulting in successful sedition, could inflict; and it had for some time been more than suspected, that the disciples of Socrates were trained in notions unfavourable to the continuance of an unbridled democracy—a suspicion which, more than the alleged accusation of impiety, or the virulence of the rival sophists, contributed to the condemnation of that philosopher, by the jealous temper of the sovereign people. About a year before this judgment, which cast so indelible a stain upon the Athenian character, an event occurred which gave a new turn to the prospects of Xenophon, and deprived his country of his services and of his example. Cyrus the Younger, who, on the death of his father Darius, had been left commander-in-chief of a district of vast extent and richness, was, soon afterwards, at the suggestion of the perfidious satrap Tissaphernes, seized by his elder brother Artaxerxes, the new king, and condemned to death; but, at the intercession of Parysatis, the queen-mother, who appears to have been partial to her younger son, he was liberated, and restored to his command. Indignant, however, at the insult, and made sensible of the insecurity of a younger brother's

Xenophon.

Cyrus imprisoned by Artaxerxes.

Is released.

His introduction to Socrates.

Biography. state, under Eastern despotism, he became guilty of that crime of which he had been, perhaps unjustly, accused, and entertained a design against the throne and life of the king, under the too-well founded impression that both could not continue in safety.

With this view the Persian prince laid himself out to win popularity, by a splendid and liberal hospitality; and he laboured to strengthen his forces, by every means in his power, without awakening the suspicions of the royal court; seeking, under pretext of differences with the neighbouring satraps, to engage in his service a formidable body of Grecian heavy-armed mercenaries, of which he had taken care to exhibit a specimen at Susa, when he travelled thither shortly before the death of Darius, and had carefully observed the effect produced upon the minds of his countrymen by their formidable appearance.

Proxenus Among those whom he now entertained, Proxenus, a Theban of rank, pupil of the Levantine Gorgias, who brought him a reinforcement of one thousand five hundred heavy-armed soldiers, and five hundred targeteers, or light infantry, was received into his confidence, and treated as his personal friend; he being intimately connected with Xenophon wrote to him at Athens, inviting him to share the prince's favour, and to join the projected expedition as a volunteer. Xenophon shewed the letter to Socrates, and desired him to be his counsellor on the occasion. The conjuncture was important: Cyrus was the ally of Lacedæmon, and consequently, in the hostile spirit of the times, considered as the enemy of Athens, although nothing had passed to prove that he had any designs inimical to the republic; to follow his fortunes would, therefore, be to incur the suspicion of Lacedæmonism, an offence at this time nearly synonymous with the crime of being an aristocrat, and likely to be punished by a sentence amounting to banishment for life.

The philosopher, who probably saw in his youthful friend talents and energies for the exercise of which his situation in his own country afforded him little opportunity, and who could not but feel the questionable nature of the proposed adventure, declined giving judgment himself, but recommended a reference to the oracle of Apollo at Delphi. Xenophon, in compliance with this suggestion, undertook a journey to that celebrated temple, and it is likely secured the favour of the Pythia by well-timed liberality; but instead of inquiring whether or not he should accept the invitation to Sardis, he merely put the question under what auspices, and with what sacrifices, he should prepare for the expedition? to which a direct and favourable answer having been returned, he informed Socrates of the result, who, after mildly reprimanding him for his departure from the advice which he had solicited, bid him set out under the direction of the God. (Diogenes Laertius.)

As Xenophon must have passed his eighteenth year, sometime previous to the conclusion of the Peloponnesian war, it is likely that he would, in compliance with the laws of his country, have seen some service, although the part which he took in it is no where recorded; but many circumstances concur in rendering it probable that he served with other Athenians of rank in the cavalry, and employed himself in acquiring information on military subjects; for he does not appear to have been received at the court of Sardis like a raw recruit, and his establishment there, as we

afterwards incidentally learn, was peculiarly equestrian.

On his arrival, he found that the prince had engaged a Grecian force of about eleven thousand heavy-armed troops, and two thousand light infantry, principally under the direction of Clearchus, a Lacedæmonian exile, in whom he placed great confidence, and to whom he had entrusted a sum of ten thousand darics, (nearly £8,000.) for the purpose of clandestinely raising troops among the Hellespontine Thracians.

Cyrus's general. He had also employed, in a similar service, Aristippus, a Thessalian, who had been driven from his home by one of those violent factions so common in Grecian states, and had availed himself of the asylum and ready aid which Cyrus afforded to all warlike fugitives, to reanimate himself and his party by force of arms. Proxenus, the Boeotian, to whom Xenophon owed his introduction, had been engaged to raise an army under pretext of chastising the Peisidians for some inroads upon the government of the prince; while Sophanesus of Stymphalus, with two associates, (Socrates of Achaia, and Pasion of Megara) was directed to enlist all the soldiers he could meet with, for the avowed purpose of prosecuting the dispute with Tissaphernes respecting the Milesian territory.

At length, thinking himself sufficiently prepared for his great undertaking, Cyrus ordered Clearchus immediately to join with all his force, and Aristippus to make terms with his citizens, and to send him the troops he had collected under the command of his countryman Menon. He also sent to Xenias, the Arcadian, who had before accompanied him to Susa, and who afterwards commanded the foreign forces in his garrisons, to bring him all who could safely be spared from that service. He recalled the generals who were conducting the siege of Miletus, and commanded the Milesian exiles to join him in the pretended expedition against the Peisidians; other Grecian reinforcements received a route to meet him on the road; and his whole disposable Persian army accompanied him. It is probable that he hoped to have so deceived the king, with respect to the object of his march, as to have taken him quite unprepared, and to have overcome him almost without a battle; but the wily Tissaphernes, exasperated by former enmity, as well as by recent aggression, perceived at once the disproportion between the means provided and the object professed; and taking five hundred cavalry as his body guard, set off, with the utmost speed he could use, to Susa, and thus enabled the king to make preparations for repelling the approaching invasion.

The army set out from Sardis in the month of April 401. a. c. with all the pomp, and much of the luxury of a Persian camp, only it was ill provided with money, Cyrus having probably exhausted his treasury in enrolling so great a force, and depending, according to the system of the times, upon the voluntary or forced contributions of the countries through which he was to pass, and upon the hopes of speedy success and immense booty.

It will not be necessary to detail all the minute particulars of a march, which Xenophon relates without taking any occasion to make mention of himself, but with an attention to the topography and natural history of the various districts through which he travelled, which suggests a conjecture, that the idea of writing the *Anabasis* was entertained from the first,

Biography. and might possibly have been proposed to him by his friend and adviser Socrates; some incidents, however, must not be omitted, which throw considerable light upon the character of those Grecian mercenaries on whom the fate of empires now began to depend, as well as upon the resources to which their leaders were driven to supply those deficiencies of pay, which the poverty of the Greeks, and the mismanagement of the Persians, so often occasioned. More than three months pay was in arrear, when Cyrus arrived at the plain of Caystrus, where he halted for five days, having left Sardis little more than seven weeks; and the soldiers, says Xenophon, "went frequently to the door of his lodging to demand what was due to them. He put them off alleging the great prospects before them; and shewing the vexation which he really felt; appealing to their experience that it was not his habit to fail of payment when he had it in his power."

Cyrus in distress for treasure,

is relieved by Epyaxas.

At this critical period he received a visit from Epyaxas, the wife of Syennesis, whom Xenophon calls the king of the Cilicians, but who was nevertheless a tributary of the Persian empire, and subject to the imperial sceptre of Artaxerxes. It was currently reported, that this lady not only brought the prince a large supply of money, but granted him still more costly favours; and he was enabled, besides discharging the demands of his army, to gratify the soldiers with a month's pay in advance. The princess continued some days with the army, either from political or other motives, and at her request Cyrus reviewed his troops at Tyriarum, which Xenophon distinguishes as "an inhabited city," with reference to the frequent occurrence throughout the Persian empire, of "cities great and fair, without inhabitant," in consequence of the system of spoil and plunder, by which the petty wars between the Satraps were conducted, and of the weakness of the imperial government, which was unable to protect its dependencies or maintain subordination in the provinces.

The lady appears to have been more frightened than pleased with the display of Grecian warfare; but Cyrus derived additional hopes from the alarm which the brilliancy of their armour, the exactness of their discipline, and the vigour of their charge, produced among the natives of the east. In this review, Menon, at the head of his Thespians, occupied the right wing, and Clearchus the left. The former had afterwards the honour of reconducting the Cilician princess with an escort to her residence. He appears to have been in high favour with Cyrus, though Xenophon speaks of him in strong terms of disapprobation, and relates some circumstances much to his disadvantage; it is hinted (by Diogenes Laertius), that he had some personal reason to dislike him.

When they arrived at Tarsus, the metropolis of Cilicia, a negotiation ensued between Cyrus and Syennesis, in consequence of which another large subsidy was provided for the pay of the troops; but here a new cause of discontent arose, which speedily broke out into open mutiny, and threatened to destroy all the schemes of Cyrus, by the dissolution of his ill-compacted army.

The soldiers refuse to march, but are prevailed

The soldiers had for some time entertained suspicions, that the real design of the prince was against the king, and they now declared, that as they were not enlisted for that service, they would proceed no further. Clearchus attempted to enforce obedience to his commands, and his horses beginning the march,

were stoned, himself narrowly escaping with life. Xenophon finding subordination at an end, he desisted; and having called a general assembly of the troops, where the extraordinary spectacle of a Spartan general in tears commanded silence, he addressed them in a speech probably more laconic and less skilful than the harangues put into his mouth by Xenophon, but which had the effect not only of restoring satisfaction and obedience among his own troops, but even of inducing more than two thousand men who had hitherto served under Xenias and Pasion, to transfer their arms and baggage to the camp of Clearchus, a striking instance of the want of military discipline, arising from the prevalence of republican principles.

By these and other arts which the deficiency of authority compelled him to adopt, he induced the assembly of soldiers to send a deputation to Cyrus, in order to ascertain the real objects of the expedition. The prince, who was suffering the most extreme uneasiness on account of their defection, could not venture to announce his actual intentions, and replied to the deputies that an enemy of his, (Abrocomas, Satrap of Syria,) was then on the banks of the Euphrates, distant only twelve days' march from Tarsus; and that he desired to proceed against him. The assembly were not so deceived by this feint, but that the design against the king was still suspected; but in the difficulty of returning without pay, and against the will of their leaders, through an enemy's country, and apprehensive that Cyrus might turn his arms against them, if prevented from pursuing his original plan, they resolved to follow him, on condition of receiving an augmentation of one third to their pay. And thus this alarming sedition was effectually quieted.

All, however, were not satisfied; and the two generals, Xenias and Pasion, mortified by the secession of their troops, and the acquiescence of the prince in it, availed themselves of the opportunity soon afterwards afforded, by their arrival and stay at Myriandrus, a Phœnician sea port of some commercial importance, where the united Lacedæmonian and Persian fleets met the army, to take their passage home; and Xenophon has acknowledged that he was tempted to follow their example, but was withheld from it by the dictates of prudence and honour. Cyrus was the first to announce this desertion to the Greeks, and he availed himself of the circumstance to gain popularity by a display of magnanimity, not only abstaining from pursuit, which, with his swift galleys would have been certain of success, but assuring the soldiers, that the wives and children of the deserters, who had been left in his power at Tralles, as pledges of their fidelity, should be restored to them in safety.

No further difficulties arose till they reached Thapsacus, a large and rich city upon the right bank of the Euphrates; where, having halted for five days, Cyrus sent for the Grecian generals, and avowed his design of marching to Babylon against the great king, desiring them to exert their influence to prevail on the soldiers to follow. A general assembly being called, the communication so long secretly expected was made; the soldiers, as usual, shewed reluctance, and accused their officers of having deceived them, with a view of extorting a further increase of pay or gratification, and they demanded the same sum which had been given on a former occasion to the Greek mercenaries, who attended the prince on his visit to

Xenophon
ed on by
Clearchus.

Xenias and
Pasion re-
turn home.

Cyrus in
forms the
army of his
intended
enterprise.

They mur-
mur,

Biography. his father, and who were exposed to no hazards of battle. Cyrus immediately promised a gratuity of five minas of silver (about £16.) to each man, on their arrival at Babylon, and undertook to continue their monthly pay at the increased rate at which it then stood of three half darics, till their return to Ionia. The greater part of the army were engaged by this offer; but while they were yet deliberating upon it, the artful Menon drew his men aside, and advised them to take that opportunity of ingratiating themselves with the prince by crossing the river first, while the rest were hesitating. This being done, they immediately received the thanks of Cyrus, and the promise of a liberal reward, and Menon himself was honoured with splendid presents. The whole army soon followed, and found the Euphrates easily fordable; an event which the flattery of the Thapsacenes attributed to the homage of the river paid to his future king; alleging that it had never before occurred in the memory of man, and that Abrocomas was supposed to have effectually prevented the passage by removing all the vessels upon the stream.

Soon after this, the army having encamped in some deserted works, nearly opposite the populous town of Carmanda, on the Euphrates, and being employed in transporting provisions on temporary floats made of skins from the market, a violent quarrel arose between a soldier serving under Clearchus, and one belonging to Menon's division; and the former general, deciding that Menon's man was to blame, inflicted stripes upon him, in that hasty and arbitrary manner, which the deficiency of an established discipline frequently occasioned. The comrades of the culprit so warmly resented this interference, that when, on the same day, Clearchus happened to pass from the market through their quarters, with few attendants, one of them, who was employed in cleaving wood, flung his hatchet at his head, and was supported by the rest with stones and similar missiles. Escaping to his own camp, he called to arms; and, but for the timely intervention of Proxenus, would have led his Thracian horse to action; during the discussion which ensued, Cyrus opportunely arrived, and rushing with his suite into the midst of the confusion, cried out, "Clearchus, and Proxenus, and you Greeks who are present, know not what you are doing; if you fall out among yourselves, I shall this day be cut off, and you not long after; for if my native troops see any thing amiss between us, they will instantly become more dangerous than the forces of the king." This remonstrance brought Clearchus to himself, and all parties laid down their arms.

This storm was scarcely appeased, when a new alarm was excited by the treachery of Oronatas, a relative of the prince, who was discovered to hold a correspondence with the king, and to have arranged a plan for deserting with a chosen body of cavalry. Being apprehended, he acknowledged his crime, and admitted that having twice before been pardoned, after similar offences, he could never hope to re-establish his character; Cyrus, unwilling to appear despotical, asked Clearchus for his judgment, having admitted him as first in rank of the Grecian army to his council on this occasion; Clearchus, without hesitation, declared his opinion for death, and all present, even the relatives of the criminal, assented to its propriety. Cyrus therefore condemned him to suffer, he was respectfully led out; and seen no more.

Treachery of Oronatas, detected. and punished.

The time for action now approaching, Cyrus took care to animate his Grecian troops by renewed and splendid promises, and to warn them of the immense superiority of numbers, with which they would have to contend, encouraging them at the same time with assurances that they would find the Persian soldiers less than women.

He assigned the Greeks a position on the right of his army, flanked by the Euphrates, and directed Clearchus to command their right wing, and Menon the left. And here for the first time Xenophon makes mention of himself. "Cyrus rode along at a moderate distance surveying both armies, looking now at the enemy, now at his friends. Xenophon the Athenian, seeing him from the Grecian line, riding out to meet him, inquired if he had any commands for him. He stopping his horse informed him, and desired him to tell them all, that the sacrifices and victims were favourable. While he was saying this, he heard a clamour through the ranks, and asked what it was. Xenophon told him that they were exchanging a fresh watchword. He wondered who could have given it out, and asked what it might be. Xenophon replied, that it was Jupiter, the Preserver and Victory. Cyrus having heard it, said I agree to it; let it be so, and having said this he rode off to his station."

The minuteness with which a circumstance, in itself so little important, is related, is highly characteristic of a young man ambitious of notice and gratified by the honour conferred upon him. At the same time it seems to imply, that Xenophon had hitherto taken no part in the conduct of the army, and had not been invited to the councils of the prince; for had he been accustomed to converse familiarly with Cyrus, he would scarcely have recurred the present interview.

The battle of Cunaxa, which followed immediately after the anecdote that has just been related, and in which Cyrus was slain and his army completely defeated by Artaxerxes, belongs to the history of Persia rather than to the life of Xenophon, or to the affairs of Greece.

The native troops in the army of Cyrus were totally routed and dispersed; but in that part of the field in which the Greeks fought, the forces of Artaxerxes were driven from the field in every direction, and almost without resistance. These last were pursued until the Grecians at length, wearied with slaughter and fatigue, returned to their camp. As they had gone into battle without dinner, it was no small mortification to them, on their arrival, to find that their quarters had been plundered; nevertheless, as they supposed that a great victory had been gained, their spirits were raised, and they waited patiently, hoping that the morning would bring them intelligence and orders from Cyrus. When day dawned, the generals, surprised at receiving no communication, resolved to march forward in the hope of falling in with him; but at sunrise, two officers of distinction, Procles, the governor of Teuthrania, who was descended from Demaratus, the Laconian, and Glous, the son of Tamas, admiral of the fleet, informed the Greeks that Cyrus was dead; and that the remainder of his army had fled to their camp under the conduct of Arius their general, who desired to inform the Greeks that he would wait for them that day, but on the morrow should march homewards for Ionia. This intelligence was received by the whole army, officers and men, with the deepest consternation; but Clearchus, with true Spartan spirit, replied, "I would

Xenophon.

Cyrus's disposition of his army.

Xenophon's first mention of himself.

Battle of Cunaxa, and death of Cyrus.

Spirited reply of Clearchus to Arius.

Biography. that Cyrus had lived to profit by our victory; but since it is otherwise, we are not less masters of the field, and but for your arrival, should have been now on our march in pursuit of the king; wherefore tell Arius that if he will return hither, we will set him upon the throne of Persia, since they who conquer have a right to reign." Having thus spoken, he sent them back, and desired Chersiphos the Lacedæmonian and Menon to accompany them; the latter, indeed, had himself proposed to undertake the embassy as the friend and *xenos*,* or guest, of Arius.

Artaxerxes demands the surrender of the Greeks.

Debate of the Grecian generals.

Xenophon's answer to Phaulon, the messenger of the king.

Clearchus replies with caution to Phaulon.

In the mean time, Clearchus was too good a general to neglect provision for the immediate wants of his army. He ordered a number of draught oxen and asses to be killed, and gathering up the darts and wicker or wooden shields of the barbarians, and breaking up some unnecessary waggon for fuel, they fed that day upon boiled meat. After dinner, when they were, according to the manner of the Greeks, assembled together to spend the heat of the day in conversation, some heralds arrived from the king and from Tissaphernes, (among whom was a Greek named Phaulon, in the service of the satrap, and highly esteemed by him,) demanding, in the name of the king, that they should ground their arms and surrender at discretion. Clearchus merely replied, that it was not usual with the victors in an action to surrender their arms; and leaving the other generals to return a more explicit answer, he went out to attend a sacrifice, promising speedily to return. During his absence, several of the principal Greeks took part in the discussion; but having had no previous consultation on a message so unexpected, they spoke as their different tempers and interests led them, some with indignant contempt, others with a disposition to accommodation, and a few with offers of mercenary service in Egypt or elsewhere; among the rest, Xenophon thus addressed the messenger.

"With us, Phaulon, as you may perceive, nothing is of value but our arms and our honour. As long as we preserve our arms, we can rely upon our own valour; but in parting with them, we should be conscious of betraying ourselves. Think not, therefore, that we will resign our only remaining property, but rather we will use them in fighting for yours." Phaulon laughed heartily at this set speech, and replied, "You appear to be a scholar, young gentleman, and what you say is pleasant enough; but I would not have your inexperience so much deceive you, as to set your boasted valour against the power of the king."†

Clearchus having, probably, under the usual pretext of a sacrifice, taken time for private consultation, now returned to the assembly and inquired what had been determined. Phaulon having replied, that the rest had said some one thing and some another, and that he hoped for a definitive answer from him alone, Clearchus desired him, as of Grecian extraction, to say what Greeks ought to do in their situation. The question being evaded, Clearchus boldly took upon

himself to send the following message to the king. **Xenophon.** "If we are to be considered as the king's allies we shall be more worthy of his service in our armour; if we are to fight for our safety, we cannot spare it."—"This answer," said Phaulon, "we will report; but the king has also commanded us to declare that he will keep truce with you whilst you remain here, but will consider you as enemies if you either advance or retreat; say, therefore, whether you choose truce or war."—"Say," replied the general, "that we consent to the proposition of the king."—"But is it truce or war?" urged Phaulon. "A truce, if we remain—war, if we advance or retreat." And the question being repeated, he returned the same answer, and refused to declare what were his intentions; and with this answer, the messengers were constrained to depart. Soon afterwards, Procles and Chersiphos only returned from Arius, declining the offer made him on account of the inferiority of his birth to that of many Persian nobles; and stating that if the Greeks should not join him that night, he should march in the morning without them. Clearchus, in his usual manner, declined that they would do as they thought best, and declined to inform them what were his own intentions. He appears, however, to have considered the matter deeply, and to have determined wisely; and knowing the effect which the belief in divination still had upon the minds of the soldiery, he employed it, as other generals and statesmen of that age usually did, to confirm his own authority. Calling the officers together after dusk, he assured them that having sacrificed with a view to pursuing the king, the victims had appeared unfavourable; and that these indications were well founded was proved by intelligence since received, that the king had passed the Tigris, whose stream was not fordable, and had removed all the boats. To remain where they were encamped, without supplies, was manifestly impossible; the victims were altogether propitious for a return to the Cæreian party; he proposed, therefore, that they should retire to sup as well as they could; that upon the sounding of the bugle, which usually dismissed them to bed, they and countenance a retreat.

Here then commences the celebrated "retreat of the ten thousand," as it has been somewhat loosely termed by the moderns, but better known to the ancients as the "Return of the Cæreian Greeks." The army was now encamped at the distance of sixteen thousand and fifty furlongs from the city of Ephesus in Ionia, which they reckoned as their rendezvous, or to compute distance by time, ninety three days march. By their resolution to remove, they had in effect declared themselves at war with the king, in the very heart of an enemy's country, who could at any moment pour down upon them with fifty times their numbers, and cut off all the sources of supply; and their only allies within two thousand miles, were a defeated band of

* There is an English word in any degree corresponding with the Greek terms *ἑως* and *ἐως*, in that sense in which they are here and frequently used. It was a right of friendship, arising out of a contract of reciprocal hospitality, and a remnant of the manners of the earliest age of Greece.

† It is wonderful, that in the teeth of this contemptuous speech, recorded by Xenophon himself, two distinguished critics and historians, Spelman and Dodwell, should have contended that he was at this time about fifty years of age.

Sargaphy, rebel barbarians, whose weakness and cowardice they knew, and whose fidelity they had every reason to suspect; conducted by a man who appears to have possessed neither spirit in rebelling, nor honesty in obedience. To add to the difficulty and dangers of their situation, their own numbers were thinned by desertion as soon as it was dark, and there was too much reason to apprehend that the deserters had carried intelligence to the king. Marching with the remainder, Clearchus reached his first encampment adjoining that of Arius about midnight; and immediately laying aside their armour, the generals and principal officers waited upon the Persian commander, and a solemn compact was made between the Greeks on one part, and Arius and his chief officers on the other, to observe mutual fidelity, and to afford mutual assistance; the Persians further covenanting to act faithfully as the guide of the army. The ceremony consisted in slaughtering a boar, a boi, a lynx*, and a ram, and their mingled blood being poured into a shield, the Greeks dipped into it a sword, and the Persians a spear, and thus took the prescribed oath. Clearchus then desired Arius to give his opinion respecting the route homewards. It is difficult at this distance of time, to form any opinion respecting the real intentions of Arius in making this league with the Greeks: and Xenophon gives no hint of any insincerity in the advice which he now offered them—to avoid the road by which they had come, on account of their want of supplies, and of the barren nature and exhausted condition of the country, and to return home by a longer way through a rich and fertile district; it was, however, evident that by taking the Greeks into a totally strange land, he had them more completely in his power than while they were pursuing a track already known to them.

It was agreed, nevertheless, to follow his recommendation, which was certainly supported by cogent arguments, and to lose no time in gaining ground on the king's forces, who, it was argued, could not overtake them with a large force, and dared not attack them with a small one. Upon this arrangement Xenophon makes a very characteristic remark, observing that it clearly acknowledged the necessity of retreat, at least, if out of *fight*; "but fortune," he says, "played the general more honourably;" for it shortly happened that the Royal troops came in sight, but were afraid to attack them, and actually removed to a safer distance during the night; a caution principally attributable to the Spartan spirit of Clearchus, who with a dignified indifference continued his march to their view, neither caring to attack, nor seeking to avoid an engagement. These circumstances led to an intercourse, and finally to an arrangement between the parties, the terms of which were so favourable to the Greeks, that they ought to have excited suspicion; and whatever might have been the original intentions of Arius, there can be little doubt that he now bought his own pardon at the expense of concurring in a scheme of cunning treachery for the total destruction of his Grecian friends. To this he was induced by the persuasion of the unprincipled and po-

litic Tissaphernes who had been appointed to succeed the unfortunate Cyrus to his great command, and was, in consequence, preparing to pursue the same journey towards Sardis with a powerful army.

It was obviously for the interest of the Persian empire, that the Cyprian Greeks should not return in safety, to excite the cupidity of their formidable countrymen, by relating the facilities of their march, the improbability of their adversaries, and the immense booty to be obtained by a successful invasion; and it was, at the same time, extremely hazardous to attempt their destruction by force, even with that vast superiority of numbers which the king could command. In the history which follows, we shall trace a deliberate design to mislead, to disorganize, and ultimately to annihilate the Grecian army, founded upon the knowledge which the Persians had acquired of its strength and of its weaknesses, and so artfully contrived, and in part executed, as to have ensured success, but for the extraordinary talents and prompt decision of Xenophon.

The boldness and independence which the Greeks had shewn, by determining to march homewards in defiance of the king, and the proud style which their leader assumed in every communication with him, had taught the Persian court that little was to be effected by haughtiness and intimidation; and Artaxerxes, or they who acted in his name on this occasion, wisely laid aside the lofty tone of oriental despotism, and not only submitted to the rough manners of Clearchus, but acceded to all his demands, and supplied him liberally with provisions; ensuring by such compliances the peaceable behaviour of his troops both towards the king's forces, and the country at large, the former of whom dreaded nothing so much as an attack from a small phalanx of Greeks, and the latter knew too well the dreadful consequences to be apprehended from Grecian cruelty and rapacity in pillage.

Of the treachery intended against them, Clearchus appears to have entertained some idea; for Xenophon mentions, that in conducting his troops, under Persian guides, to the place assigned them for refreshment, he thought it necessary to push forward as rapidly as possible, observing that the numerous canals and drains across which they were led, by means of portable bridges, were much fuller of water than at that season would ordinarily have occurred, and fearing that there might be a design of entangling them in the fens, and inundating the country. If such was the intention, it was frustrated by the expedition with which the Greeks traversed these lustrate marsh lands; and on their arrival at the villages they were abundantly refreshed, and well entertained: and here, partly for rest and partly from policy, they remained three days.

During this repose, Tissaphernes, accompanied by the brother of the queen, and three Persians of rank, and with a great train, had an interview with the generals, in which he displayed all that finesse, and ready perception of character, which characterize an accomplished diplomatist; and which prove that they, whom the Greeks with so much contempt termed barbarians, though less warlike, and generally less vigorous in mind and body, were in fact more highly civilized, more polished in manners, and more adroit in negotiation than themselves. The result of the present discussion, was a reference to the Royal council, whose reply the Greeks awaited two days

* This is usually translated a *wolf*, but as the lynx was with the Persians a domestic animal kept for the purposes of hunting, as hounds are with us, and as the occasion could only admit of something such animals as were at hand, it seems most probable that *lynx* here signifies, as it is supposed to do in Homer, a lynx.

The Greeks and Persians have an interview.

Biography.
at which
certain
treasures are
made.

In great anxiety. On the third day, Tissaphernes returned, and the treaty was settled on the following terms. That after the army which was to accompany the new satrap should have joined that of Arius, this united force should march towards Ionia, and act as guides to the Greeks; that they should provide them a market for purchasing provisions at their different stations on the road; that in failure hereof the Greeks should be allowed to seize in the villages as much as might be necessary for present consumption, but without committing waste; provided always, that whenever a market could be procured they should not plunder the country.

This being agreed, Tissaphernes returned to court to complete his preparations, and the Greeks encamping near Arius awaited his return about three weeks. During this period the symptoms of alienation became so strong on the part of the Persians, that the Greeks took alarm, and pressed Clearchus to remain no longer; but that prudent general, though he acknowledged that he participated in their uneasiness, would not consent to begin the rupture by departing from the terms of the treaty; alleging his total ignorance of the country, and especially of the rivers they might have in cross, the formidable superiority of the Persian cavalry, and his own total want of that species of force, as sufficient reasons for avoiding open hostilities.

Tissaphernes at length arrived, accompanied by Orontes, the satrap of Armenia; who is supposed to have been the son of that Orontes executed by Cyrus, and to have received the king's daughter in marriage, as a compensation for the death and disgrace of his father incurred in the royal cause. Each of the satraps led a great power, principally of horse, and Orontes brought his bride with him. The close connection which immediately appeared to subsist between Tissaphernes and Arius, strengthened the suspicions and increased the uneasiness already prevailing in the Grecian army, and although the terms of the treaty were formally observed, yet all friendly intercourse wholly ceased, precautions against surprise were adopted with the same jealousy as in the face of an enemy, and some blows passed among the lower servants of the two camps.

A few days afterwards the evil intentions of the Persian generals became apparent, by a feigned communication made to Proxenus and Xenophon, of some intended treachery against the Greeks, the object of which appears to have been, by exasperating the jealousy of the army, to excite them to defection, or to some violation of the treaty; and an great was the consternation of Clearchus that the plot would possibly have succeeded, had not the penetration of Xenophon pointed out an inconsistency in the story of their pretended friend, which considerably relieved him from the apprehension of any immediate attack by the Persians. The circumstance, however, added to other causes of discontent, induced Clearchus to demand an explanation of Tissaphernes, in the course of which that wily and accomplished statesman prevailed upon the Spartan to lay aside his suspicions and his caution, and by artful insinuations transferred to Menon the whole blame of the late differences; so that Clearchus was induced to propose, that himself and the principal officers of the army, should wait upon the satrap, and that a cordial reconciliation should take place; after which he remained to supper, and was treated with

the most engaging hospitality. There were not wanting in the Grecian army persons who distrusted these professions, and we may gather that Xenophon himself advised the general against committing himself to the faith of his doubtful allies; but Clearchus, blunt and honest by nature, fell into the snare; and taking with him four other generals, and twenty inferior officers, and being followed by about two hundred soldiers or volunteers all unarmed*, he repaired to the Persian camp.—On their arrival, the five generals Clearchus, Proxenus, Menon, Socrates, and Agias the Arcadian were immediately admitted, the other officers waiting without; and not long after, upon a signal given, those within were arrested, and those without were cut to pieces, while a body of horse scouring the plain, slew all the mixed crowd which had followed them; and so complete was the destruction, that the Greeks who had observed the confusion from the camp, and were at a loss how to act, were only informed of the truth by a single fugitive who escaped mortally wounded. All flew to arms, expecting an immediate attack; but the policy of Tissaphernes was not to fight, but to wear them out, and accordingly he instantly dispatched three persons supposed to have been well affected towards Cyrus, Arius, Artaxius, and Mithridates, and, as was reported, his own brother, with a well armed escort of three hundred horse, to demand an interview with the remaining officers, and to endeavour to practise upon them the same artifices which had been so successfully played off upon Clearchus. Cleirchus the Lacedæmonian next in rank to Clearchus was absent, and the only generals in the camp were Sophonnetus, and Cleonor of Orchomenus; these, having taken proper measures to secure their safety, went out to meet the Persians, and Xenophon accompanied them that he might, if possible, ascertain the fate of his friend Proxenus. Arius then declared that Clearchus, having broken the treaty, had suffered capital punishment, but that Proxenus and Menon, who had given information of his treachery, were received among the Persians with high honours; the king, he added, demands that you should give up your armour, which, having been the property of Cyrus, has, in course, escheated to him.

This demand, which amounted in fact to an unconditional surrender, was answered by Cleonor with becoming indignation, and with an appeal to the honour and generosity of those friends of Cyrus who had involved themselves in the perils of Tissaphernes, which could only have failed of effect with bad hearts and depraved understandings. Arius merely reiterated his charge against Clearchus; upon which Xenophon, with his characteristic acuteness, observed, "Clearchus then, if indeed he has violated his oath, and broken the treaty, has suffered justly; (for it is right that perjury should be punished with death); but since our generals Proxenus and Menon have deserved well of you, send them back to us, for it is manifest that they who are friends of both parties, can best advise for our mutual advantage." To this fair and able proposal the Persians could not coarve a reply, and after considerable discussion among themselves, they retired without coming to any conclusion.

It does not appear that there was the least ground for the charge pretended against Clearchus, or any of the five generals, unless the excessive invariance, the

* So we may understand the phrase *ἀνὰ ὅλην τὴν στρατίαν*.

Xenophon
The treachery of
Tissaphernes.
Seizure of
the Grecian
generals

and death
of Clearchus.

Tissaphernes
arrives.

Biography. shameless selfishness, the gross dehaucheries, and the total want of principle, which Xenophon attributes to Menon; and his known attachment to Arius, might raise a suspicion that he had tampered with the Persians, and offered to assist in betraying his countrymen. But if he were thus guilty, he received the due reward of his crimes; for the other generals having been conducted alive into the presence of the king were honourably beheaded, while Menon was condemned to one of those ignominious punishments, too well known in Persia, which destroys life after many months of lingering torture.

Xenophon sums up his account of this extraordinary transaction with a handsome tribute to the military genius and high character of Clearchus; and briefly notices the brilliant talents, and engaging qualities, of his young friend Proxenus, whom he represents as capable of conducting affairs of the greatest moment, but too desirous of being beloved among his soldiers to inspire awe or maintain due discipline; his approbation was valued by the well-disposed; but his only censure, the withholding his accustomed praise and encouragement, was lightly regarded by the disorderly.

Contrast between the Greeks and the Persians. It is highly probable that the Satraps produced the five generals at court as prisoners of war, and claimed the credit of having defeated the Grecian army in action, and effectually prevented its return home; an event evidently much dreaded by the Persian government, aware of the predatory habits and sanguinary temper of the Greeks, and of the great superiority which personal hardihood, exact discipline, and impenetrable armour must give them over any number of Persian soldiers, who, though often brave, and not deficient in address and activity, were, from the nature of their accoutrements, and the delicacy of their habits, equally incapable of being made effective in close action, and of sustaining the fatigues and privations of a protracted campaign. The policy and arrangement of the Persian court, differed little from the general character so remarkable in oriental despotism; while a veneration scarcely short of idolatry was ostentatiously paid to the person of the great king; his authority was set at naught with impunity, and the grossest frauds were practised upon his revenues; a system of profound deceit and treachery was veiled under the most courtly manners; and the servants of the crown, often too powerful to be controlled, were secretly encouraged in a system of private warfare, that the king might keep up a shadow of power by balancing them against each other. It was this weakness in the head, and division among the members, of the empire, which opened to the enterprising genius of Cyrus those great prospects which his personal rashness nipped in the bud; had he survived, it seems probable that he would have changed the face of that vast dominion, and have given a new energy to Persian councils and Persian arms, for he had all the qualities which command respect, and many which engage affection, and he entertained enlarged and liberal views of the political and military institutions of European Greece.

Republican sentiments of Greece unfavourable to military discipline.

It has already been observed, that the republican sentiments which pervaded Greece were extremely unfavourable to the adoption of an effective military discipline. Where the council of war consists of the

whole army, and the deliberations are conducted as in a popular assembly, it is impossible that there should exist any thing like secrecy of design or promptitude of execution; and where the generals owe their authority to the election of the troops, or the consent of the inferior officers, their operations must generally be controlled, and their opinions often over-ruled; and so such a mode of appointment precludes a regular gradation of rank, there is commonly no second ready, on any emergency, to supply the place of the commander-in-chief; so that the success of every action depends upon the life of one man, and the conduct of the whole campaign, upon every casualty to which he is liable. Hence it is, that in reading the history of Greece, we are so frequently surprised to find the most brilliant victories followed by no material consequences, and the greatest advantages overlooked and unimproved.

There is perhaps no instance upon record of an army so situated, as that of the Greeks, after the loss of their five generals; for of the three who remained with that rank, not one appears to have possessed talents or experience, or to have thought himself either capable of the great command now vacant, or called upon to provide for the common safety. All gave themselves up to despair. They felt that they were still two thousand miles from the nearest part of Greece, close to the vast armies of the king, and surrounded on all sides by tribes of hostile barbarians, who would supply them with nothing but at the expense of blows and blood; they had no guide acquainted with the country, no knowledge of the deep and rapid rivers which intersected it, and no cavalry to explore the road, or cover their rear on the march. As if discipline and hope had ended together, the roll-call was scarcely attended to, the watch-fires were scanty, or not at all supplied; even their principal meal was neglected; where chance led, they threw themselves down to rest, but not to sleep—for sleep was banished by thoughts of that country and those friends, whom they now no longer expected, and scarcely dared hope to behold again.

But the army had got among them a man, little known indeed, but of far greater talents and bolder energies than any general under whom they had served; and probably the only man who could have extricated them from their present situation of unparalleled difficulty and danger. Xenophon had hitherto held no rank; had been attached to no division of the army; and had appeared only as the friend of Proxenus, but not in any way serving under him. He, like the rest, lay awake, suffering from grief and alarm, but his mind was not of a temperament to suffer without seeking a remedy, and he represents himself as having been encouraged by a dream during a momentary doze, which he has, in his usual manner, so related and interpreted, as to leave it doubtful whether his remarkable attention to omens and sacrifices was the result of sound policy or of sincere belief. Rousing himself from slumber, he began to reflect on the folly and rashness in which all participated. The night was far spent; the enemy would probably be upon them with the dawn; submission could only conduct them through suffering and disgrace to an ignominious death, no one provided for the emergency; despair produced the effect of security; "and from what people among them, thought he, can I expect

Despair of the Grecian army.

Xenophon's meditations on the situation of the army.

Biography. a general, fit for this business? or why should I hesitate to act on account of my youth? If I thus give myself up length to the enemy, I shall never reach a more mature age."

A. M.
3603.

—
B. C.
401.

Consults
with the
officers.

And is cho-
sen leader
with one
discreet
voice only.

Full of these thoughts he rose, calling together the officers belonging to the division of Proxenus, he set before them in an animated speech, the certain ruin and destruction which must ensue from their submission; the grounds upon which he trusted for success, from strenuous exertion and prudent counsel; and concluded with assuring them that he was at their service in any capacity; and that if they thought fit to invest him with the command, his youth should only pledge him to more vigorous exertion. Upon this, the officers unanimously declared their readiness to serve under him, with the exception of one Apollonides, who, speaking in the Boeotian dialect, recommended that they should seek safety by submitting to the orders of the king. To this proposal Xenophon replied with well-timed warmth, declaring that sentiments so base ought to be punished by degradation to servile duties, an expression which led to the discovery that the officer in question had actually been a Lydian slave, and retained the marks of slavery on his person. He was accordingly cashiered, and the example proved of the greatest advantage, for it infused a new spirit into the rest, who, on the suggestion of Xenophon, immediately proceeded to summon a general council of all the surviving generals and officers, to the number of nearly an hundred. By this time it was midnight, and the Boeotian officers, to save time, requested that Xenophon would open the business, by repeating what he had stated to them.

He accordingly made another judicious and encouraging speech, in which he strongly reprobated the idea of placing the smallest dependance upon any thing but their own prudence, courage, and unanimity; and recommended, as the first step towards providing for the expected attack, that they should instantly proceed to supply by election the places of the commanders whom they had lost.

Appoint-
ment of the
other gene-
rals.

Cheirisophus, the Lacedæmonian, immediately rose, and complimented Xenophon in the highest terms upon his conduct and his eloquence; and proposed, in order to carry his advice into effect, that the herald Tolmides, elsewhere celebrated for his stentorian powers, should call a general assembly of the whole army, without which, it appears, that no election of commanders could take place. This business consumed the remainder of the night, Timasion of Dardanus being chosen to succeed Clearchus, Xanthicles taking the place of Socrates, and the troops of Agias being committed to Cleasor; Phileasus, of Achaia, was appointed to lend the Thessalians instead of Menon, and Xenophon supplied the loss of his friend Proxenus.

As soon as it was day, the new commanders, placing pickets in advance, again assembled the army, and exhorted them to take courage, to maintain discipline, and to rely on the favour of the gods, who would not fail to avenge themselves upon the perfidious Persians. Xenophon in particular, having armed himself with a splendour becoming his present rank, endeavoured to raise hope and inspire sentiments of honour, and fortunately the favourable omen of serotinitas occurred in the midst of his speech; upon which the soldiers, all with one accord

worshipped Jupiter, the preserver, from whom the army was reputed to proceed; and Xenophon breaking off his harangue, proposed a sacrifice to the gods, desiring those who approved of the mention to hold up their hands: the shew of hands being unanimous, the sacrifice was formally vowed, and an hymn sung; after which he resumed his discourse, and at great length set before the army, now full of hope and cheerfulness, the system which they must adopt to ensure a safe and honourable return to their native country, and especially enforcing the necessity of a strict adherence to discipline, always the great deficiency of Grecian troops, and of all troops in a retreat, when it becomes doubly necessary. His proposals were unanimously carried, as before, by a show of hands. They were principally directed to the means of facilitating the march, by burning the unnecessary tents and carriages, throwing away the most cumbersome part of the baggage, and even allowing a very limited quantity of necessary utensils; to the establishment of close order and an exact obedience; and to the settling a regular line of march, by conceding the lead to Cheirisophus, as being a Lacedæmonian, allotting the command of the wings to the two eldest generals, and reserving the charge of the rear to himself and Timasion, as being the youngest. Thus, without assuming any superior authority, he in fact acted as commander-in-chief, and was readily and cheerfully obeyed; the whole army feeling that they were indebted to his energy and genius for their present safety, and depended upon him for their future hopes.

Whilst the soldiers were at dinner, previously to commencing their march, Mithridates made his appearance with a small escort, and endeavoured once more to entrap them by professions of friendship; but the generals were now on their guard, and perceiving that this kind of intercourse led to desertion, they gave strict orders that every stranger should be treated as an enemy, without further declaration of hostilities, during their passage through the enemy's country.

In the afternoon they crossed the Zabatus in good order, keeping the baggage and servants in the centre of their hollow square; when Mithridates again appeared at the head of two hundred horse, and four hundred well appointed archers and slingers; he approached as near as he thought proper with indications of friendly intentions, and thus poured his missiles into the rear of the Greeks to their great annoyance; for their own bowmen were inferior to the barbarians, who, having discharged their arrows retired behind the horse for protection. Provoked at this, Xenophon, with his rear-guard attempted to pursue them; but he could not separate himself far enough from the main body of the army to render pursuit effectual, and only exposed his own men to the arrows which the enemy discharged as they retired. As the Greeks moved to rejoin the march, the enemy in turn pursued, and thus the whole day was occupied in a harassing skirmish, and the progress made was only three miles. This was sufficiently discouraging, and Cheirisophus with the older generals found fault with Xenophon's conduct, who ingenuously acknowledged his error, but at the same time simply stoned for it, by a display of all the resources which characterize a great commander. "We have today experienced," said he, "on a small scale, the mis-

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chiefs to be apprehended from the enemy; and they are such as we can easily obviate; the superiority of their missile weapons may be met by offering encouragement to the Rhodian slingers in our army, who can hurl leaden bullets, much more effective than stones; and my horses, and those left by Clearchus, added to such as are used as beasts of burden, will mount a tolerable body of cavalry, who will enable us to keep the enemy at a greater distance."

The sagacity of this arrangement was not once perceived, and that very night two hundred slingers were enrolled, and the next morning, about fifty horse were duly equipped under the command of the Athenian Lycius. This business consumed the entire day, and on the next, they began their march at an early hour, passing in safety a ravine, where they had apprehended an attack. Soon afterwards, however, Mithridates appeared with a force of ten thousand horse, and four thousand archers and slingers, having been encouraged by his late success to undertake the capture of the Greeks. But he met with a reception very different from his expectations; the new cavalry immediately charged, and supported by the slingers, and a body of heavy-armed in the rear, put the whole Persian force to flight, and following them closely, made considerable slaughter of their infantry, while eighteen horse, entangled in the ravine, were taken. The bodies of the slain were shockingly mangled by the Greeks, with a view of infusing terror into the enemy; but this piece of barbarity was committed without orders. After this, they proceeded without molestation to a deserted Median city on the banks of the Tigris, where they halted for the night.

Tissaphernes endeavours to obstruct the march of the Greeks.

The check they had received, deterred the Persians from any further attempt for two days; but on the third, Tissaphernes with the united force at his command appeared, hovering on their rear and flanks. Adhering to his plan of avoiding close action, he ordered his archers and slingers to commence the attack. But the Greeks had already gained experience from the missile weapons of the enemy, and had begun to use those which they had taken from them, with sure aim and deadly effect; and the slingers having fortunately obtained a supply of gut and lead, did great execution, so that Tissaphernes hastily retired beyond the range of the shot, and the whole army followed his example, pursuing the Grecian troops the rest of the day at a safe distance.

This intermission gave time to the generals to correct the deficiency of their hollow square; which was found very inconvenient in passing defiles or bridges in face of any enemy; and they so arranged it, as to march in column, protected by six pipets of a hundred men each, who were to move either to the front or rear as the occasion might require; the column being so managed as by a ready evolution to be formed into a square when necessary. These dispositions effectually prevented any further annoyance from the enemy on the plain; and the Greeks on the seventh day, since the commencement of open hostilities, joyfully perceived that they were approaching a mountainous country, where the enemy's horse would be unable to act in large detachments. But the Persians having occupied the heights, so harassed them with missiles, that the targeteers were forced within the protection of the heavy-armed troops, and thus rendered useless; and so many were wounded that it

became necessary, on halting for the night, to appoint eight surgeons.

The design of the Persians being to harass rather than to fight, they continued to annoy the line of march for many days by desultory attacks, chiefly with missile weapons; and they carefully avoided all such measures as might render the Greeks desperate, and bring on a general action; so that they neither laid waste the country, nor attempted to intercept the supplies. And the Greeks, by commencing their march later in the day, and thus keeping the Persians at a greater distance, from the fear of being assailed by night, obtained at length two or three days of uninterrupted peace.

But the satraps now began to entertain serious apprehensions, that the perseverance and courage of this handful of men would break all their fine drawn measures; and a determined attempt was made to arrest their progress by pre-occupying with bowmen and slingers, a height under which they must necessarily pass; and at the same time pressing on their rear with the cavalry. But here again their scheme was defeated, no less by the prudent advice, than by the personal vigour and intrepidity of Xenophon, who with a select body of heavy armed troops, and the corps of targeteers, succeeded in gaining a height which commanded the position of the enemy, and immediately dislodged them. While he was encouraging his men on this service to use their utmost exertion, a surly fellow reproached him with riding at his ease on horseback, whilst others toiled on foot. Upon which Xenophon sprang from his horse, and taking his shield from the malcontent, pushed vigorously forward, till the indignation of the soldiers against the offender again induced him to mount, and restore the foot-soldier's shield.

This mode of attack being rendered abortive, Tissaphernes now at length attempted to lay waste the country, and actually set fire to some villages, which occasioned great alarm among the Grecian soldiers, who began to apprehend a want of provisions; but Xenophon riding along the line, humorously observed to them, that "by this act the Persians clearly acknowledged themselves conquered, for they ceased to treat the country as the territory of their king." And Cleitarchus sarcastically proposed to begin burning also, in order to see which party would "first cry, hold, enough."

But though the cheerfulness of their commanders infused confidence into the troops, they had yet great difficulties to overcome; for they arrived at a pass, where precipitous mountains, on one hand, and a river which they could not fathom with their spears on the other, seemed to bar all further progress. After some delay in retrograde movements, and some time spent in examining the captives, it was at length resolved, in the council of the generals, to force a passage through the Carduchian * mountains, inhabited by a wild and fierce race of savages, whose hereditary hostility to the Persians, it was hoped, might render them favourable to the Greeks. And with this hope they abstained from pillage, and took only such supplies of provision as were indispensable. Finding, however, that no friendly demonstration met with any attention,

* Mr. Mitford translates Καρδουχες Cardoos. The modern name is Cardies.

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The difficulties encountered on the march.

but that on the contrary the Carduchians appeared every where disposed to molest them; Xenophon represented to the army that nothing but activity and expedition could enable them to traverse the mountains with tolerable security, and advised a still further sacrifice of their baggage, and especially of their slaves and cattle, the most valuable of the spoil they had acquired. And such is the influence, which talents for command have in seasons of public danger, that no one ventured to dispute the propriety of the order which was made; the males accordingly were mostly dismissed, but discipline was not powerful enough to make the soldiers part with their women.

The Carduchians were found much more troublesome enemies than the Persian forces had been; for with equal disposition to mischief, they had the advantage of rugged precipices, up which the Greeks climbed with difficulty while they rolled down vast rocks, and hurled abundance of smaller stones with the force of slings, and in some cases contrived to throw the men themselves down the precipices; they also shot arrows of uncommon length from their huge bows, which, drawn by the foot, carried much further than those of the Cretans in the Grecian army, and with such force as to pierce helmet, shield, and thorax; so that the march was a continued fight for seven days, attended with considerable loss and many severe wounds. In all these dangers Xenophon bore a prominent part, and displayed those talents for command which are always readily obeyed in seasons of distress: he pre-occupied the heights; he caught savages for guides and interpreters; he led the van, conducted the piquets, or kept order in the rear, as circumstances called him: he was always accessible during the hours of meals or rest; and upon him the whole army felt that they depended for deliverance from their difficulties. Fortunately the towns were unfortified and well supplied, and the mountaineers left them undefended, having stipulated, in return for permitting some slain to be buried, that the Greeks should not burn them. Here they found repose; and on the last day, coming in view of the river which terminates the Carduchian country, and seeing the plains of Armenia beyond, they betook themselves to sleep in the villages, as if all their toils were ended. But at day-break it was found that the opposite bank was occupied by their old enemies the Persians, under Orontas, who had arrived in his satrapy before them, to dispute their passage through it: the river, just fordable, was rapid, and its bottom uneven. The Carduchians, occupying the heights which the army had just quitted, watched a favourable moment to commence their attack on the rear.

Here Xenophon again encountered the almost-broken spirits of the army by relating a dream, the interpretation of which was evidently that he should extricate them from their perilous situation; and soon afterwards he announced information which he had received of a shallower passage lower down, with a landing-place, where the Persian horse would be unable to act against them. The usual sacrifices and libations to the gods having been performed, the whole army sung the psalm, and prepared to cross the river. The Persians, astonished probably at their apparently undiminished numbers and resolution, offered no effectual resistance; and the mountaineers

being held in check by the judicious dispositions of Xenophon, made little impression on the rear. So complete indeed was the success, that the first division of the Greeks actually captured some booty from the Persian troops.

The fertile plains of Eastern Armenia were then passed without opposition in five days' march. And on the arrival of the army at Teleboas, which forms the boundary of the Western Armenia, the satrap, Teribazus, sent to offer them a free passage and necessary supplies through his country, on condition that they should not plunder nor destroy the property of the inhabitants. These terms were gladly accepted; but the soldiers suffering severely from the change of climate and season, notwithstanding the attentions of Xenophon to provide fuel and unguents, were unavoidably quartered in the houses to protect them from the heavy falls of snow. Hence it happened that some buildings were burnt; and Teribazus, considering the treaty as violated, prepared to entrap the army in a defile. Suspicion having arisen, and a prisoner being taken to gain information, the generals prepared for defence, and their preparations alone sufficed to put the Persians to so hasty a flight, that their camp, with the tent of Teribazus himself and all his rich furniture, became the prey of the Greeks.

The next day they passed the defile, and in three days more, marching through a desert covered with snow, they reached the Euphrates near its source, and easily crossed it. In their subsequent march, they suffered dreadfully from snow and frost, so that the men fell down benumbed with cold, and the cattle perished. The sufferings of the army became extreme, and it required all the art and all the authority of Xenophon and the other generals to preserve the men from yielding to the severity of the climate and to fatigue. At length they arrived at some of the habitations of the natives, where pretending to be in the service of the king, and on their way to join the satrap, they were peaceably quartered in the villages, and obtained refreshments in abundance. Xenophon having a particular village allotted him, immediately invited the chief magistrate or comarch to sup with him, and treating him with the greatest kindness, assured him that he need apprehend nothing for his person or property, if he would only undertake to be their guide to the limits of the king's dominions, his son being detained as an hostage for his fidelity. This advantage, however, was lost, after three days' march, by the rudeness of Cheirisophus, who so offended the comarch, that he deserted, leaving his son to his fate, (which though considered a fortunate one by the Greeks was, according to our better notions, the basest of all degradations) in the possession of Episthenes.

Xenophon warmly resented this imprudent violence, and it occasioned the only quarrel he ever had with Cheirisophus. The course of the Phasis was now their guide, till coming opposite the passage through the mountains to the plain beyond, they diverged from it across the country, and at the foot of the hill were met by the Chalybes, the Tachians, and the Phasians in arms. After some discussion, the advice of Xenophon was adopted; the enemy were circumvented, and the passage forced; in the plain on the other side, they found "villages plentifully stored with good things."

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Hence they marched through the country of the Tachians, who had taken care to collect their property within their fortifications, which they defended with desperate resolution, dashing themselves with their wives and children down the precipices rather than fall alive into the hands of the Greeks, whom want of provisions compelled to storm their strong places. The next people whose territory they invaded were the Chalybes, a well armed and ferocious race, who so successfully opposed them, that they were forced to subsist upon the cattle which they had taken from the Tachians; and to be continually acting on the defensive, till they reached the level country of the Scythians, where, after four days march, they found rest and food in some villages. From this place, in four days, they reached the large and wealthy town of Gymnias, the governor of which offered to conduct them, in five days, through a country which they might plunder and waste as much as they should think fit, to an eminence from whence they could behold the Euxine Sea; declaring his willingness, if he should fail of his undertaking, to suffer death.

The Greeks
arrive with-
in view of
the sea.

His proposition being accepted, on the fifth day they arrived at the sacred hill called Thece, and as soon as the first division reached the summit, the view of the sea occasioned such a shout, that Xenophon, who still commanded the rear, imagined that they were attacked, and pressed forward to give assistance; but the real cause of the clamour being ascertained, all order, all discipline, for the moment, was at an end—generals, officers, and soldiers, in a transport of joyful tears, embraced each other, and the animating cry, "the sea! the sea!" was re-echoed through the broken ranks. When the first tumult of delight had a little subsided, they collected a quantity of large stones, and forming them into a rude column, hung upon it, as a kind of trophy, the arms of the barbarous nations which they had taken on the march. The guide, as might be expected, was magnificently rewarded, and honourably dismissed.

The next morning, some hostile demonstrations were made by the Macrones, through whose thick woods their road lay; when an Athenian slinger coming to Xenophon acknowledged that he had originally been a slave, and that these people were his countrymen; offering at the same time to go to them, and bring them to terms. This being granted, and the Macrones, being assured that the Greeks were hostile to the Persians, readily entered into treaty, rendered them every assistance in their power, and conducted them to the borders of the Colchians.

Here opposition was expected; and Xenophon, in a speech to the generals, strongly recommended forming the troops in column rather than in phalanx, on account of the inequality of the ascent through the mountains; and having carried his point, he rode from left to right along the ranks, crying out, "My men, these barbarians whom you now see, are the last obstacle to our reaching the destination we have so long laboured for; let us, therefore, by all means, make an example of them." The Colchians were easily defeated; but a delay of several days was occasioned by the unwholesome effects of some honey, the produce of the country, of which many of the soldiers had eaten.

When they were sufficiently recovered, they re-

sumed their march, and in two days reached Trapezus,* a Greek town on the coast of the Euxine Sea, having occupied about two months in the expedition and retreat. Here they imagined themselves at home, and supplying themselves with plenty, by ravaging the adjoining Colchian country, they continued a month among the Trapezuntines, who willingly furnished them with a market, besides making them many presents. During their abode at Trapezus, they performed the vows which they had addressed on the march to Jupiter the preserver, and Hercules, celebrating the respective sacrifices and games, in the best manner which their present situation would admit.

The army now tired of marching and fighting, was desirous of passing into Greece by sea, and Cheirisophus undertook to go to Amaxibius the Lacedæmonian admiral, for the purpose of soliciting transports. In the mean time, Xenophon endeavoured to provide for the security and supplies of the army during his absence; and for their journey homewards by land, in the event of their failing to obtain vessels sufficient to convey them all. But he had the mortification to find, that the assembly of the troops, in which, according to the democratic principles of Grecian government, the supreme power resided, although they readily adopted all his measures for present convenience, refused their assent to every proposal that tended to provide for a march.

Disappointed in this, he sent messengers to the different states through whose territory he foresaw they must ultimately proceed, advising them by all means to prepare good roads, guides, and markets, that the passage of so large and unruly a body might be as rapid and as little burdensome as possible; and his recommendation was thankfully adopted.

In the mean while, the army was to be supported by the most iniquitous and perilous plunder of the neighbouring countries, till the return of Cheirisophus with a supply of vessels for short of their wants and expectations: this, together with the failure of other expedients to procure any considerable number of ships, at length brought the soldiers to their senses; and they agreed to send the sick, the women and children, all above forty years of age, and all unnecessary baggage, by sea, and that the rest should travel by land.

On the third day of their journey they reached Cerasus, a Grecian town on the Euxine, where they held a general muster, and found the whole loss of the heavy-armed since their departure under Cyrus, exclusive of desertion, to be about 1400. "These," says Xenophon, "died in battle, or in the snow, and perhaps a few from sickness." Here also they divided the money arising from the sale of their various plunder, and consecrating the produce of robbery and murder, they devoted a tenth of the spoil to Apollo, and to Diana of Ephesus, which was entrusted to the generals in shares to be appropriated to the service of the gods. The use which Xenophon made of the portion committed to him will be seen hereafter.

The army then resumed their march, the transports keeping a parallel course along the coast, and landing as they halted; but the want of discipline which prevailed among the troops, rendered the situation of Xenophon, (who was now acknowledged as their leader, Cheirisophus not having joined) extremely

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delicate and difficult. Straggling parties of plunderers were cut off by the natives, and the whole line of country rendered hostile by the impossibility of keeping the soldiers from committing devastation wherever they arrived; and indeed the principles of Xenophon, the disciple of Socrates, himself a moralist and a philosopher, appear to have been strangely warped by the military notions of his time, which considered the plunder of all barbarians as a regular, and legitimate mode of paying and supplying an army, and were not nice even with respect to Grecian property, unless protected by special treaty, and ensured by a species of hospitality resembling the black mail of our own northern marauders.

The evils resulting from this barbarous mode of travelling, became sensibly felt on their arrival at Cotyora, another Sinopian colony on the same coast; and the inconvenience which they experienced, again induced the troops to wait above six weeks, in the hope of obtaining a passage by sea. This season of leisure suggested to the active and statesman-like genius of Xenophon, who knew the impossibility of procuring transports for all, and the dangers which must arise from a division of their strength, the idea of founding a new colony, in a very advantageous situation not far from their present quarters. But, whether his pecuniary resources began to fail him, or the private inclination of the soothsayer was too strong to be overruled, he did not in this instance succeed in procuring the favourable indications from sacrifices and omens which his prudence usually commanded. And perhaps it was not probable that men so long accustomed to desultory and predatory habits, and acquainted with the wealth and luxury of Persia, could be induced to settle quietly to hard labour and simple modes of life, surrounded by continual temptations to resume those irregular practices, so congenial to the idleness and the restlessness of our nature.

However this might be, the project was extremely unpopular, and excited universal alarm and indignation, not only in the army, but among all the neighbouring colonies, who justly dreaded the establishment of so overwhelming a power, actuated by motives and principles of which they had already seen too much. Those who were jealous of Xenophon's authority, or hostile to his views, took the opportunity to inflame the discontent of the soldiers and the apprehensions of the natives; and it required all his energies and all his eloquence to appease the rising mutiny, which threatened the dissolution of all remaining discipline.

Finding it absolutely necessary to give up for the present all idea of colonization, he resolved to profit by the present conjuncture to represent to the army in a long and apparently candid speech, his real wishes and intentions; and to point out to them in strong language, the difficulties to which they exposed him, and the ruin and disgrace they were preparing for themselves, by their disregard of discipline, and by the looseness of their conduct. The remonstrance had the desired effect; and not only were better regulations adopted for the future, but a strict inquiry was instituted into past delinquencies, from which the generals themselves were not exempt; and some of them were punished by fines for neglect or peculation. Xenophon was himself accused of violence towards the soldiers under his command; but this

accusation was supported only by a single witness, a Xenophon, a muteteer, who had been guilty of gross inhumanity, and who was universally thought, upon the case being fairly stated, to have been punished too leniently. No other complaint, after this, venturing to appear, Xenophon took occasion to remind the soldiers of all that he had done and suffered for them; insisting upon it that he had never punished any man unnecessarily, much less unjustly, and appealing to their recollection of continual acts of kindness and benevolence. Ingratitude is not among the vices of a military life; and it was rare among the bold and generous, though licentious soldiery of Greece; the troops were deeply touched by the affectionate reproof of their leader, and acquitted him by acclamation.

From Cotyora, the army passed by sea to Sinope, having been provided with ships by the different people who desired to be delivered from their presence. The Sinopians received them with hospitality; and here they were at last joined by Chetrisophus with some tirrems, but with no supplies of any kind, and bringing nothing from Anxibius but empty compliments, and a vague promise, that if they should reach the Propontis, he would take them into pay as mercenaries. Thus, as they approached their own country, their difficulties seemed to increase; and in the apprehension that divided councils, and want of discipline, might expose them to their enemies, and alienate their friends, they came to a resolution to elect one general, who should have full power over all the movements of the army, and the sole direction of all their measures.

The choice falling unanimously upon Xenophon, he was powerfully tempted to accept a situation so suitable to his talents, and so calculated to extend his fame and popularity; but prudential considerations induced him to decline it, and finding the army unwilling to take a refusal, he had recourse to their superstition, and informed them, that having understood their intentions, he had previously consulted the gods, and that the sacrifices were decidedly against his undertaking the command offered him. Upon this Chetrisophus was elected, and immediately they set sail for Heraclea, a Megarenian colony, where they were received with extraordinary kindness. But Chetrisophus, though a respectable soldier, and a brave man, was no statesman; in less than a week his influence was at an end, and his command formally abrogated. The malcontents to the number of 4,500, chiefly Arcadians and Achæans, separated themselves with the intention of plundering the barbarians on the coast, and elected ten new commanders; Chetrisophus heartily disgusted at the misconduct of the whole army, refused to take the command of any troops beside the Thracians, formerly raised by Clearchus, about 1,400 heavy-armed, and 700 light infantry; there remained with Xenophon only 1,700 heavy foot, 300 targeteers, and all the horse, in number now about 40. Chetrisophus proceeded along the coast, and did not long survive his mortification. The mutineers commenced their system of plunder, and were overpowered by the barbarians, a large part of their number being slain, and the rest surrounded on a hill, and in hourly apprehension of being cut off to a man. Xenophon had taken an inland road, when his horse, who preceded the party as scouts, brought in some messengers from the

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The reasons of Xenophon for pitching upon a strong natural site for the camp were now apparent, and his wisdom so generally acknowledged, that no further opposition was offered to fortifying the spot he had selected, and transporting thither all his baggage. Immediately the omens were all favourable, and a vessel arrived with a cargo of provisions.

The next morning, leaving the baggage, and the soldiers above forty-five years of age to guard the camp, under the orders of Neon, Xenophon marched out, taking all those precautions which indicated that he expected to be attacked; and after having buried the slain of the preceding day, a ceremony to which Grecian superstition attached peculiar importance, he soon afterwards discovered a large body of Bithy-ans, sent by the Satrap to defend the country, advantageously posted on a hill with a ravine in front. Some of the officers dissuaded an attack on account of the strength of the position; but Xenophon overruling their objections by the prevailing argument of a favourable sacrifice, after a smart action, defeated

and dispersed the enemy; who, finding themselves unable to cope with the Greeks in the field, contented themselves with removing all that was most valuable up the country; leaving to Xenophon and his army the undisturbed possession of a wide district abounding with provisions; so that they patiently awaited the arrival of Cleander, the Lacedaemonian governor of Byzantium, who was expected to bring transports to convey them all into Greece. His arrival, however, miserably disappointed their expectations; he came with only two triremes, and one Dexippus in his train, who having dishonestly left the Cyrean Greeks at Trapezus, had artfully contrived to infuse into the minds both of Anaxibius, the admiral, and of Cleander, strong prejudices against the whole army; especially against Xenophon and Agasias the Arcadian, who had always been Xenophon's friend.

Cleander happened unfortunately to land when the greater part of the troops were absent on forage; and a small detachment was just then returning with some sheep which they had been plundering. Fearful of losing their booty, and aware of the corruption of Dexippus, they offered him any share of the spoil to secure the remainder to them. He eagerly embraced the proposal, but other soldiers coming in, and objecting to the bargain, and a tumult beginning to arise, he appealed to the governor, who ordered the soldier with whom the objection had arisen to be arrested. This man happened to belong to the division of Agasias, who, coming up at the moment, and treating Dexippus with merited contempt, rescued the soldier; a scene of confusion followed, in which stones were thrown, and Cleander himself was exposed to some danger, and betrayed evident symptoms of alarm. Xenophon and the other generals arriving at this juncture, instantly restored order, and endeavoured to pacify Cleander. But fear generates anger; the governor, in the true tone of Spartan insolence, declared that unless Agasias and the arrested soldier were given up to him, he would order every city in Greece to treat the Cyrean army as enemies; and no doubt appears to have been entertained that this arbitrary command of a provincial governor would have been generally obeyed.

The conduct of Xenophon in these trying circumstances was politic and just. He allayed the irritated feelings of the army, and persuaded Agasias voluntarily to surrender himself to the governor; who, after a haughty display of official dignity, was at length persuaded of the baseness of Dexippus, and received Xenophon into his confidence, and honoured him with his friendship. But finding that the command of such a force under such circumstances, was at once difficult and hazardous, and that all the neighbouring states, Grecian and barbarian, were anxious to be rid of a numerous body, subsisting by plunder; he declared that, as the sacrifices were not propitious for his marching at their head, he would go by sea to Byzantium, and prepare for their reception. Xenophon also had intended to sail about the same time for Athens, in the hope that he might, by his eloquence and interest, prevent the sentence which he apprehended from the violence of the people; but at the earnest desire of Anaxibius he continued in his command of the army, till they should arrive at Byzantium. On their arrival at that first European town, and entering, as they had reason to conclude, into the

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service of the sovereign state of Greece, (for by that title the contemporary historian, himself an Athenian, does not hesitate to designate Lacedæmon,) the Cyreians fancied themselves once more at home, and congratulated themselves on the end of all their wanderings; but the power of Cleander was much greater to injure than to serve them; and Anaxibius, (bribed, as it was suspected, by Pharnabazus the satrap of Bithyoin, and possibly by other neighbouring powers), not only defrauded them of the promised pay, but by an unfriendly stratagem excluded them from the city, and ordered them on a distant service. Enraged at this treatment, the soldiers seized the town, and hat for the timely interference of Xenophon would have possessed themselves of the harbour and fleet, with the intention of making him their chief, and establishing an independent power.

Anaxibius gladly availed himself of the influence of Xenophon to allay the storm thus raised by his own ungenerous rashness; and having by his means once more excluded the army from the walls, he sent a creature of his own to delude them by offers of mercenary service, and to draw them to a greater distance. Deprived of the guidance and wisdom of their leader, who was preparing to sail for Athens, the Cyreians could no longer be kept together; but their number was daily thinned by the secession of small parties, some of whom obtained a passage home; whilst others settled in the country, or entered into foreign service.

A sudden change, however, in the politics of Lacedæmon, induced Anaxibius, who had now been superseded in his command by Aristarchus, to desert that party at home, which was desirous of maintaining peace with Asia; and he made an unexpected proposal to Xenophon, who was still with him, to return once more to the army, and to lead them, in the service of Lacedæmon, against the rich satrapies of Pharnabazus and Tissaphernes. Xenophon, who knew how popular such an expedition would prove, readily undertook it, and was received by the soldiers with unbounded joy; but upon leading them to Perinthus, with the intention of embarking for Asia according to the instructions of Anaxibius, he was roughly treated by Aristarchus, who had sold for slaves all the Cyreians in Byzantium, to the number of 400, and would have arrested Xenophon himself, had he not been put upon his guard by a friendly intimation of the design against him.

The army
enters the
service of
Seuthes.

Meeting with nothing but treachery and ill treatment from all parties, and finding themselves universally the objects of dread and suspicion, the army now placed all their hopes upon Xenophon thus unexpectedly restored to them. His genius, always fertile of resources, could suggest nothing better than to avail themselves of the repeated offers of Seuthes, a deposed Thracian prince, who had been educated under the hospitable roof of Medocus, king of the Odrysians; and who, desirous of regaining his father's throne by force, proposed to engage the Greeks in his service, with a promise of present pay, and of ample remuneration in the event of his reducing by his assistance his rebellious subjects.

None alone of the generals, being a Laconian, seceded from this proposal, and drew off with him about 800 men, with whom he joined Aristarchus. The rest of the army consenting to follow Xenophon

even in a winter campaign, in the rigorous climate of Xenophon-Thrace, he went with the principal officers by night to the camp of Seuthes, where he was received with high honour, but at the same time with extraordinary caution, and speedily arranged the terms on which the Greeks should enter into his service, which were highly favourable to them, and to Xenophon himself.

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The remains of this gallant army proved an overmatch for the undisciplined fierceness of the rebel barbarians, and Seuthes was not only reinstated in his paternal dominions, without any loss, in less than two months, but was enabled to make great additions to his ancient dominion. But he unfortunately had in his service, and in his confidence, an artful unprincipled Greek named Heraclides, who infused into him a distrust of Xenophon, and a jealousy of the army, and persuaded him to withhold the remuneration which he had agreed to bestow upon them. The troops immediately murmured against Xenophon because they were unpaid, and Seuthes was offended with him for pressing the payment of their due; and to such a length did these unpleasant discussions proceed, that an open rupture was apprehended, and all friendly intercourse was actually suspended.

His breach
of engage-
ment.

The situation of Xenophon and his army was becoming extremely critical, when the arrival of two Lacedæmonian officers improved the aspect of their affairs. A change of administration in the Lacedæmonian councils, had effected that alteration in their policy, on which Anaxibius had prematurely acted; and they were consequently anxious to secure the aid of the veteran troops of the Grecian army in invading the Persian dominions. The officers who came into Thrace upon this business were received by Seuthes with great hospitality, while no notice was taken of Xenophon or his officers; but when the purport of their journey was explained, the Thracian prince altered his tone, and admitted the leaders to an interview, when the manly and decided conduct of Xenophon, the remonstrance of his better counsellors, and the dictates of his own honour prevailed; the demands of the army were fully satisfied; and harmony was restored.

Lacedæ-
monians
desire the
aid of the
Greeks.

There was little hesitation in accepting the offers of the Lacedæmonian government, and the army joyfully anticipating the plunder of Asia, crossed over to Lampascus. It seems probable, that in the arrangement with Seuthes, Xenophon had abandoned his private interest to secure the general advantage, for meeting at Lampascus, with an old Athenian acquaintance, Euclid the Philisian soothsayer, after mutual congratulations and inquiries, he acknowledged himself to have so completely exhausted his pecuniary resources, as to be obliged to part with his horse and furniture to provide necessities for the expedition; Euclid affected incredulity, but the Lampascians having sent in their contribution, and some of the cattle being slain for a sacrifice, the prophet who attended upon his friend, was convinced, as he pretended, by the symptoms of the victims, of the reality of his poverty, attributing it to his own imprudence, and to the wrath of Jupiter Meilichius, whose worship he had neglected. The next day Xenophon arriving at Ophryniun, offered holocausts of swine, after the Athenian manner, to that deity, "and the same day," he tells us, the army received their pay from the

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Lacedæmonians, and he was himself gratified by their presenting him with the favourite horse which he had been obliged to sell at Lampascus. It is deserving of remark, that although Xenophon on many occasions evidently directed the responses of the soothsayers, and therefore could not be the dupe of their craft, yet, in conformity with the opinion of Socrates, he thought it right to uphold the popular belief, as a salutary check upon the licentiousness of the times; and not only speaks of it with uniform respect, but relates all the circumstances relating to divination, with a design to impress its veracity upon the minds of his readers. In the present case he proceeds to tell us, that he had no reason to complain of the god; for that being hospitably received at Pergamus, by the wife of Gongylus, the Eretrian, that lady suggested to him a scheme of nocturnal plunder against the castle of a Persian nobleman, Asidates, whose wife, children, and property she proposed that he should seize. The divines having declared that this project was favoured by heaven, Xenophon adopted it without scruple; and though he met with a check on his first attempt, and his friend Agasias was wounded, he succeeded at length to the extent of his wishes, and became possessed, as he informs us, "of horses and carriages, and other things, so that he could now afford to be generous." Soon after this adventure, he joined the main army under Timbiron the Lacedæmonian general, and followed him in the campaign against the Persian satrapies, till the period of his recall, *Ol.* 95, 2, a. c. 398, when he was succeeded by Dercyllidas, under whom the Cyrean troops still continued in the pay of Lacedæmon, and became so incorporated with their other forces, that the particular events relating to them and to Xenophon, are absorbed in the general history of the Asiatic war, related by him (in the *Hæcæticæ*) with that peculiar and picturesque interest, which can only be given to narrative by an eye-witness and principal actor in the scenes he describes.

After more than two years spent in active, and generally in successful enterprise and plunder, the army was put under the command of Agesilaus, the friend, as he afterwards became, and companion of our historian, and to whom he is indebted for much of the honour with which his name has been handed down to posterity. On the recall of that illustrious prince, he still followed his fortunes, and fought by his side at the celebrated battle of Coronæ, *p.* c. 394, after which it is impossible to trace any further the distinct existence of the Cyrean army; disbanded with the rest of the forces under Agesilaus, the individuals who composed it were re-united no more Xenophon had, in consequence of his engagements with Lacedæmon, been sentenced to death at Athens, (about the time that a similar sentence was executed upon his master Socrates,) at the suggestion of Eubulus, the very person who many years afterwards obtained a decree for his recall. Having therefore no home in his native country, he resolved to settle himself under the protection of Lacedæmon; and to this end,† quitting Agesilaus, after the disbanding the

army, he repaired to Scillus, a town in the Eleian territory, which appears to have been assigned to him to be held under the crown of Lacedæmon, by a kind of feudal tenure, probably through the interest of his royal patron. He was accompanied in his retreat by his wife, and by his twin sons Gryllus and Diodorus; but whether this lady was the mother of the young men is not recorded; from the manner in which she is mentioned by his biographer, "a little female, by name Philisia," it seems likely that she was their step-mother.

It is probable, that in the course of his Asiatic campaigns, Xenophon, though by nature expensive and generous, had amassed considerable wealth; and it will be recollected that he was one of the generals who were entrusted with the tenth dedicated to Apollo and the Ephesian Diana, on the division of the spoil among the Cyrean Greeks at Cerasus; a trust not only honourable, but the source also of an ample revenue. Xenophon remitted the portion designed for Apollo to the temple at Delphi; and, on his leaving Asia to return with Agesilaus into Greece, he deposited the other portion with Megabyzus, the treasurer of the Ephesian Temple, desiring that, if he should fall in the approaching contest with the Thebans, Megabyzus himself should perform the solemn act of dedication in such manner as should be most pleasing to the goddess; but that if he should survive, the money should be returned to him; for in the insecurity of all property in Greece, the safest depositary for money and the precious metals was the treasury of a temple, where superstition generally effected what better principles failed to do elsewhere; and hence the Grecian temples, especially that at Delphi, were generally used both as public and private banks.

When Xenophon was securely settled at Scillus, Megabyzus took the opportunity afforded by the olympian games to restore the deposit to him, with which he purchased an estate for the goddess, and built upon it a temple and an altar; reserving a tenth of the produce of the sacred land as the rent due to her as proprietor, and leaving the residue to be enjoyed by the occupier of the soil, on condition of discharging his duties as manager of the festivals, and guardian of the temple; thus securing to himself and to his family a splendid domestic and handsome income, under the protection of reputed sanctity.

The situation of the estate was dictated by the oracle of Apollo, at the suggestion, doubtless, of Xenophon himself, and appears to have been studiously selected with a view to make it a counterpart of the sacred territory of Ephesus. "The river Selenus," he informs us, "runs through the estate; as a river, also the Selenus, runs by the temple of Diana at Ephesus; and there are fish and shells in both. Around the temple is a grove of garden fruit-trees; and the temple itself, to compare great things with small, is built on the plan of that at Ephesus; and the image differs only in being of cypress instead of gold."

On a column in front of the temple was the following inscription:—

* This name is variously written. The form which coincides with Σελήριος may perhaps be thought the most proper.

* His own phrase is εὐνομένης ἀνατολῆς.
† Mitford says, on the authority of Diog. Laert. that he followed Agesilaus to Lacedæmon, and found his residence there unpleasant; but I cannot find any such assertion in that author.

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The sacred demesne of Diana.

Whoever holds and enjoys this estate must reserve a tenth of the yearly produce for sacred purposes, and out of the remainder must furnish the temple. If any one should neglect so to do, the goddess will take care to avenge herself on him.

The yearly festival was celebrated with an entertainment to all the inhabitants of the town and neighbourhood of both sexes. The guests being arranged in temporary arbores, pastry, bread, wine, and desert, were set before them, as well as meat fed in the sacred pasture, and taken in the chase. For the neighbourhood of Scillus abounded with game; and the servants of Xenophon, and of the other citizens, were employed in hunting for this occasion, such other persons as chose it joining in the sport, and catching wild boars, wood goats, and venison. And even the cattle and horses of the guests were fed in the groves and hills belonging to the goddesses.

In this delightful retreat, under the protection of the temporal sovereignty of Lacedæmon, and the spiritual tutelage of Diana, Xenophon forgot the toils of wars, in a state of as much enjoyment as can fall to the lot of a man whose happiness must depend upon sublunary circumstances. He seems to have been precisely what we should now call a literary country gentleman, diversifying the more refined pleasures of his studious hours with the active amusements of the field; breaking his dogs, training his horses, and attending to the breed of stock; and so much interest did the philosopher, historian, and commander, take in these healthful pursuits, that they became the subject of more than one treatise from his immortal pen; an example to scholars in all ages that they should not disdain to refresh their vigour, and renew their animation, by allowing the unharnessed faculties to recreate themselves freely in country sports, and exercise themselves agreeably in country business.

From the period of his settlement at Scillus, till after the destruction of the Lacedæmonian sovereignty, by the event of the battle at Leuctra, Xenophon appears to have enjoyed uninterrupted quiet, and to have employed himself in composing those works which exalted him to be the rival of Plato in politics and biography, as well as of Thucydides in history. It is said that the emulation between the two disciples of Socrates occasioned a pitiable jealousy and alienation from each other; but Diogenes relates to the praise of Xenophon, that he gave to the world the history of Thucydides in the name of the author, when he might easily have made it his own. The list of his other works, given us by the same biographer, proves that we have been singularly fortunate in their preservation.—¹ He wrote about forty books, though others reckon them differently. The *Anabasis*, in which he wrote prefaces to the several books, but none to the whole work: the *Cyropædia*: the *Annals of Greece*: the *Memoirs of Socrates*: the *Symposium*, or *Table-talk*: the *Economics*: the *Treatises on Horsemanship, and Fowling, and on Field Sports*: the *Apology for Socrates*: the *Essay on Public Revenue*: *Hiero*, or *Monarchy*: the *Panegyric of Agesi-*

lans; and two discourses on the Athenian and on the Lacedæmonian state, which Demetrius the Magnesian asserts not to have been composed by him.

From this literary and rural enjoyment of peace and security, he was not to be tempted by the reversal of the decree against him, which passed on the change of Athenian politics some time after the battle of Leuctra. Athens was of all places the most dangerous for men in any way eminent, but especially for those who possessed property and talents; and in the continual changes of system which characterise the republics of Greece, the fickleness of the despotic mob, who had banished and recalled him, might at any moment confiscate his property, and take away his life. When, therefore, the protection of Lacedæmon could no longer avail him, and the dissensions which agitated the surrounding states rendered even the sacred territory insecure, he sent his family to Lepreum, and is related to have gone in person to Elis, to plead with the Eleians (now once more masters of Scillus) for immunity, on account of his having accepted the sief from an hostile power. It appears that the prayer was readily granted, and that he returned in peace to the possession of his property; but whether the commotions of the times rendered a country residence less desirable, or the decline of life brought with it a disinclination for bodily exertion, he appears, in his latter years, to have lived principally at Corinth, and to have died there in a good old age; but at what precise date has never been satisfactorily ascertained.

His two sons, Gryllus and Diodorus, however, (as soon as the alliance between Athens and Lacedæmon removed the dilemma in which they had hitherto been placed, between the native country of their father, and the state which had protected and enriched him) took the opportunity which offered itself of serving in the Athenian cavalry, and were both engaged in the battle of Mantinea. Diodorus came off safe, without having done any thing to distinguish himself; but to Gryllus, who fell on the field of battle, was attributed the first merit in the action, the Mantineans giving him the preference above Cephalodorus, the Athenian master of horse, and Podares their own general.

When the news reached Xenophon, he was in the act of offering a festive sacrifice, and was, according to custom, crowned with a garland of flowers. Upon hearing that his son was slain, he observed, with more of Spartan non-chalance, than of Athenian vivacity, "I knew that he was born mortal;" but in consideration of the mournful tidings, he laid aside his gay chaplet; the messenger, however, proceeding to relate the circumstances of his glorious death, the military ardour of the veteran prevailed over his family feelings; he resumed the sacrificial costume, and completed the ceremony. The delight which he felt in the fame of his son was heightened by the numerous testimonies of honour for his memory, which the poets and painters of the time were eager to present to the father; and the evening of his life seems to have been as honoured and tranquil, as his early years were distinguished by harassing difficulties and tumultuous enterprise.

His character is best painted in his life and writings. He was brave, generous, and affectionate; punctual and vigilant on duty; sagacious and enterprising in command; prudent and eloquent in coun-

* Many editions add *argyrea*, which properly signifies small coins; but, when it became customary with the great to throw sweetmeats among the people instead of silver, the name was extended to them also. Ignorance of this circumstance seems to have occasioned some perplexity, among others, to Mr. Mitford.

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Biography. oil; a sincere friend; a magnanimous adversary; a liberal, enlightened, and upright statesman; his excellence as an author is too well appreciated to be the subject of criticism. As an historian he has been thought deficient in attention to chronology; but his fairness and candour are universally acknowledged; and his political wisdom and military science have

assisted in forming the ablest negotiators and the most skilful commanders of succeeding ages. His philosophy is that of Socrates, and approaches more nearly to the truth of Christian principles, than that of any ancient writer, Plato alone excepted. The beauty of his style pervades all his works, and adorns every subject of which he treated.

CRITIAS.—THERAMENES.

A. M. 3600. A. C. 404.

Biography. Upon the surrender of the Athenians to Lysander, the particulars of which we have related in the twelfth chapter of Grecian history, the democracy was subverted, and the supreme power of the states, which had been before vested in the assembly of the people, was committed into the hands of thirty individuals, elected by the Lacedæmonians, to manage for the future, the affairs of the republic. In all other respects, the laws of Athens were permitted to continue in force; nor were the ancient magistracies changed; but the holders of all the offices of the state, those by whom the laws were to be administered, and the will of the new master to be executed, were for the most part removed, and their places filled by persons who from party connections or other causes, were supposed to be favourable to the Lacedæmonian influence; or, at least, who were known to have disliked that order of things which the Lacedæmonians had put down. Xenophon has given us the names of the "Thirty" as they were called, to whom the administration of the republic was committed, of whom only two appear to have been men of superior weight of character; these were Critias and Theramenes.

Character of Critias. Of the former of these little more is known than what is related of him as president of the "Thirty," and prime instigator of all the acts and measures of that rash and desperate usurpation. Except in the course of this part of the Athenian history, we believe the name of Critias is only to be found in the account which has been left to us by Xenophon of the "Memorable Things of Socrates;" and even there, it is probable he would not have found a place, had it not been for the celebrity which he obtained, as having been placed by the Lacedæmonians at the head of their faction. It seems a charge had been made against Socrates of being a teacher of bad morality, from the circumstance of Critias and Alcibiades having both of them been his pupils. These reproaches, Xenophon retorts in an ingenious and pleasant manner; and in the course of his remarks, gives us to understand, that Critias inherited one of the largest fortunes, and was of one of the most illustrious families, in Athens; (his paternal grandfather was brother to the great legislator, Solon;) but that for his arrogance and other unpopular qualities, he had been banished by the people, and had resided in Thessaly, where his associates were not of very different pursuits from those which Socrates would have approved. This in-

justice (as probably it was) had soured his temper and strongly indisposed him to all popular forms of government; and we may conclude, that the knowledge which the Lacedæmonians had of his disposition in this respect, was that which recommended him to them, as a fit person to be placed at the head of the oligarchy, which it was their usual practice to establish in every city in which their influence or power prevailed. (Xenoph. Mem. 1. 1. c. 11, § 12.)

Of Theramenes something more is known. He was one of the generals who commanded at the battle of Arginusæ; and more particularly distinguished himself as leader in the prosecution of his colleagues. His conduct on that occasion was marked with so much violence and injustice, that even the death to which he afterwards exposed himself, from the resistance which he made to the tyrannical measures of the "Thirty," cannot redeem his character from the blot which he then fixed upon it.* The name of Theramenes, also is conspicuous, in the account which is given in the 8th book of Thucydides, of the proceedings which led to the overthrow of the government of the "Four Hundred." On that occasion, the historian tells us, that Theramenes and his associates, established a constitution, the form of which "was upon a better footing than any within his memory; a mixed government being established, with the authority judiciously divided between the few and the many."† In this eulogistic eulogy, is contained the whole account which Thucydides has afforded us, of the constitution which he so much approved; and for which his fellow-citizens appear to have been entirely indebted to the wisdom and courage of Theramenes. It would therefore be in vain to conjecture as to its particular provisions, and almost equally difficult is it, to collect from either of the features which we have just been pointing out, in his political conduct, what could possibly have been the motives of the Lacedæmonians for associating with Critias, in the government of Athens, a man whose whole public life would appear to have been at least as strongly opposed to oligarchical tyranny as to democratical oppression. He had shewn himself indeed an enemy to the licence of mere popular authority, to the government which he set up, on the overthrow of the "Four Hundred," but his opposition to the last mentioned usurpation, was at least a clear proof that he was no friend to

* Xenoph. Hæll. lib. 1. 7.

† Thucyd. lib. viii. 98.

oligarchy; and his behaviour on the disgraceful occasion of the horrible cruelty exercised towards six of the unfortunate commanders, who had gained the victory of Arginusæ, was completely in the spirit of a true Athenian demagogue. Moreover, though of illustrious descent, yet Agnôn his father, the founder of Amphipolis, had been a man high in favour with the people; so that his party connections were certainly such as would have led him to associate himself with those who were adverse to the principles of Lacedæmonian interference. But upon this, as on a great many other occasions, our ignorance of every thing that happened at Sparta, further than is to be collected from the naked statement of the acts by which her conduct to foreign states was marked, forms a perpetual occasion of perplexity in any attempt to unravel the principles of her policy; and in the present instance, no account can be given of the circumstance which recommended the several individuals, whom she selected to form the council of the Thirty. The only authority for the facts connected with this particular point of history, is Xenophon, who simply records the names of the Thirty, without alluding in any way to any discussion; by which the choice of these may be supposed to have been preceded.

As soon as the long walls and those of the Piræus were demolished, as had been stipulated by treaty, the Lacedæmonians quitted the territory of Athens, and left the administration of affairs in the hands of the party whom they had vested with the supreme authority. It was not customary in the policy either of Athens or Sparta, to place garrisons in those towns which they wished to retain in subjection; but availing themselves of the factions into which every state in Greece was divided, it was found that the safest as well as the cheapest mode of securing their respective interests, was merely to take the arms out of the hands of one party, and to place them in those of their opponents. An oligarchical form of government was so strongly in contrast with the institutions and habits of the Athenians, that the Lacedæmonians were well aware that those who composed it, would necessarily be compelled to depend upon their support, for the maintenance of their authority. This was so strikingly the fact in the present instance, that the Spartan king had hardly returned to the Peloponnesus, when ambassadors were dispatched from Athens to Sparta, demanding the assistance of a Lacedæmonian garrison, which was sent accordingly, under the command of Callibius. So violent were the proceedings, so utterly irreconcilable with all justice and equity, were the measures which the "Thirty" appear to have resolved upon, for the conjunction and extension of their authority, that they seemed to doubt the power, or at least the willingness even of their own party, to co-operate with them in many of their acts; but encouraged by the strength which a foreign garrison threw into their hands, they laid aside all their fears, and openly avowed the principles on which they intended to carry on the government. Paying all possible court to Callibius, in order that his report, at Sparta, might be favourable, and implicating him in their violence, by inducing him to execute their orders, they seemed to consider themselves as placed as much above the precautions of common prudence, as of all considerations of common shame and decency.

The "Thirty," it would seem, had been originally appointed, not as forming a definitive part of the government, but rather as a council who were to act as commissioners, for the establishment of a constitution, founded upon such principles, as the Lacedæmonians should approve. Their first step, accordingly, was to publish a catalogue of three thousand citizens, selected by themselves, who were to partake of the sovereign power, *πολιτὶς τῶν τριῶν χιλίων*, and to be competent to the magistrature. By this decree, all other Athenians were at once reduced to the condition of subjects, nominally of the "three thousand," but virtually of the "Thirty." The next step was to proclaim a review of the citizens, who were directed to assemble in arms, the "three thousand" in the forum, but all the rest at a distant place, which was named. As these last marched to the place of review, from the different quarters of the city, the avenues were occupied by the Lacedæmonian troops, and other confidential adherents of the "Thirty;" the arms of those not in the catalogue were then taken from them as they passed, and placed safely in the citadel, under the custody of the garrison.

All effectual opposition being in this manner precluded, the "Thirty" now threw off the mask at once. Xenophon tells us, that hitherto they had apprehended and subjected to death, only such as during the democracy had subsisted by the trade of informers, and had been a nuisance to honest men. But from this period no man's life or property was safe, whose name did not happen to be found in the list of the privileged citizens, whom the present rulers had selected; and all who, it was supposed, would never be brought quietly to acquiesce in their violent proceedings, or who had influence enough, had they so wished, to raise a party against them, were at once apprehended and put to death.

Critias and Theramenes had at first acted with great friendship and unanimity; but their union soon began to be interrupted, and shortly proceeded to open contention. Theramenes had, in the first instance, protested against the nomination of the "three thousand." "It was an absurdity," he said, "for men, who at first proposed to form a government, in which the power should be vested only in the hands of the best and wisest men of the community, to draw up a list consisting of three thousand, as if that number necessarily implied that all of them were men of worth and honour; and that whoever did not belong to it, was necessarily unworthy to have any share of power. But I plainly see, he added, that you are intent upon reconciling two schemes of government, which will be found upon trial to be utterly inconsistent with each other; a government to be supported by violence, the agents of which, are nevertheless to be much less considerable in point of power, than those who are to be governed." The effect of these expostulations, however, on the part of Theramenes, was not only to convince Critias of the danger with which the line of policy which he was determined to pursue, was necessarily surrounded; and to induce him in consequence to resort to measures more and more violent, for securing himself against the machinations of the disaffected. It would,

Critias.—
Theramenes.
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B. C.
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Tyranny of
the Thirty.

Opposition
of Thera-
menes.

* Xenoph. Mem. lib. ii. c. 3.

Biography.

A. M.

3600.

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B. C.

404.

Reflections.

indeed, be difficult to believe even the express testimony of Xenophon, to the desperate shamelessness in crime, to which Critias and his colleagues now proceeded, were it not that his account is corroborated by two other contemporary writers.

In reading the history of Greece, it is often difficult to decide, which form of republican government, is most unsuited to the growth of civil liberty. No sooner is our strong disapprobation of the democratical form excited, by some act of injustice on the part of the Athenian mob, then we find ourselves stopped in our inclination to prefer the government of the few, by some equal atrocity exercised either by the Lacedæmonians against their dependents, or by those rulers, whom the Lacedæmonians had set up, against their fellow citizens. The only firm conclusion is, that all governments, be they of what nature they may, whether monarchical or democratical, or oligarchical, that are founded upon usurpation, or to use a word which it has been the fashion to decri, that are not *legitimate*, that is, not founded upon prescribed custom, ancient law, and hereditary principles, are necessarily prone to violence and oppression. In such governments the supreme power is always in the hands of a faction, who are compelled to seek their safety in keeping down their opponents. Equal justice is here impossible, because the duty of self preservation supersedes all other claims. Every act of violence creates the necessity for some further act, in order to obviate the discontent which the first had produced; this again, entails the necessity of a third; and thus cruelty and oppression go on, in an infinite series, until the force of compression is met by an equal force; and matters are righted by one of those political explosions which are attended with more or less ruin to individuals, according as the character of those by whom the resistance is conducted, are men of violence, or of virtue and moderation. Such was the progress of affairs at Athens, under the "Thirty;" they proceeded in their course of violence, until human nature could no longer endure the weight of their oppression; and until the Lacedæmonians were ashamed to stand forward in their defence; and then by the firmness and virtue of an individual, things were restored to their old foundations, and the legitimate government of her citizens re-established, without a single act having been committed that could stain their triumph.

Measures
pursued by
the Thirty.

The first act to which the "Thirty" proceeded, was dictated to them by the necessity of providing funds for the pay of their Lacedæmonian guards; for this purpose they made a decree, "that each person of the thirty might apprehend one of the sojourners residing in the city, might put him to death and appropriate his wealth."* This is briefly stated by Xenophon, as one of their measures; and the barefaced iniquity of it is so great, that we might be tempted to doubt, whether there was not some error in the statement, if the authority of the historian were not borne out by that of Lysias, who was himself a Metic, or sojourner at Athens, and who, in one of his orations has related the circumstances attending what happened to himself on the occasion.

Lysias.

The father of Lysias, we are told by the orator, in his speech against Eratosthenes, was a Syracusan,

* Xenoph. Heli. lib. ii. 3.

who had been driven from his country by the violence of party; and, had in consequence, migrated to Athens. Being possessed of a large fortune, he had enjoyed the friendship of Pericles and Socrates, and it has been supposed, that his house in the Piræus, is the scene of some of Plato's dialogues. Lysias himself had gone when a boy to Italy, with the historian Herodotus, at the time when Thurium was settled under the patronage of Pericles, upon the ruins of Sybaris. He had lived at Thurium for thirty years, until it became a place in which a person who was not content to live under the Lacedæmonian protection, could no longer remain with safety. Accordingly Lysias collected his fortune together and returned to Athens, where in partnership with his brother Polemarchus, he established a manufactory of shields, in which, the orator tells us, he employed at one time no less than a hundred slaves.

He was, as he relates, entertaining some strangers at supper, when some of the Thirty entered, commanded the guests to withdraw and himself to remain a prisoner. Committing him then to the care of Peison, one of their number, they proceeded to take an inventory of his effects, of which his slaves composed a principal part. He, in the mean while, fearing for his life, began to tamper with his keeper, and had agreed to pay a talent for the promise of safety; when having to open a chest in which he kept his money, in order to pay the price down, the whole contents, to the amount of three talents in silver, with cyclopes and darics, the gold coin current in Greece, in all about £1200. was immediately seized; and he himself with great difficulty escaped with his life to Megara; in this respect more fortunate than his brother Polemarchus, who was executed by order of the Thirty, by being made, after the Athenian manner, to drink a draught of hemlock. Melobius, one of the Thirty, tore from his wife the gold ear-rings which she wore; and other acts of violence are mentioned by Lysias, which even making all allowances for oratorical exaggeration, are sufficient to explain why Theramenes, according to Xenophon, should have made the conduct of the Thirty to the Metics, a ground of particular opposition to their measures.

Socrates.

We learn, however, from a speech which Xenophon puts into the mouth of Theramenes in the senate, that it was not the Metics only who were exposed to the oppression of the Thirty. Niceratus, the son of Nicias, a man of large fortune and always opposed to democratical violence, Antiphon, Leon of Salamis, all three of them men, whose homeless and public spirited lives had, in a particular manner, recommended them to the esteem of their fellow citizens, were also tyrannically put to death. And in the *Memorabilia* (lib. i.) Xenophon has given us a curious account of what passed at an examination of Socrates before the Thirty, in consequence of a saying of his which was noted abroad, comparing the tyrants to keepers of cattle, who instead of preserving the herd entire, took every pains to diminish its number, by putting the animals under their care to death. Being called before them, and having heard the charge, and the prohibition which had been issued, in consequence, forbidding him to teach the art of reasoning, and to discourse, as had been his custom, with the young men of Athens, Socrates begged to know whether he might ask some questions in order to be sure that he under-

Critias.—
Therame-
nes.

A. H.

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B. C.

404.

Biography.

A. M.

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B. C.

404.

stood the sense of this prohibition. Being answered in the affirmative. "I declare myself," he went on, "always ready to obey the laws. But lest I should transgress through ignorance, I would expressly know from you, whether you forbid me to teach the art of reasoning, because you judge it to consist in saying what is right, or what is wrong. For if it consists in saying what is right, then you clearly forbid me from saying what is right; but if it consists in saying what is wrong, then, undoubtedly, I ought always to endeavour to say what is right." Upon this Critias, one of the Thirty, began to be angry, and told him "that the prohibition was so worded, as to make it impossible that he should mistake its meaning, for it forbade him to hold any discourse at all with the young men of Athens."—"But," said Socrates, "in order to prevent the possibility of my falling into any snare, who am I to understand by young men? till what age do you deem men young?"—"Till the age prescribed for entrance into the senate," said Critias, "hold no discourse with persons under thirty years of age."—"Suppose," replied Socrates, "I want something of a tradesman who is under thirty, must I not ask him the price of what I want?"—"Aye, ye, certainly you may," said Critias; "but it is your way, Socrates, to ask questions about points respecting which you do not wish to be informed. You are to ask no such questions as those."

"Suppose, then, a person should ask me where Critias lives, or where Critias may be found, am I forbidden to give him any answer?" Here Critias interposed. "You are to hold no discourse about shoemakers, carpenters, and braziers, for they have been already sufficiently vexed by your perpetually making them the subject of your comparisons."—"Am I," said Socrates, "to abstain also from talking about the conclusions that follow from my comparisons, respecting justice, and piety, and things that are right and proper?"—"Yen, by Jupiter, you must," said Critias, "and also about your *keepers of cattle*, mark me; or beware that you do not become one of those cattle, whom, you say, are put to death." We have selected this anecdote from another work of Xenophon, because it illustrates the spirit of a wicked government, even more strongly than an occasional act of arbitrary power might do. What must that government have been, in which discussions about morals were thought inconsistent with the safety of its rulers.

Conspiracy against Theramenes.

Having thus either imposed silence, or banished, or put to death every one whose virtue or wisdom, it was thought, must reprobate, or whose riches would supply the coffers of this iniquitous council: the next step of Critias and his followers, was to get rid of a man whose power and influence they dreaded even more than his known courage and ability; this was Theramenes. He had constantly opposed the measures of Critias; had on every occasion pointed out the danger and folly, as well as the iniquity, of the line of policy which they were pursuing, and to the utmost of his power had thwarted their designs; he was, however, too powerful, and retained too many adherents, even among the party of the Thirty, to be destroyed by the same summary process, that had been resorted to on the occasion of the other individuals whom we have mentioned. It was resolved, therefore, to proceed, in his case, with more delibera-

tion and precaution. A council having been called, Critias surrounded the place of assembly with a body of men, provided with concealed arms. He then rose in his place, and in a set speech accused Theramenes of treason. He stated no facts, however, but arguing merely as an assassin with his accomplices, proposed that the accused should be put to death, on the ground, not of any alleged criminality, but solely of convenience to the party by whom he was to be judged.

Theramenes, who from long practice in a public assembly, was among the most eloquent men of his time, knew too well the temper of the tribunal before whom he was to speak, to think of defending himself on the score of law or justice; he took the tone of his defence from that of his accuser, and pointed out to the Thirty, the dangerous path in which they were treading; he shewed them how much more prudent had been the measures which he had recommended, and demonstrated not the wickedness but the folly of Critias. Such was the effect which his speech produced, that he had already disposed a majority of the council in his favour, when Critias, who perceived that the critical moment was arrived when either he or Theramenes must be destroyed, left the room, and in a few minutes returned with his armed attendants. He then addressed the council as follows:—"I reckon it the duty of a good magistrate, not to stand by while gross impositions are practising upon his friends; be it my care, on the present occasion, to discharge that duty. There is one here but is ready to admit, that no man should be allowed to escape with impunity who is an enemy to the oligarchy. It is, indeed, enacted by the new body of laws, that no person whose name is on the list of the three thousand shall be put to death, except by the vote of the senate; but that the council of Thirty may put to death any who are not on that list. I therefore, with your entire approbation, strike the name of this Theramenes here, out of that list; and we," added he, "order him to be put to death."

When Theramenes, who perceived what was about to happen, heard these last words, he immediately Theramenes. leaped upon the altar, and keeping hold of it, told the council, "He was well aware that the sanctuary of the altar would avail him nothing in the present emergency, but he was glad to have an opportunity of convincing all men, that Critias and his adherents, were not only unjust towards their fellow creatures, but sacrilegious towards the gods. He then asked those present, if they were prepared to allow to Critias a right which might in the next moment be exercised towards themselves;" but he was interrupted by the erier belonging to the Thirty, who ordered the Eleven, as the public executioners were called, to go and seize Theramenes; and Critias directed them to carry him away to the proper place, and perform their duty. As soon as Critias had spoken, the eleven proceeded to drag Theramenes from the altar: the senate, in the mean while, making no opposition; surrounded as they were by the creatures of Critias, with the area before the senate-house filled with foreign guards, and knowing also that many of those within had daggers concealed under their clothes, they justly considered that resistance would be useless to the victim, and probably fatal to themselves. Theramenes was hurried away across the forum, loudly remonstrating against his fate. He was told to be silent or his cries

Critias.—

Thera-

menes.

A. M.

3600.

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B. C.

404.

Biography. should be turned into groans—*οὐκ αἰνέσεις, εἰ μὴ σιωπῆσεις*—"and shall I not groan," he replied, "if I am silent?" The same spirit he preserved at his execution; when he drank off the poison, he threw the little that remained at the bottom of the cup upon the ground, tinkling the vessel at the same time, (according to the custom of the Greeks at banquets) and saying, "This libation to the woe! Critias!" "I am not ignorant," says Xenophon, who relates these anecdotes, that "such sayings as these are of no importance in themselves; but this I think admirable in the man, that in the very instant when death was immediately at hand, neither his playfulness nor his high-mindedness forsook him." *Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἀγανά οὐ νόμιμα ἀποθνήσκοντι οὐκ ἀδύναται* *εὐνοῖα δὲ κρίνει τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἐκείνου, τὸ τοῦ θανάτου παρασχεῖσθαι, μὴτε τὸ φέρειν, μὴτε τὸ παρρησίᾳ ἀπολαύειν ἐκ τῆς ψυχῆς.* *Θυράρχης οὐκ ἔστιν ἀδύνατος.*

Such was the end of Theramenes. It now only remains for us to relate the fate which awaited Critias; and this will lead us to the detail of circumstances, and the contemplation of a character, upon which it will be much more pleasant to dwell, than upon any which have been furnished by the particulars which we have hitherto been narrating.

Among those whom the tyranny of the thirty had driven into exile, was Thrasybulus, son of Lycus, whose name we have already had occasion to mention with honour, as one of the ablest and most successful of the Athenian commanders during the latter years of the Peloponnesian war. He had taken up his residence in Boeotia, and was waiting for some opportunity favourable to his views of assailing the tyrants from without, when the news of the death of Theramenes and of the jealousies and discontent which so violent a measure seemed calculated to create, at once decided him to put the plan which he had formed into execution. It was now toward mid-winter; and scarcely six months had elapsed since the establishment of the Thirty, when, attended only by about seventy heavy armed, he entered Attica, and seized Phyle, a fortress near the Boeotian border.

An enterprize which was undertaken with such feeble means, gave at first but little alarm to the Thirty. They concluded that plunder was the only object of it; to prevent this, they marched immediately against the place, and attempting to take it by assault, they were beaten back, and driven to the necessity of commencing a circumvallation. As the weather was fine, and the town only at the distance of twelve miles from Athens, they had come without tents and camp equipage; but the same night a heavy fall of snow so distressed them, that the following morning they hastily withdrew, and, with so little conduct, that a great part of their baggage was taken by the pursuers.

This success increased the forces of Thrasybulus, but did not immediately open the eyes of the Thirty to his ulterior object. Supposing still, that depredation was the end which he had in view, they sent the greater part of the Lacedæmonian troops with a body of their own horse, to keep the invaders in check; but Thrasybulus, whose soldiers now amounted to seven hundred, heavy-armed, surprised the camp of the Thirty at day-break, killed a hundred and twenty of their best troops, and put the rest to flight. In a few days the forces of the Athenian commander were increased to a thousand heavy-armed; and with these

he boldly resolved at once to march to the town of the Piræus, which being dismantled, he entered without resistance; and by this step at once proclaimed, that his intentions extended to the liberation of his country from the tyranny by which it was oppressed. The Thirty led their whole force to the attack, before his numbers should be increased. Finding the extent of the Piræus was too large for his scanty numbers to occupy, Thrasybulus moved to the adjoining suburb of Munychia, which afforded more advantageous ground for defence. The Thirty did not delay the assault; it was now evident to Critias that nothing but victory could uphold the desperate cause to which he was pledged; unless he could secure this, death in the field was the happiest alternative which was left him; and this he was fortunate enough to obtain. Hippomachus, another of the thirty, was also killed. Hardly more than seventy of their followers had fallen, when the remainder took to flight, leaving the victory in the hands of Thrasybulus, who was careful to seize the opportunity of recommending his cause to the favourable construction of his fellow citizens, by abstaining from spoiling the dead.

When the pursuit had ceased, a truce for the burial of the slain was in the usual form solicited by the defeated, and granted by the conqueror. This afforded the followers of Thrasybulus an opportunity of communicating with those within the town; and so strongly did the tide turn against the Thirty, even among the majority of their late adherents, that the next day they were deposed by general consent, and a council of two appointed in their room, one from every ward, for the express purpose of negotiating an accommodation with those in the Piræus. No resistance was attempted by the fallen tyrants, nor was any violence used against them. Two of their number were elected of the ten; the others, who had probably shared too deeply in the wickedness of the late proceedings, and were therefore hopeless to be forgiven, left the city, and retired to Elcæus, (a town which the Thirty had taken the precaution to garrison) waiting the result of an embassy which they had dispatched to Sparta, soliciting assistance, and representing the danger to which the Lacedæmonian interest in Athens was exposed. Instead, however, of fulfilling the duty for which they had been elected, that of negotiating a peace with Thrasybulus, the ten came to the resolution of maintaining the oligarchy; and of resisting his design of restoring the ancient order of things with every means in their power. With this view they determined to remain upon the defensive, until troops could be brought from the Peloponnesus to their support.

Meanwhile, crowds of citizens, and other inhabitants of Attica, of all denominations, gathered themselves round the standard which he had raised. Providing themselves with such arms as circumstances permitted, they soon formed a force which, though not sufficiently strong to attack the city, was yet able to obtain complete command of the open country.

Thrasybulus had so well chosen his season for Policy of enterprize, and had conducted it with so much celerity, that his object of assembling an army at the gates of Athens was accomplished, almost before the Thirty had even been able to interpret his plan. But what he trusted to, perhaps more than to the season of the

Critias—
Thera-
menes.

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B. C.
404.

Thrasybulus occupies Phyle.

Success of Thrasybulus.

Joined by large numbers.

Policy of Lacedæmon.

Biography. year, or even to the surprise into which the Thirty were thrown, was his knowledge of the state of parties in Lacedæmon. The great stay upon which the hopes of the tyrants rested, was the influence of Lysander, who, it might naturally be supposed, would be anxious to maintain at Athens the order of things of which he himself may be considered as the author. But, on the other hand, Lysander himself was, to those who were in power at Sparta, an object of great personal jealousy; and as the principal ground of what they considered his undue influence among his fellow-citizens, was founded upon the subjection to which he had reduced the inveterate enemy of their country; those who were at the head of the party opposed to him in affairs, were not sorry of an opportunity for counteracting his views, by endeavouring to take the supreme power at Athens out of the hands in which he had placed it, and to transfer it to a party, who would owe their authority to them.

Pausanias sent at the head of an army. An army was sent, however, to Attica, for the avowed purpose of reducing Thrasybulus; but the command of it was given to Pausanias, the avowed rival, or rather enemy of Lysander; and the eagerness with which the former availed himself of every circumstance that might appear to justify him, in entering into a treaty, clearly indicated the disposition of his politics. This disposition was carefully cultivated by Thrasybulus, whose moderation and equitable views, when contrasted with the violent and iniquitous proceedings of those, whose power Pausanias was commissioned to uphold, were in themselves well calculated to make favourable impressions. Pausanias, was moreover, connected by ties of hospitality with the family of Nicia, of which the head, as we have seen, had perished under the Thirty. The Spartan king, having communicated with the survivors of that family, directed them to come to him, numerously attended, in order to give weight to a declaration of their wish for an accommodation with their fellow-citizens in the Piræus. At the same time he invited Thrasybulus to send commissioners to treat with him; and named the terms which it would be expedient that they should propose. He was readily obeyed by both; and with the concurrent authority of the two Ephori, who had been appointed to accompany him, as his council, he granted passports to the commissioners from the Piræus, and to Cephisophon and Melittas, as representatives of the moderate party at Athens, to proceed to Lacedæmon.

Deputation sent to Lacedæmon. The party in Athens, who had succeeded to the Thirty, were naturally alarmed at these proceedings; and accordingly they dispatched a deputation to Sparta, complaining of the measures which Pausanias was pursuing; declaring, "that they for their part

were willing to surrender their walls and their persons into the hands of the Lacedæmonians; and that therefore, they in the Piræus, if they pretended to be also the friends of that people, should likewise surrender into their hands the Piræus and Munychia." Having heard all that the respective envoys had to say, the Ephori and council of state, determined to send fifteen persons to Athens, with instructions to complete the reconciliation of all parties in the state, upon the most honourable and equitable terms in their power. These instructions were faithfully and liberally complied with. With the exception of the Thirty, and of some other individuals who had taken a particular active part in their oppressive proceedings, for whom an asylum was provided at Eleusis; the citizens of all parties and denominations were restored to their respective rights; with no other condition annexed, than an oath to dwell in peace, and to be true to an universal amity.

All points being now adjusted, Pausanias returned to Peloponnesus, and disbanded his army. His retreat was the signal for Thrasybulus and his followers to march to Athens, which they entered in procession, and with all the solemnity of a triumph. Having entered the city, they first directed their steps to the citadel, in which they offered a sacrifice to Minerva. A general assembly was there held, and by the advice of Thrasybulus, the complete restoration of the republic, to the forms in which the constitution was administered before the establishment of the Thirty was unanimously decreed. All the magistracies were filled up; and from this period the government resumed its ancient course, and Athens herself quickly fell into her old connections and system of policy. But the conduct of the Athenians upon the re-establishment of the state, does not fall properly under our present subject. She never after was able to recover that preponderating influence among the democratical states, from which she fell at the conclusion of the Peloponnesian war; and had Lacedæmon preserved towards her other dependents the same generous line of conduct which she adopted towards Athens, in the case of the late sedition, it is probable that she would have preserved her influence not only there, but in every part of Greece. But moderation in prosperity was a quality unknown to Grecian republics. Every party in the state had too many private quarrels to prosecute, too many private injuries to redress, upon every change of administration, to leave room for justice or generosity to have their course; and Lacedæmon, as we shall soon have occasion to point out, is just as much exposed to ensure for the means which she took in order to secure and extend her influence as the Athenian democracy had been before her.

Critica.—
Ther-
menes.

A. M.
3600.

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404.

Pausanias
disbanded
his army.

The demo-
cracy re-
stored.

HISTORY.

CHAPTER XIV.

OF GREECE,

A. M. 3600. B. C. 404—A. M. 3616. B. C. 388.

History.

From
A. M.
3600.

—
B. C.
404.

to
A. M.
3616.

—
B. C.
388.

Seeds of
dissension
in Greece.

At the termination of the Peloponnesian war, there remained no longer any power who could venture, upon disputing the supremacy of Lacedæmon; and although the peace which had been made, effected nothing towards a reconciliation of the parties by which Greece was distracted, yet it insured for a short period a political calm, which afforded at least a temporary rest from war and tumult.

The first symptoms of impending disturbance seem to have shewn themselves in Thebes. Thebes claimed sovereignty over the other towns of Boeotia; but her claims were resisted by Lacedæmon, who was desirous of retaining them in dependence upon herself. Here then were at once the germs of dissension between these states; and the haughty manner in which the latter appears to have asserted her pretensions, gave such advantages to the democratical leaders in Thebes; that very shortly after the conclusion of the Peloponnesian war, we find the aristocratical, which was always in some degree the Lacedæmonian party, completely excluded from power in that city. But a revolution in the government of Thebes was always the signal of a similar change at Coriath; and Coriath, again was so closely united with Argos, that her example was commonly sufficient to induce the like change in the government of this last; so that the Peloponnesian war was scarcely terminated before three of the principal cities, became alienated from the interest, even though they did not dare, or were not able at once to withdraw themselves from under the power of the Lacedæmonians. The generous conduct which had been displayed by these last, on the occasion of the expulsion of the Thirty, would probably, and in fact did, go far to conciliate the gratitude of the Athenians; and from this time her citizens seem to have laid aside their former acrimony of feeling towards the Lacedæmonians; but still it was hardly possible for a democratical state in Greece to continue in cordial alliance with one, which openly professed to rule by means of the aristocratical interest; so that it required no particular foresight to prophesy, that if ever Athens should recover her strength, it would soon be exercised in an attempt to regain her station, as head of the democratical faction.

But although a merely general knowledge of the affairs of Greece, at the period immediately succeed-

ing the Peloponnesian war, is sufficient to enable us to sketch out so far a rough outline of her political system, yet the information is singularly defective as to all the details. There is, perhaps, no age of Athenian history so intimately known to us as this, upon which we are now about to enter. The works of Xenophon, of Plato, of Aristophanes, and of many of the best of the Grecian orators belong properly to this period; and they abound with particulars, that enable the classical reader to make himself as familiarly acquainted with the manners, and feelings, and domestic circumstances of the Athenians during the times in which they wrote, as with the occurrences of the court of Elizabeth or James, in our own country.

Though the writings which remain to us of this period, however, leave us but little to desire in the way of information, so far as Athens is concerned; yet they are entirely silent with respect to every circumstance connected with the internal affairs of the neighbouring states; and we are left almost as much in the dark in regard to the intrigues of parties, at Sparta, and Thebes, and Coriath, as of those at Carthage or Tarentum. That Lacedæmon was distracted by faction at this point of time, may clearly be collected from the account, which Xenophon has left us, of the measures pursued by her in the case of the restoration of the Atheonian democracy; as well as by the instance which he has recorded, of the resistance which her requisitions constantly met with, on the part of several of the other principal states; and which requisitions, as she was entitled by treaty to enforce, she certainly never could have receded from, had not her attention been occupied and her operations clogged, by some difficulties at home, of which it is in vain to guess the precise nature. Her conduct as after events proved, was haughty and intemperate enough, whenever she was able to act with freedom; so much so, that it is hardly possible, to give her the praise of moderation, even when the measures which she pursued seemed to bear that character.

Such being the state of things in Greece at the time upon which we are now entering, it will be readily understood that it could require no very extraordinary combination of circumstances, to light up again the torch of discord, among the several states of the Grecian confederacy; if that connection may be called a confederacy, which was kept together rather by the

Greece

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History. repulsion of discordant parts, counteracting each other, than by any tie of common interest or affection. The immediate occasion, however, of the first war which broke out among the leading states, after the Peloponnesian war, does not, as we shall soon see, reflect much honour upon the patriotism or integrity of the democratical leaders.

It is mentioned by Xenophon as a singular circumstance, that while the most reasonable demands of Lacedæmon were disputed or disobeyed among the cities of Greece; and among those of Asia Minor, her commands were listened to, and her directions followed, with a degree of unanimity, which enabled her to assume a much higher tone with the Persian satraps, than she could have employed with prudence, towards the meanest of her allies in Greece. Encouraged by the prosperous condition of her affairs in the East, no less than by the secret, which the triumphant retreat of the ten thousand had divulged to the world, of the utter inability of the Persian troops to cope with any regularly organized force of Greeks; when conducted with bravery and common prudence; the rulers in Lacedæmon resolved to commence their operations, for reducing the Grecian states to total obedience, which the treaties they had concluded gave them a right to claim, by consolidating their power and extending their dominions in Asia. Once masters of the maritime force and inexhaustible wealth, which the possession of empire in that part of the globe, would immediately place at their disposal, they concluded, and probably with justice, that it would then be a work of no difficulty to bring their refractory allies in Greece to submission. In the mean time, it was their policy to keep their temper with respect to them, and not allow any provocation or insult to force them into premature hostilities; well knowing that if they should succeed in their designs upon Asia, it would be in their power not only to prevent all danger of future opposition at home, but to punish at their leisure, whatever insults they might think it worth while to put up with in the mean while.

In prosecution of this scheme of policy, of which Agesilaus was the ostensible promoter, but Lysander the real author, a force was equipped with orders to proceed under the command of Agesilaus, to the relief of the Grecian colonies in Asia, the safety of which, it was pretended, was threatened by Tissaphernes, who, it was given out, was making immense preparations in Phœnicia and other parts under his dominion, for the reduction of the Asiatic towns. Gerastus in Eubœa, was the port at which the troops were to embark. In his way thither, attended only by a small escort, Agesilaus having to pass in the neighbourhood of the port of Aulis in Bœotia, went thither to sacrifice; he was induced to do so, because that place had been the spot at which Agamemnon sacrificed, before his departure for Troy. In the midst of the ceremony, the Bœotarchs, at the head of a considerable force, came and rudely forbade the sacrifice; and upon Agesilaus protesting against their rudeness and impiety, they brutally scattered the offering from the altar, and by open force prevented the sacrifice from proceeding. It does not appear that any notice was taken of this unprovoked insolence by the Lacedæmonians; but we may safely conclude, that the affront was not, and was not intended to be forgotten. A day of retribution, they hoped, was at hand; and

Agesilaus continued his journey to Gerastus, merely imprecating the vengeance of the gods upon the conduct of the Bœotians.

We shall not follow Agesilaus in his Asiatic campaign; a detail of battles which ultimately led to no result, and which were marked by no extraordinary circumstances, would convey neither amusement nor instruction; but his success was so marked, and his progress so alarming; and the ultimate designs which he had in view of dismembering the Persian empire, began to develop themselves so plainly, that Tissaphernes, the Persian Satrap, who had succeeded Tissaphernes in the government of Lydia, finding it impossible to resist the Lacedæmonians in Asia, saw no resource, except that of endeavouring to excite a division against them at home.

Tissaphernes was well aware of the dislike which prevailed in Greece to the Lacedæmonian supremacy; and of the insecure state of her influence among the petty republics who there constituted her subjects. Instead, therefore, of pretending to resist the Spartan king in the field, he resolved to protract the war in Asia, and endeavour to procure the recall of the forces which were there employed, by fomenting occupation for them at home. For this purpose he employed a Rhodian, named Timocrates, to proceed to Greece; and by means of bribes, judiciously distributed among the democratical leaders in the several republics, and of promises of support from the great king, to form a coalition against Lacedæmon, which might lead to active measures against her. Xenophon tells us that the sum with which Timocrates was entrusted, amounted to about twelve thousand pounds sterling; and small as this may seem, such either was the corruption of public principle among the Greeks at this time, or such the pre-disposition among them, to fall in with the proposition which Timocrates was deputed to negotiate, that his success more than answered the most sanguine expectations of Tissaphernes. Xenophon has not scrupled to name the party leaders in Argos, Corinth and Thebes, who partook of the Satrap's bounty; but he acquits his own countrymen of any share in the transaction; in fact, whatever may have been the effect of the Persian gold upon individuals, it is clear that the hope of the powerful support which Timocrates was commissioned to promise, combined with the discontented state of the public mind, must in reality have been the cause of the ready acquiescence with which the proposals were every where received.

The first who openly defied the power of Lacedæmon, was Thebes. She did not at once declare war against the state, because for this, no pretence was afforded; but she availed herself of some pretext to attack the Phœnicians; well knowing that the Lacedæmonians would never stand still, and allow the subjection of so important a member of their confederation. Upon measures being taken on the part of Lacedæmon to repress this instance of Theban insolence, ambassadors were despatched from this latter power to Athens. By the advice of Thrasylus, the proposition of the Thebans was accepted, and an alliance between them and the Athenians concluded. The accession of Athens induced Argos to join in the confederacy, which again led to the concurrence of Corinth. The united influence of so many cities soon led Acarnania, Ambracia, Leucadia, Eubœa, together

Greece.

From
A. M.
3600.B. C.
404.
to
A. M.
3616B. C.
388.Success of
Agesilaus
in Asia
Minor.Mission of
Timocrates
to Greece.Scheme of
conquest in
Asia.

History. with part of Thessaly and Thrace, into the confederacy. The pressing danger which now threatened the power of Lacedæmon, as Thimistates had calculated, immediately led to the recall of Agesilanus, whose abilities, experience, and commanding weight were wanted at home, even more than any addition of strength which the force under his command could contribute.

From A. M. 3600. This prince was enjoying in Asia, honours and power, and popularity beyond what any Grecian had before obtained among the Asiatic cities; and he had before him the most inviting field of ambition, that had ever yet presented itself to any commander. Having provided, however, for the security of the allies and subjects of Lacedæmon, in Asia, he instantly obeyed the order to return; and marching through Thrace and Thessaly, had arrived in Bœotia, with a well appointed and victorious army; when he was met by aëtes which tended to allay any hopes which he might have formed, of bringing the contest in which he was now about to engage, to the desired result.

Return of Agesilanus. Through the combined exertions of Pharnabazus, and of Evagoras, the Tyrant, as he was called, of Salamis, (and who seems to have been influenced in the part which he was taking in the war solely by regard for the Athenians), a combined fleet was placed under the command of Conon, one of the Athenian commanders, who had fled to Salamis, after the defeat at Ægospotamos, near Chidus. Conon fell in with the Lacedæmonian fleet under Pausanias, brother in law of Agesilanus, and defeated him with the loss of his life: and (if we may take the authority of Diodorus, on a point where Xenophon is silent,) with the capture of no less than fifty of his ships.

Conon gains a victory by sea over the Lacedæmonians. Such was the disastrous intelligence which met Agesilanus on his entrance into Bœotia. Concealing the news from his men, he continued his march towards Peloponnesus, when he was met at Caronea, by the combined army of the confederates, consisting of the flower of the Bœotians, Athenians, Corinthian, Argian, and Locrian forces. Nevertheless, as Agesilanus had been joined in his march by the divisions of Phocia and Orchomenus, as well as some towns in Thrace, the armies were nearly equal. One of the most obstinate conflicts ensued which is recorded in the annals of Greece. The confederates, however, were at length pushed from the field; but Agesilanus, except the honour of a victory, gained no advantage from the contest, beyond the privilege of prosecuting the remainder of his march unmolested.

Battle of Caronea. Conon in the meanwhile gathered much more substantial advantages, as the fruits of the victory which he had gained. Before he returned to Athens, he had persuaded Pharnabazus to allow him to employ the fleet under his command, in re-establishing the dominion of Athens among the islands; after which the generous satrap supplied him with money, and sent him home to Athens, with directions to the crews of the Phœnician vessels, that they should assist in rebuilding the long walls, which Lycus had destroyed. From this period Athens resumed her commanding attitude; and continued until the battle of Chæronæa, to be not only an independent but a leading state in Greece; although, fortunately perhaps both for herself and her neighbours, she never recovered that exclusive power among the democratic republics, which she had formerly exercised and abused.

In tracing the events which followed the return of Agesilanus from Asia, and considering the means which Lacedæmon still possessed, as well as those which her enemies were able to employ, it is difficult not to feel some surprise at the confined operations which ensued on both sides. Though no important victory appears to have been gained, nor any considerable battle to have been fought, yet the weight of the war seems to have distressed the Lacedæmonians. To recover the footing upon which the event of the Peloponnesian war had placed her, was manifestly no longer within the compass of circumstances; she would have been satisfied to retain her dominion over those states within the Peloponnesus, which were directly, and almost by hereditary right, her subjects; but even this seemed problematical; and upon looking round for relief, she saw no quarter in which she could turn with so much hope, as to the event of negotiation with Persia. Enough, it was clear, had been effected by the mission of Timocrates and the assistance of Pharnabazus to satisfy all the ends of policy which that court could have had in view, in lending her assistance to Athens and the other allies. Accordingly Antalcidas was sent to Sardis, in order to negotiate with Teribazus, who had succeeded Pharnabazus in the satrapy; the latter having been removed upon the occasion of his marriage with the king's daughter. The terms proposed were not such as reflected much honour upon the Lacedæmonians; they offered not to dispute the sovereignty of the king over the Asiatic cities, upon condition that Teribazus would withdraw the assistance of his fleet from the Athenians, and re-establish the independence of the islands. As the power of Lacedæmon was still unbroken in Asia, these terms were too favourable not to be readily embraced by the Persians; and upon the confederates refusing to submit to such dishonourable conditions, Teribazus imprisoned Conon, and supplied the Lacedæmonians with money for the maintenance of their fleet.

A war of skirmish and depredation now ensued, and was sustained with much activity, but equally without result, on both sides. In the mean time Teribazus had left Sardis for Susa, and Struthas, who in his absence was appointed to command in his place, instigated by the recollection of the losses and injuries which had been inflicted upon his country, and which he had himself witnessed and probably suffered from, during the period when Agesilanus commanded in Asia, warmly took part with the confederates, and supplied them with every means in his power for prosecuting the war.

Hostilities were thus renewed between Persia and Lacedæmon; and they were prosecuted, on the part of the last, neither with prudence nor success. In Asia Struthas surprised Thimbron, the new Lacedæmonian commander, and cut both him and his army in pieces. In Europe, Thmasybulus was successful by sea, and Iphicrates completely destroyed a Lacedæmonian mora before Coriuth. These defeats were not of a nature materially to cripple the power of Lacedæmon; but they shook that which was the chief foundation of her greatness—the opinion of her invincibility; they threw a damp upon the courage of her allies, and destroyed that alacrity with which she had, at first, entered upon the war.

Seeing then no way of extricating herself from the toils in which she was encompassed, she again

Greece.

From A. M. 3600.

B. C. 403.

to A. M. 3616.

B. C. 388.

Lacedæmon negotiates with Persia.

War prosecuted without success on either side.

Hostilities renewed with Persia.

Mission of Antalcidas to Sardis.

History.

From
A. M.
3600.—
B. C.
404
to
A. M.
3616.
—
B. C.
388.OLY.
98. 1.Peace of
Antalcidas.

directed her views to a negotiation with Persia. That court seems to have been always more ready to enter into treaty with the Lacedæmonians, than with any other power in Greece. The form of her government and the general stability of her councils, seemed to afford more dependance than could be placed upon states whose policy might be expected to veer, with every change of popular feeling or opinion. Accordingly, as soon as Teribazus had returned to his satrapy, and Struthas was in consequence removed, Antalcidas was again deputed to Sardis, in order to endeavour to effect such terms of accommodation, as might put an end, not only to the war in Asia, but also to that in Europe, among the different Grecian states.

Arriving at Ephesus in autumn, Antalcidas immediately proceeded to Sardis, where he found Teribazus not only disposed to him, personally, in the same friendly manner as before; but provided with powers from Susa, to conclude even an offensive alliance with Lacedæmon, in case the confederates persisted in prosecuting the war. But the temper of the principal belligerent republics, all of whom had severely felt the pressure, and none of whom had reaped any benefit from the war, (Athens, perhaps, alone excepted,) seemed to be now much more favourably inclined for peace, than had been the case on the former occasion. By the secession of the king, the command of the sea remained no longer with Athens; Corinth and Argus, whose territory had been the chief seat of the war, had every reason to wish for an accommodation; the Boeotians only remained, who, as they had suffered less by the contest, were, in proportion, less solicitous for its termination.

The proposal for a general peace came from Teribazus; and the terms in which it was made, were such as it might have been supposed, would not be grateful to the vanity of the Greek nation. The congress being opened, Teribazus produced the king's receipt, to which was attached the royal signet. It ran thus:—"Artaxerxes, the king, thinks it just, that the cities in Asia, and the two isles of Clazomenæ and Cyprus, should be his own; but that all the rest of the Grecian cities, both small and great, should be free and independent, except Lemnos, Imbros, and Scelos, to continue in subjection to the Athenians. And whatever state refuses this peace, I myself, with such as receive it, shall make war against that people both by sea and land; both with ships and with money*."

The ambassadors from the several states having

* Xenoph. Hell. lib. v. c. 1.

heard this mandate, sent their report of it home to their several constituents. The Thebans alone hesitated, because they were only permitted to take the oath for themselves, and not as they wished, in the name of all the Boeotian cities. But upon Agesilaus making instant preparation for reducing them to submission, they at length acquiesced; and the peace was signed without further delay by all the belligerent republics.

As to the humiliation of allowing a foreign potentate thus to dictate the terms, upon which the Grecians were to accommodate their differences with each other, this seems to have been a scruple which occasioned no demur. The point of honour, among states as well as individuals, seems to be altogether a modern refinement; and therefore, if the Greeks in general were satisfied with the terms of the treaty, we need not wonder that they should not quarrel about the manner in which it had been proposed. It is something more surprising, however, that the contemporary historian, in relating the transactions which took place during the progress of the treaty, should express no anger at the evident want of generosity in thus formally abandoning to their fate, the Grecian cities of Asia, without even a stipulation in their favour. But the reflection which Xenophon makes upon the effects of this celebrated peace, viewed merely as a measure of policy, are perfectly just. "And thus, at length," says he, "the first peace was ratified in form between the Lacedæmonians and Athenians, and confederates, after the war between them, subsequent to the demolition of the walls of Athens. But though through the whole course of the war, the scale had generally turned in favour of the Lacedæmonians, yet they made a greater figure than ever, through this peace, which took its name from Antalcidas. But now assuming to themselves the task of executing the peace prescribed by the king, and insisting that every city should be free, they recovered the alliance of Corinth; they set the cities of Boeotia at liberty from the Thebans, a point which they had long desired; they had put an end to that appropriation which the Argives had made of Corinth; all these points being accomplished to their wish, they now came to a determination to chastise such of their confederates as had been untractable during the war, and manifested any good will to their enemies; and to order them so now, that they should not dare to be refractory in time to come*."

* Xenoph. Hell. lib. v. c. 1.

Greece.

From
A. M.
3600.—
B. C.
404.
to
A. M.
3616.
—
B. C.
388.

EPAMEINONDAS.

FROM A. M. 3617. B. C. 387. TO A. M. 3641. B. C. 363.

Biography. EPAMEINONDAS of Thebes, the son of Polymnus, was received from the writers of antiquity, a praise more general, and less divided, than any other individual in the whole range of Grecian story. Nor does he claim our admiration on account of his pre-eminence in only one department. His adversaries, no less than his eulogists,—Xenophon, equally with Plutarch and with Nepos, have borne testimony not only to his skill and valour in the field, but to his prudence and wisdom in the cabinet; and if he is noted for his extensive erudition as a philosopher, he is also so much famed for the moral integrity of his conduct, that his name remains unshaken by the slightest imputation. So strict indeed was his veracity, that, it is related of him by Nepos, he was never once known, even in jest, to verge from the path of truth. In his life is contained all that is memorable in the history of Thebes. Under his guidance that republic rose from a state of dependence, almost of insignificance, to hold the highest rank among the cities of Greece; with his death, her career of glory terminated; and, had he not existed, it is probable that her name would have been untraced by the pen of the historian, except for the purpose of bestowing on her the slender commendation of being the faithful ally of the fickle Athenians, or the humble follower of haughty Lacedæmon. It is thus, that frequently the abilities and exertions of one man, are able to accomplish more than the united efforts of a whole commonwealth.

Before we proceed to the detail of the political life of Epameinondas, it is necessary that we should briefly sketch some of the events which immediately preceded the period of which we are about to relate the principal transactions.

Conduct of the Lacedæmonians after the peace of Antalcidas.

After the peace of Antalcidas, which has been variously termed the glory and the disgrace of Lacedæmon, the imperious policy of the Lacedæmonians created universal alarm. Instead of exerting their powers to promote a general tranquillity throughout Greece, which was the professed object of that peace, they set themselves to inquire into the conduct of their allies, and to punish them for their real or alleged offences. The Mantineans were the first to feel their displeasure. The inhabitants of Argos had been supplied by the Mantineans, with corn; the proportion of troops required of them for the support of the war, had not been sent; the troops that had been sent had served ill; these were the accusations preferred against them, and they were required, as a proof, that these acts were not those of the commonwealth, to destroy and level with the ground the fortifications of their city. As compliance with this haughty command was refused, war was denounced against them. A Lacedæmonian army, under the conduct of Agesipolis, laid waste their territories, encompassed their city, and finally, by impeding the current of the Ophis below the town,

stopped their fortifications. The offer which the Mantineans now made, to comply with the command of the Lacedæmonians, was rejected. The dread of servitude, and the pressure of want, compelled them, at length, unconditionally to deliver up their city. Every house was instantly demolished, the leaders of the democratical party, those that were hostile to the interests of Lacedæmon, sought safety in a voluntary exile; and the rest of the inhabitants retired to those villages, from which their forefathers had originally assembled to form Mantinea into their common capital.

The same proud supremacy was exercised over the inhabitants of Phlius. And the rulers of that city, how much soever disposed to resistance, felt themselves compelled to yield obedience to a decree of the Lacedæmonians, by which they were ordered to re-admit some Phliisian exiles into their city, and to restore to them their property.

These transactions were scarcely finished, when the attention of the Lacedæmonians was directed towards Olynthus. The oppression and misery, which an almost continual warfare entailed upon the smaller states of Greece, had induced the Olynthians to form the project of uniting the neighbouring cities into a confederacy, in order to protect themselves from those evils. In this plan they had so well succeeded, that the confederacy soon became powerful enough to attract the notice of the larger republics of Greece; and its alliance had been, in particular, solicited by the Athenians and Thebans, who looked with jealousy upon the preponderance of Lacedæmon, were dissatisfied with the measures that she was pursuing, and apprehensive of the consequences to which those measures might lead. These circumstances were sufficient to kindle the animosity of the Lacedæmonians; and the imprudent conduct of the Olynthians soon furnished a plausible pretext for commencing hostilities. The Olynthians had, in the prosecution of their views, invited the Apollonians and Acanthians to unite themselves to their party; but, although the well-known inclination of the great majority of the inhabitants of Apollonia and Acanthus had induced the invitation; the hostile disposition of the oligarchical party in those towns had determined the Olynthians to add to that invitation a threat of war, if compliance should be refused. Those in power became alarmed at the danger to which they were exposed, and they sent ministers to Lacedæmon to crave her assistance; and, with that view, to represent forcibly to the Lacedæmonians the injury which their interests would sustain, unless the new confederacy were opposed, and unless the Olynthians were prevented from joining their strength to that of Athens and of Thebes. The ministers met with a favourable audience; and it was decreed that an army of ten thousand men should be sent into Thrace. Eudamidas was, in the mean time,

Epameinondas.
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to
A. M. 3641.—
B. C. 363.

Reduction of the Olynthian confederacy.

Biography despatched with two thousand Lacedæmonians, and orders were given to Phœbidas, his brother-in-law, to collect and conduct the rest of the army with as much expedition as possible. It is foreign to our present purpose to pursue the fortunes of the Lacedæmonians in Thæce. After a spirited opposition, which the Olynthians offered to Teutimas, the brother of Agesilaus, and in which they were successful, they were finally subdued, and reduced into subjection by Polybidas; and peace was granted to them upon those terms which the Lacedæmonians uniformly enforced, "that the friends and enemies of Lacedæmon should be those of Olynthus, and that the Olynthians should serve in arms wherever the Lacedæmonians should lead.

But long before this event had arrived, Phœbidas had sown the seeds of disorder, which spread ultimately to an extent, of which no one could have then formed a conception. In conducting his army into Thæce, he encamped under the walls of Thebes. Faction, between the democratical and aristocratical parties, had risen to the utmost excess in that city; but, so nearly were the parties balanced, that the two opposite leaders of those factions were colleagues in the office of polemarch. Ismenias headed that faction which was averse from the interests of Lacedæmon; and such at the moment was the influence of his authority, that a decree had been passed forbidding any Theban to engage in the expedition against Olynthus. The subsequent conduct of Leontides may be perhaps justified, from his fear of that violence to which party spirit carried all the Grecian republics; for the consequence of the loss of authority in a popular leader was, in some cases, the loss of life; in many, the loss of property; and, in all, the punishment of exile. As Ismenias avoided all intercourse with Phœbidas, Leontides courted him. He suggested to Phœbidas, the treacherous proposal of introducing a Lacedæmonian garrison into the Cadmea, the citadel of Thebes; and supported it by the specious argument that Phœbidas might then lead with them into Thæce what Theban forces he chose: he easily obtained the consent of that general, to whose weak understanding the possession of Thebes appeared an object greatly superior in importance to the ultimate object of the expedition. To give the less suspicion of the plot, Phœbidas broke up his camp, and proceeded on his march towards the north. It was at that season of the year, when one of the festivals of Ceres were celebrated; and the Cadmea was, according to ancient custom, given up to the women, and the council sat in the portico of the Agora. During the noon-tide heat, when the streets were deserted, Leontides pursued, with his utmost speed, and overtook Phœbidas, conducted him with expedition to the citadel, and placed the keys in his hands. He then proceeded immediately to the council; and informing its members that the citadel was in possession of the Lacedæmonians, he quieted their fears by assuring them that the Lacedæmonians disclaimed all intention of hostilities. He lost not, however, the opportunity of profiting by the situation of affairs. In such circumstances of danger, his office of polemarch invested him with the power of arresting all who were suspected of treason; and he exercised it by ordering Ismenias, his antagonist, into custody. His confinement no sooner became known, than his friends, to

the number of four hundred, fled to Athens, to avoid the massacre which they had too good reason to dread. The whole power of Thebes was thus placed in the hands of Leontides; and a new polemarch, a favourite of aristocracy, was quickly elected in room of the degraded Ismenias. As soon as these arrangements were completed, Leontides proceeded himself to Lacedæmon, to defend Phœbidas, and the revolution which he had accomplished. This task was one of no great difficulty. He found, indeed, the ephors and the people indignant at the presumption of Phœbidas, in disregarding the commission which had been entrusted to him, and in overstepping the powers with which he had been invested. But Phœbidas met with a powerful friend in Agesilaus, whose rooted and inveterate enmity to the democratical party of Thebes, seems to have blinded his better judgment, and to have compelled him, in this instance, to act in contrariety to the equitable principles of his general conduct. When he addressed the assembly, he observed, "that the only subject for their consideration was, whether the actions of Phœbidas had been beneficial or injurious to the commonwealth. If they had been beneficial, both the principles of the constitution, and the practice of former ages justified his conduct, and fully warranted his exercise of a discretionary power." The way being thus prepared for him, Leontides presented himself to the assembly, and enlarged upon those topics, which were most likely to inflame the passions of his hearers: he descanted at length upon the known aversion of the democratical party, from the interests of Lacedæmon; he mentioned, in particular, their recent alliance with Olynthus, at a time when the Lacedæmonians were lending their armies against the people of that city; and he suggested the facility with which the measures of Thebes to hold the Boeotian cities in subjection might now be thwarted, by the maintenance of a garrison in the Cadmea, by which the exertions of the friends of Lacedæmon would be encouraged and supported. These alluring arguments, which nee'ded so well with the interests and prejudices of his audience, completely overcame the better judgment of the Lacedæmonians. Phœbidas was not only acquitted, but praised for his exertions; and it was decreed, that a Lacedæmonian garrison should continue to occupy the citadel of Thebes. But these resolutions were moderate, when compared with the transaction that followed. Ismenias was brought to trial before a partial tribunal of judges; three of whom were appointed by Lacedæmon, and one by every other city of the confederacy. Charges of treason and of bribery were preferred against him; these he only refuted; but he was not able to convince those interested judges, before whom he was tried, of the purity of his intentions; and he was found guilty, condemned, and executed.

Lacedæmon seemed, at this moment, to be possessed of an influence greater, and more secure, than at any former period of her history. The reviving power of Athens was broken; the connexion of Argos and Corinth was dissolved; the plan of the Olynthian confederacy was frustrated; those allies who had displayed an unwillingness to bend to the ambitious and overbearing control of the Lacedæmonians, were punished and brought into subjection: and, lastly, Thebes was thwarted in her favourite scheme of extending

Spanci-
nouss.

From
A. M.
3617.

R. c.
387.
to
A. M.
3641.

A. c.
363.

Seizure of
Thebes.

R. c.
382.

Biosgraphie

From
A. M.
3617.B. C.
387.
to
A. M.
3641.B. C.
363.

her dominion over the cities of Boeotia. But the ground on which her security rested was fallacious. Every state in Greece was astonished, and alarmed at the audacity of her measures. The pence of Antaleidas had, in terms, secured the independence of every Grecian city; but, as it had been procured, at the instance, and by the means of Lacedæmon, so Lacedæmon had, herself, been the first to violate it. In profession, indeed, she was the supporter of the Persian treaty; but, in practice, she construed its terms in accordance with her own views. To every alliance which she formed with friendly, to every peace which she concluded with hostile, powers, she annexed the condition, that they should assist the Lacedæmonians, as well in her offensive as defensive operations. Her late acts too, shewed, completely, that it was her determination to permit independence only to those cities which favoured her own views; and the fate of Mantinea and of Phlius, the destruction of Olynthus, and the treacherous seizure of the Theban citadel, made each state tremble for her own security, fearful lest she might herself become the next object of Lacedæmonian jealousy or resentment.

Revolution
of Thebes.B. C.
379.

The subjection of Thebes, on which perhaps the Lacedæmonians valued themselves more than any other circumstance, was the event which first shook, and, ultimately, ruined their authority. Although the aristocratical party of that city were well pleased with the revolution, which had been effected by Phœbidas, these formed but a small portion of the inhabitants; and though the democratical faction, which comprised the great body of the people, were for a time overawed, they were not disheartened; they felt with displeasure, and bore with uneasiness, the control of Lacedæmon; they looked with jealousy upon her authority; and they were ready to rise in rebellion, and avenge themselves upon their oppressors, upon the slightest cause, and on the first opportunity. In these critical circumstances, an occurrence, in itself trivial, gave rise to the most important consequences. On an expedition to Athens, Philides, who held the situation of confidential minister to Archias and Philippos, the reigning polemarchs of Thebes, met with Mellon, a noble Theban, who had been driven into exile by the late revolution, and with whom Philidas had formerly been in habits of the strictest intimacy. Mellon, to his astonishment, discovered, in a conversation with Philidas, that the minister was by no means well pleased with the state of affairs existing in Thebes. Communicating together, they formed the plan of a conspiracy, by which they might overturn the present government. In pursuance of it, Philidas returned to Thebes, there to concert measures for its success; and Mellon, proceeding with only six associates, arrived, under cover of the night, within the Theban territories; but it was not till the close of the succeeding day that he ventured to enter Thebes with the last crowd of returning husbandmen. That night and the following day the conspirators lay concealed in the house of Charon, an associate whom the zeal of Philidas had previously secured. In the evening was celebrated the festival of Venus, which was held, at Thebes, immediately previous to the expiration of the annual magistracies; and it had been fixed upon, by Mellon and his confederates, as the proper time for the execution of their purpose. The luxurious

and licentious habits of Archias and Philippos had induced them to employ the latter as the leader of their pleasures; and he had, in execution of his commission, undertaken to heighten the delights of their evening revel, by introducing the most beautiful, and the most elegant of the women of Thebes. The nature of his employment afforded, in Philidas, the easiest means of access; and, at that moment when the polemarchus, in the fullest enjoyment of voluptuous pleasure, were intoxicated with wine, he conducted the conspirators into their presence, three of them habited as ladies, and the rest as their attendants; a suggestion that delicacy, and the respect due to the female visitors required the absence of male attendants, soon procured their dismissal. The plot was now ready for execution; and Archias and Philippos, unattended, alone, and unarmed, fell easy victims to assassination. Leontiades, the projector, the active perpetrator of the recent revolution, was the next object of pursuit with the conspirators. The pretence of urgent business procured for Philidas and his party a ready admittance, and Leontiades was found in an inner apartment, to which he had retired from supper. His wife was seated near him, employed, according to the usual custom of Grecian matrons, in the works of the distaff and the needle. According to the more refined feelings of modern times, in such a place, and in such circumstances, the heart of the most callous might have been touched with pity, and the nerves of the most resolute unstrung; but to the Greeks, the frequency of its occurrence had deprived assassination of half its horrors. The object of the conspirators, the liberation of their country from Lacedæmonian tyranny, was honourable; and, we cannot be surprised, if they should overlook the foulness of the means, and consider their action more worthy of praise, than deserving of execution, when we know that, at an age, by centuries more advanced and refined, the crime of tyrannicide is sanctioned and defended by the great orator and philosopher of Rome. The manners of the age, therefore, as well as the urgent necessity of their situation, must plead the excuse of the conspirators for the merciless murder of the husband in the presence, and amid the lamentations of the wife.

The conspirators, having thus disposed of their enemies, and freed themselves from all danger of opposition, without any further preparation, or any addition of force, except the assistance of a few friends whom they had liberated from confinement, proclaimed the destruction of "the tyrants," and summoned the citizens to assemble in arms. They rested their confidence of success upon the general hatred against the late government. Night, and the uncertainty of information prevented an immediate compliance with the order; but, at the break of day, the whole inhabitants, borne as well as foot, appeared in arms, and ranged themselves on the side of the conspirators.

The Lacedæmonian governor of the citadel had received the earliest intelligence of the revolution, from the proclamation of the night. He had immediately despatched messengers to Plataea and to Thespia for reinforcement. But the Theban horse repulsed and routed the detachment which had marched from Plataea; and as they re-entered the city, they were joined by the refugees from the border, and by a

Epameinondas.

From
A. M.
3617.B. C.
387.
to
A. M.
3641.B. C.
363.

Biography: body of Athenian auxiliaries, to whom intimation of the proceedings had been previously communicated. The governor now considered his numbers inadequate to the defence of the citadel; and the Thebans gladly accepted of an offer of capitulation, upon the terms that the garrison should be permitted to depart in safety with their arms. Their march continued unmolested, till some Thebans, who had been active in the late revolution, were seen among the Lacedæmonians. The fury of the mob then became ungovernable; the objects of their hatred were dragged from their protection, and they and their children were sacrificed to the vengeance of their enemies. Such was the revolution at Thebes. The means by which it was effected cannot meet with unqualified approbation; but, if we except the revolution of Athens, under Thrasybulus, perhaps there was no Grecian revolution so little stained with blood. And we cannot but admire it, for the justness of its cause, the ability and vigour of its plan, and the secrecy and rapidity of its execution.

That Epameinondas, and his friend Pelopidas, were among the principal advisers and promoters of the Theban revolution, seems to be generally admitted by the historians of antiquity. It is impossible, however, to ascertain, with any certainty, the respective shares which they took in its accomplishment; for Xenophon, the only contemporary historian, has left their actions unrecorded; and the doubt which has, on this occasion, been thrown upon the authority of Plutarch, by the best modern historian of Greece, appears to be too well founded to permit of the adoption of his account of the transaction.

Operations of the Lacedæmonians; and war on Thebes.
B. C. 374.

As soon as the intelligence of the delivery of Thebes arrived at Lacedæmon, she applied herself, with alacrity, to support her authority, and to defend her friends. To allow the Thebans to go unpunished, would be entirely to relinquish all idea of maintaining that supremacy over the Grecian states which she arrogated to herself; and she, accordingly, resolved to act with vigour. Notwithstanding that the season was far advanced, it was decreed that an army should immediately march into the Theban territories. The command was offered to Agesilaus; but, for some reasons, which the historian of his life has been either unable or unwilling to explain, he declined the acceptance of it, excusing himself on account of his great age. Cleombrotus was the next object of their choice: he proceeded immediately towards Thebes, by the road of Platæa, and encamped at Cynoscephalæ. He remained in this position for sixteen days, and then withdrew to Thespiæ. It seems not to have been the intention of the Lacedæmonians to ravage the territories of Thebes, or to overturn the revolution, but only to overawe those who were at the head of affairs, and to afford protection to such as were friendly to the Lacedæmonian cause. For this purpose it was thought that a small proportion of the army would be sufficient; and a third part of it was, therefore, left under the command of Sphodrias. The remainder were reconducted by Cleombrotus to Lacedæmon, and there disbanded. But, although this expedition was bloodless, it was by no means devoid of utility. In Athens, in particular, it produced considerable effect. Those, in that republic, who were averse from the Theban connection, and inclined to peace, represented to the Athenians that, as they had

already seen a Lacedæmonian army pass from Peloponnesus into Bœotia, they might expect, if they continued their support to their new allies, that Attica itself would, next season, be ravaged. The fears of the sickle multitude were roused by the dread of danger so near home; they passed a resolution that no farther opposition should be offered to the Lacedæmonian arms; and to such an extent were they carried by their passions, that of two generals who had given their support to the cause of Thebes, one was condemned and executed, and the other saved his life by flight.

We have now arrived at that period when Epameinondas appears, as taking an active part in the concerns of his country. He is represented as a man rather retiring from public employment than courting it; and as exerting himself in the transactions of Thebes only at those seasons when his services could be eminently useful. At such a crisis had his country now arrived; and she demanded his utmost exertions. It would be a difficult matter for Thebes to contend against the power of Lacedæmon; and Epameinondas could not hope that she would be long able to maintain her opposition; but, on the other hand, there were strong reasons to impel him to prefer a state of war to one of peace. The Thebans had already experienced the miseries of Lacedæmonian tyranny; and they fully expressed their opinion of it by almost unanimously rising in arms in support of the conspirators against the late government. Many of the Grecian states had displayed their jealousy of the Lacedæmonian encroachment; and there was, therefore, good cause to hope, that Thebes would not be long left unassisted: and, although the Lacedæmonians had, beyond all expectation, displayed a great degree of lenity and moderation in the late measures towards the Thebans, yet there existed no hopes that peace would come unattended with the destruction or the banishment of Epameinondas, of Pelopidas, and of their friends; and, in short, of all those who had been instrumental in bringing about the late revolution. The rulers of Thebes had no alternative, and, whatever might be their inclination, they were forced, by the imperative necessity of their situation, vigorously to apply themselves to warlike exertions.

Fortunately, however, an event soon occurred, which changed again the wavering policy of the Athenians. From the most unaccountable cause, so extraordinary, indeed, that it has been ascribed to Theban bribery, and attributed, by Plutarch, to the management of Pelopidas; Sphodrias, the Lacedæmonian general, quitted his station at Thespiæ, and marched into Attica, with the professed purpose of taking the Piræus by surprise. At Thira, indeed, he abandoned his intention and returned to Thebes. But he took no means to conceal the hostility of his purpose; and, on his march he plundered the houses and drove off the cattle of the Athenians. When intelligence reached Athens, that an army of Lacedæmonians was marching towards the city, the inhabitants were thrown into universal alarm; and three Lacedæmonian ministers, who were resident in the place, were immediately arrested and imprisoned. The unfeigned astonishment, however, which they discovered, when the news was communicated to them, soon convinced the Athenians that they were no participators in the

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From A. M. 3617.
B. C. 387.
to A. M. 3641.
— B. C. 363

Renewal of alliance between Thebes and Athens.

Biography. designs of the general; and their strong assertions that Sphodrias must have acted without the sanction of the Lacedæmonian government, and that neither the nobility of his connexions, nor the eminence of his rank would screen him from punishment, soon procured their release. To a certain extent, their opinion was confirmed; for Sphodrias was summoned home, and criminal proceedings were instituted against him. But on this occasion, the weak conduct of Agesilaus, in sacrificing public advantage to private feeling, gave beginning to a long train of the most disastrous occurrences. A friendship of the strictest intimacy subsisted between Cleonymus and Archidamus, the sons of Sphodrias and Agesilaus; and the distress of Archidamus for the father of Cleonymus, influenced Agesilaus also, to take too much interest in his fate, and checked the operations of his sounder judgment. So conscious was the Spartan general of the magnitude of his offence, and so fearful he was of the consequences it was likely to bring upon him, that he remained at a distance from Lacedæmon. As was usual, however, among the Greeks, his trial proceeded in his absence. His friends did not attempt the justification of his recent behaviour, but they rested his defence upon the merits of his former conduct: and so powerfully had the influence of Agesilaus been exerted, that upon three slender grounds alone his acquittal was procured. But by his acquittal the friendly disposition of the Athenians, was converted into an active enmity. Those, in Athens, who had supported the Lacedæmonian interest, could no longer oppose the influence of the Theban party, who insisted that it was now apparent, from the decision of the Spartan senate, that the treacherous designs of Sphodrias against the Piræus had been previously arranged by the Lacedæmonian government: and that unstable multitude, which had so lately sacrificed two generals for their support of Thebes, rushed with the same ardour and impetuosity into a war with Lacedæmon.

Agesilaus marches into Boeotia.

Agesilaus could now no longer refuse his services to his country, and he yielded to the public voice by assuming the command. The difficulty of passing from Peloponnesus into Boeotia had been increased by the hostile disposition of the Athenians; but Agesilaus provided against the danger by securing the assistance of some Cleitorian mercenaries, and he arrived in the Theban territory without encountering opposition. The Thebans had already fortified their frontier, as the best means of protecting their territory: but their numbers were so inferior to those of the enemy, and so inadequate to the defence of a long line of fortifications, that many parts necessarily remained open to an unopposed attack. Chærias headed the Athenians, and by his consummate skill he was able to evade a general action. Agesilaus, however, accomplished what was the general object of a Grecian campaign: he broke through the Theban lines, penetrated to the city-walls, burnt and destroyed them, and plundered the inhabitants. Withdrawing then his forces into Peloponnesus, he dismissed them, after leaving under the command of Phœbidas, a force sufficient to protect the friends of Lacedæmon in the parts of Northern Greece.

In spring the Peloponnesian army was again forced to collect on account of the defeat and the death of
VOL. IX.

Phœbidas, and the complete success of the Theban arms. In their wars with Athens, the Lacedæmonians had been taught the use and the advantage of light infantry; and this, more than any other circumstance had given Phœbidas an advantage over the Thebans, who valued themselves upon their heavy-armed phalanx, and disdained desultory warfare. The continual predatory incursions which he made into their territories, roused at length, the activity of the Thebans, and compelled them to collect their whole forces in order to appose and repulse his destructive operations. Thebes was invaded: but Phœbidas, avoiding a general action, so harassed with his light troops, the flanks and rear of the Theban army, that the whole body were thrown into confusion, and they retreated with precipitation and in disorder. A deep gulf impeded their progress, and they were again forced into action. Phœbidas fell in the encounter; the mercenaries, discouraged by the death of their general, betook themselves to flight; and the Lacedæmonians unable to withstand the firm and spirited attack of the Theban phalanx, were completely overpowered. So complete was the victory on the side of the Thebans, that night alone put an end to the slaughter of their enemies. In consequence of this success, the Thebans became entire masters of the country; instead of having their own territories ravaged, they committed ravages upon those of their neighbours; and they so dismayed their enemies, and encouraged their friends that the adherents of the Lacedæmonians were daily deserting to their side. It was the intelligence of these occurrences that had hastened the return of Agesilaus into Boeotia; and a similar, but more extended ravage of the Boeotian territory, than on the former occasion, was the event of the expedition.

This continued warfare had reduced Thebes to the utmost extremity of distress; for two years she had neither gathered any harvest, from her fields, nor had she been able to obtain supplies from the neighbouring states, who were all connected in alliance with Lacedæmon. Before, however, the Theban rulers would make any concession, they were determined to do all in their power to procure supplies by sea. Three triremes were accordingly prepared for commissioners, who were furnished with money for the purpose of purchasing at Oreus in Eubœa: the inhabitants of that part being known to be friendly in their disposition towards the Thebans. For greater security, the commissioners directed their course to Pagasæ, on the opposite coast of Thessaly, in order that they might, the more effectually, elude the vigilance of the Lacedæmonian garrison in the citadel of Oreus. But the governor had received intelligence of the expedition; and allowing the Thebans to load their vessels without molestation, he waited for their return, and seized the ships at such a distance from the shore, that the crews were prevented from making their escape. But this result, apparently so fortunate for the Lacedæmonians, was eventually more serviceable to the cause of the Thebans, than if their ships had been permitted to return in safety to Thebes: for the prisoners being carried to the citadel of Oreus, they found themselves so superior in number and in strength to their conquerors, that they rose in arms upon the garrison. Eubœa, being thus relieved from the control of the Lacedæmonians, was at full liberty to

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nondas.

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to

A. M.

Biography. display, without restraint, her friendly intentions towards Thebes; and she continued for the remainder of the autumn, and during the ensuing winter, most abundantly to supply that city with corn.

The next spring, an unsuccessful attempt of Cleombrotus, on whom, in the illness of Agesilaus, the command had again devolved, to pass from Peloponnesus into Boeotia, arising from negligence to secure the passes, called forth from the congress of the Lacedæmonian confederacy, expressions of much impatience and discontent. The citizens of the confederated states had now for a long time been subjected to calls for foreign service; and nothing permanent or important had yet been accomplished. The Lacedæmonians possessed a navy greatly superior to that of the enemy; but it was laid up unemployed. Why, they asked, had it not been used for the purpose of transporting the forces into Boeotia, when it was so evident, that by such a plan, all risk of defeat, similar to that which had lately occurred in an attempt to force the passes, would have been completely avoided? Why, by the employment of it, had Athens not been reduced to famine, when it was so well known that she was safely dependent upon her ships for the greater part of her subsistence? These remonstrances produced instant effect. A fleet of sixty triremes, was immediately equipped, placed under the command of Pollis, and finally stationed at Ægina, Ceos, and Andrus.

Nor had the effect, which it was to produce, been miscalculated. Fear of the Lacedæmonian fleet detained the corn ships bound for Athens, at Geræstus in Euboea, a port which they usually made; and the Athenians began to be alarmed by the apprehension of want. But their fears were quickly dispelled. An Athenian fleet was placed under the command of Chabrias, who met and defeated Pollis, near Naxos. In the mean time, the preparations of the Lacedæmonians to transport an army across the Corinthian gulf, had been conducted with slowness; but these alarming preparations were rapidly checked by the exertions of the Athenians. A fleet of sixty triremes, under the command of Timotheus, the son of Conon, was sent to circumnavigate Peloponnesus; and it was so effectual in overhauling the coasts, that it was considered to be necessary that the troops should remain at home to defend their respective territories. As soon as the safety of Boeotia had been thus ensured, Timotheus sailed for Coreyra; and he was in a short time enabled, by the assistance of a friendly party, to bring the whole island into an alliance with Athens.

The moderation and liberality of his conduct attached the inhabitants completely to himself and to the Athenian cause. Five and sixty triremes under the command of Nicochus, were despatched by Lacedæmon to check the alarming influence of the Athenians in the western sea; but the rash admiral, either foolishly despising the Athenians, or thoughtlessly disregarding the small difference of five triremes, scorned to wait for a reinforcement, which was expected from Ambracia, and risking an engagement, was defeated. A subsequent addition of ten Coreyren vessels to the Athenian squadron checked the temerity even of Nicochus, and the Athenians retained their conquest, and continued masters of the sea.

These successes of her Athenian allies by sea, placed Thebes in the most prosperous situation. Her Peloponnesian enemies had been deterred and pre-

vented from invading her small, but fruitful territory; concord and wisdom existed in, and guided her councils at home; and she had not only enjoyed sufficient leisure, to enable her to extend her power over the whole Boeotian towns: the long and favourite object of her wishes: but she had acquired such confidence, that she had carried her arms into Phocia. The destructive ravages which the invading troops committed, threw the Phocians into dismay; they immediately despatched ministers to assure the Lacedæmonians, that Phocia must be completely lost as the ally of Lacedæmon, unless she received the most speedy assistance. These representations produced so strong an impression that it was resolved by Lacedæmon, to send into Boeotia a larger army than any that had, as yet, entered that territory. Agesilaus was still too ill to conduct the Lacedæmonian forces, and Cleombrotus was again placed in command. The Thebans on the arrival of the enemy in their territories, withdrew their troops from Phocia, and placing themselves in a position to defend the strong posts of their borders, displayed a determination of the most resolute defence.

In the midst of these prosperous events, Thebes was again thrown into a temporary alarm, by the secession of the feeble Athenians from the alliance which they had formed. The Thebans had, probably from inability, refused to contribute to the support of the Athenian fleet; and those in Athens, who were inclined towards peace, seized the favourable opportunity, which this occurrence afforded, to enforce upon the Athenian people, the advantages which they would derive from a termination of hostilities with Lacedæmon. When both parties were equally inclined to treat, there were few preliminaries to settle, and a peace was rapidly concluded.

Lacedæmon had, however, hardly entered into these amicable arrangements with Athens, before she began to repent of her hurried movements. She had been always jealous of the influence of Athens in the western sea; and she looked with suspicion upon the authority which that state had lately acquired in Coreyra. An opportunity of a breach soon presented itself. Timotheus returning home with his victorious fleet, set some Zacynthian exiles ashore on their native islands; the Zacynthians in power complained to the Lacedæmonians; and the Lacedæmonian government declared it to be an injury which called for immediate redress. A requisition to supply ships and forces was instantly despatched by Lacedæmon, to all her maritime allies; and so violent were her hostile intentions that she did not neglect to crave the assistance even of Dionysius of Syracuse. War was not openly declared against Athens, but a fleet of sixty triremes was collected and placed under the command of Mnassippus, who was instructed, "to take care of the Lacedæmonian interests in the western sea, and to reduce Coreyra." The Athenians were so little conscious of offence, that they had dispersed their ships, and disbanded their crews. So soon, however, as the warlike dispositions of Lacedæmon became known, they despatched, for the protection of Coreyra, three hundred targeteers, who entered the island by night, and orders were given to Timotheus to collect a naval force with all possible rapidity. The event of some of the recent engagements had taught Timo-

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nondas.

From
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3617.

B. C.
367.
to
A. M.
3641.

B. C.
363.

Prosperity
of Thebes
and war
with Phocia.

Biography. thus the danger which he would have to encounter if he ventured out without a sufficient force; and as his cautious anxiety made his motions too slow for democratical impatience, he was deprived of his command, and supplanted by Iphicrates. Before Iphicrates, however, arrived off Coreyra, Mnasippus had been already defeated. At first he had been successful, and had reduced the Coreyreans to such a state of famine; that although he had caused it to be proclaimed, that he would sell as slaves any deserters who should come over to him, the inhabitants still continued to desert. But with his success his caution forsook him. He allowed his troops an unlimited licence of plunder; and they at last became so disorderly, that, not only his men, but even some of his officers, refused his command. The Coreyreans taking advantage of this circumstance made a sally upon their enemies; and although they were repulsed, and driven back to their town, they were so ably supported by Stesicles, the Athenian general, that they renewed the assault, and were finally successful in putting the Lacedæmonian army to flight. Mnasippus was killed, fighting bravely at the head of a small party, who continued to support him. The remainder of the besiegers withdrew to Leucas; and so precipitately had they fled, that they left behind them a large store of corn and wine, equal to supply the immediate wants of the Coreyreans, and a body of slaves sufficient to repair the loss, which had been occasioned by desertion and by famine. Iphicrates arrived too late to support the interests of the Coreyreans; but he made himself master of nine out of ten triremes, which had been sent by Dionysius to assist the Lacedæmonians.

Tyranny of Thebes. Thebes, now freed from all apprehension of danger, began to display that tyrannical conduct, which is so usual a concomitant of prosperity. Her designs were no longer directed against the aristocratical party alone; but even those who favoured democratical views felt the oppression of her conduct. In particular the people of Thespie and Platæa, who had uniformly shown themselves the inveterate opponents of Lacedæmonian usurpations, became the objects of her displeasure and were driven from their country. This conduct of the able leaders of the council of Thebes has been left unexplained by ancient writers; but if, in the absence of such authority, a conjecture may be hazarded, it is probable, that the Platæans and Thespians had not displayed that willingness to accede to the domination of Thebes over the Boeotian cities, which it was so much the favourite object of that republic to promote. The situation of the exiles, from these small states, was highly deplorable. They had long been the avowed enemies of Lacedæmon, and they had lately suffered severely from her resentment; and, although they had been the constant supporters of the democratical party, and had been, formerly, connected by habits of friendship with Athens, yet Athens was now the ally and the vigorous supporter of Thebes. There was, therefore, no quarter to which they could apply for the redress of their wrongs, with any probable prospect of success. But, in the desperate situation of their affairs, it was necessary that they should attempt something for their preservation; and, in the faint hope that the remembrance of the former unity, might incline the Athenians to listen to their petition, they forwarded ministers to Athens.

The representations of the Thespian and Platæan exiles created a much more lively interest at Athens than their most sanguine expectations could have led them to imagine. The Athenian people had already begun to long for peace; for, although the prosperous condition of their naval affairs entitled them to look forward to success, as a circumstance that was almost certain, and not far distant, yet the long continuance of the war and the support of their ships, had nearly exhausted their treasury; and, if they had, at one time, entertained a well-grounded fear of the encroachments of the Lacedæmonians, they had now equal, if not greater, cause to be jealous of the increasing prosperity of Thebes, which was a nearer neighbour than Lacedæmon, and might, consequently, become a much more inconvenient enemy. Thus, the private considerations of self-interest, strongly called into action by the appeal of the people of Thespian and Platæa, turned the thoughts of the Athenians from hostile measures, and induced them to form the resolution of endeavouring to promote a general peace. For the purpose of effecting this desirable object, it was decreed, that an embassy should be sent to the Lacedæmonians, to concert measures for summoning a congress of the different states of Greece; and messengers were, in the mean time, directed to Thebes, to acquaint the people of that city with the measures which have been adopted at Athens, and to endeavour to obtain their concurrence.

The congress, assembled at the requisition of Athens, met at Lacedæmon, and the Athenian ministers were the first to address it. They enlarged upon the benefits which would have accrued to Greece, if the Lacedæmonians had preserved inviolate the peace of Anticidas, in so far as regarded those terms of it, which covenanted for the independence of every Grecian state; and if they had not exacted from all those over whom they possessed or acquired power, the promise, that they would follow the Lacedæmonians wherever they should lead; and they concluded by insisting upon the independence of each state as an indispensable requisite in any peace that should now be arranged. If the Athenians had reason, in the prosperous state of their affairs, to wish to procure peace, the adverse fortune of the Lacedæmonians deprived them of the least inclination to object to terms, which were, indeed, more just and reasonable, but to which, a short period before, in the plenitude of their power, they would not have listened for a moment. The rest of the members of the congress had no cause to refuse their concurrence. It was agreed, therefore, that a peace should be concluded, in which it should be stipulated, that every state should be independent; that the Lacedæmonians should withdraw from all the Grecian cities under their power, those governors who, under the name of harmosts, controlled the operations, and overruled the deliberations of the citizens; that the armies of the belligerent powers should be disbanded and their fleets laid up; that, if any state were injured by any power, a member of the confederacy, the other friendly powers should immediately coalesce, and redress the wrongs of the injured party; and that, neither the Lacedæmonian, nor any other community, should attempt to force any independent state to join in hostilities against those with whom they were united by ties of amity and friendship. The whole congress, and perhaps the deputies of

Epamei-

nondas.

From

A. M.

3617.

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A. C.

387.

to

A. M.

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Biography. Thebes, more than those of the other Grecian powers, were surprised and astonished at the facility with which Lacedæmon acceded to the terms proposed; and this surprise, joined to the general satisfaction which pervaded the assembly, led them, incautiously, into a concurrence, which either their instructions did not warrant, or, more probably, their inclinations did not approve. On the ensuing day, however, they endeavoured to remedy their error; and, for this purpose, they took advantage of an informality, into which, as they alleged, they had been, unconsciously and unintentionally, betrayed. The ministers of the Athenians and those of their allies had each acceded to the treaty in the name of their respective governments; while the Lacedæmonians had taken the oath, as well for their allies as for themselves. It was in the name of Thebes alone that the Theban deputies had sworn to the faithful observance of the peace; and the error which, as they asserted, had, on their part, been committed, was that they had not taken the oath on behalf of the whole Boeotian cities; and they now insisted that they should be permitted to rectify their mistake. This device produced the desired effect; for Agesilaus declared, on the part of the Spartans, that he would not allow of the proposed alteration, but that the Thebans were at liberty, if they should think proper, entirely to renounce the treaty. The Thebans persisted in this determination, and Thebes stood alone, opposed to the united power of the whole of Greece.

Such is the account of the transactions of the Grecian congress, as narrated by Xenophon; who neither mentions the names of the Theban deputies, nor records any particular address that they delivered before the assembly. The account of later writers is considerably different. Diodorus, Nepos, and Plutarch, concur in placing Epameinondas at the head of the Theban deputation; and Plutarch has further related a speech of Epameinondas, full of invective against the Lacedæmonians, and which, he observes, produced the effect of shaking the attachment of their allies. In this discordance of authority, it seems best again to adopt a middle course; and to give credence only to such parts of the account transmitted by Plutarch, as are either not in variance with the contemporary, and consequently, higher authority of Xenophon, or which, being altogether omitted by Xenophon, appear not of improbable occurrence. That Thebes should make choice of Epameinondas, the most able of her councillors, to attend to her interests at an assembly in whose deliberations she was highly interested, and by whose resolutions she might be deeply affected, is such an event as we would most naturally expect. On the contrary, we feel inclined entirely to reject that oration which is attributed to Epameinondas; not on the ground that the attachment of allies is weakened "commonly by private communication, rather than by public harangue," for the history of Greece is copious in instances of similar effects having been produced by bold and spirited address; but, for the reason that the account of Plutarch is at complete variance with that of Xenophon, who narrates that, when the Thebans refused to accede to the treaty unless the alteration, which they proposed, were adopted, the Athenians considered Thebes as lost, and the Theban ministers themselves, reflecting on the imminence of the danger which threatened their

country from the combined opposition of Greece, departed in much dejection.

On the part of the Lacedæmonians and Athenians, the terms of the treaty were most punctually executed: the Athenians ordered Iphicrates to return home with his victorious fleet; and the Lacedæmonians recalled her military rulers from the cities which they governed, and withdrew her troops from the territories of her allies. The army in Phocis, under the command of Cleombrotus, was alone left without orders; and that general, equally fearful of offending, as well by inactivity as by action, despatched messengers to Lacedæmon for instructions. A meeting of the assembly was summoned, and the result of their deliberations was, that the king received immediate orders to prosecute hostilities, if Thebes would not acknowledge the independence of the Boeotian towns.

Epameinondas and Pelopidas had already declared with firmness, their determination not to accede to the treaty, except upon the conditions that they had specified; and their resolution was too strong, and it was founded upon reasons too solid, to be shaken by the hostile measures of the Lacedæmonians. The conduct of that people, which followed the peace of Persia, had given them sufficient experience to make them distrust the sincerity, with which Lacedæmon was inclined to observe the terms of treaties; and to relinquish their dominion over the cities of Boeotia, would be to weaken their powers of defence. Thebes, indeed, stood alone in the contest, not merely unsupported by any Grecian state, but opposed apparently to the whole of Greece; but she had sufficient grounds on which to found her hopes of ultimate success, as well from the excellent condition of her own country, as from the distracted and discordant state of those republics, that constituted the confederacy that opposed her. The Thebans, it is true, had for ages been so notorious for the slowness of their abilities, that, notwithstanding that the splendid genius of Pindar had, in some degree, lessened the opprobrium: the name of Boeotian continued to be throughout Greece, a proverbial expression to denote stupidity; but, at the same time that their mental energies had been depressed, they had been long universally admired for their bodily strength and firmness. Since the death of Pindar, no poet, an orator, no historian, no man of genius in any department of literature, or of science had arisen in Thebes to repel and refute the calumny with which they were assailed; and the Thebans had long neglected the pursuit of mental excellence; but of those exercises, which are, in a peculiar manner, requisite to fit a people for warlike exertions and martial achievements, they had not been negligent. And at the period, of which we are now treating, they were eminently famous for the peculiar care with which they cultivated, and for the dexterity and skill with which they performed, the gymnastic exercises; for the superior condition of their cavalry both in arms and in exercise; and equally for the variety, as for the excellence of the modes in which they ordered and arranged their troops in battle. With such a people there were only wanting, in order to ensure their present success and their future fame, a general of talents and skill to lead and direct their operations, and that emulation of superiority, and that enthusiasm and ardour in the cause in which they were engaged, without which, it may be truly said, no army was

Epameinondas.

From A. M. 3617.

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B. C. 387.

to A. M. 3641.

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B. C. 363.

Renewal of the war between Thebes and Lacedæmon.

B. C. 371.

Biography. ever successful. In Epameinondas, and in Pelopidas the first requisite was ably supplied; for those generals were men of such talent, such intrepidity, and such experience, that if they had not surpassed, they had shown themselves fully equal, to any of those great characters, who conducted the councils and led the armies of the other states of Greece. In the latter respect, the late events in which they had been engaged had powerfully operated in rousing among the Thebans, a spirit, which they had not formerly possessed, or which, till now, had lain dormant, in consequence of the want of sufficient excitation. They had spurned the oppression of Sparta, and in desperation, had thrown off the yoke of their oppressors; in defensive war, success had, as yet, crowned their endeavours; and the former disturbed state of their country had bound many of them by the strictest ties and the closest engagements to live and to die in the defence of their national independence. All these circumstances combined to give such energy and activity to their measures, that it might be said without much of exaggeration, that the Thebans now sighed as much for the glory and for the uncertainty of war, as they had formerly longed for the ease and for the security of peace.

On the other hand, the condition of Greece in general, and of Lacedæmon in particular, encouraged the opposition of Thebes. By the extraordinary regulations of Lycurgus, Sparta had been enabled, so long as she continued with strictness to adhere to those regulations, to gain for herself the no small fame, of being the most virtuous and the most warlike of the republics of ancient Greece; but those regulations were evidently of such a kind, they were so connected together and interwoven with one another, that it was impossible partially to receive and partially to reject them. While the Spartans, therefore, continued to remain a poor but independent nation, and strictly to follow the maxim of avoiding war, except in so far as it was necessary for the defence and preservation of their territories, she continued to preserve her eminence; but, when she was seized with the desire of wealth, and the ambition of foreign conquest, she ought either to have adopted an entirely new system of policy, or at least, to have remitted that institution of her ancient lawgiver, which checked commercial intercourse, and forbade the communication of the rights of citizenship to every stranger whatever might be his merits or his claims. But, with the success of the Spartans, their pretensions had increased; and they not only spurned at the idea of conferring equality of rights upon the federal states of Peloponnesus; but they had withdrawn even from the Lacedæmonians their just share in the government, and had confined and limited all exercise of power and authority to the senate and to the people of Sparta. By such conduct, and by conduct similar to this, the Spartans had detached many of those who were now associated with them in appearance, from any sincere concurrence in their operations, and from that cordiality in their interests, which a more liberal policy would have ensured. The Theban leaders were well acquainted with these sentiments of dissatisfaction, which were diffused through the confederated states, and knew that many of them, and that Athens, in particular, would rather rejoice at than deplore the depression of Sparta, and would more wil-

lingly assert than control the endeavour of any state opposed to that commonwealth. They had even grounds for believing, that this spirit of discord pervaded the army in Ætoia; and they knew that there were many who had little confidence in the abilities and zeal of Cleombrotus. Epameinondas had, therefore, no cause to be displeased with the force or the disposition of Thebes; he had no powerful danger to dread from the enmity of a confederacy, more nominal than real, but, on the contrary, he entertained, from these complex reasons, well founded hopes of the ultimate success of that opposition to Greece, in which he had invincibly triumphed.

In order to lose no opportunity of defence, the Theban troops were marched to occupy that defile, by which it was supposed that the Lacedæmonians would enter their territories. But Cleombrotus, instead of proceeding by a direct line into Ætoia, led his army by a circuitous route towards the south, and after taking Creusis, a port in the gulf of Corinth, with twelve triremes, which were lying in the harbour, he proceeded without opposition, and encamped in the plain of Leuctra.

The Lacedæmonian army has been estimated at four and twenty thousand foot, and sixteen thousand horse; the Theban forces did not amount to the half of this number. When the Thebans, then, had been disappointed in their expectation of opposing their enemies in the fastnesses which conducted to their territories, where they might have possessed the advantage of superiority of ground, to counterbalance the inferiority of number, they had nothing to hope for but a recurrence of all those calamities, which had been heaped upon their unhappy country by the late expedition of Agesilaus. But, notwithstanding that the disadvantages under which he laboured were great, Epameinondas was determined to risk the event of a battle. The towns of Ætoia were held in subjection by a very precarious authority; many of them were ready on the first appearance of hostilities, to open their gates to the enemy, and the rest were not only prepared to revolt upon the slightest success of the Lacedæmonian arms, but it was not improbable that even the Thebans would, if hostilities were protracted for any length of time, discover a disposition to yield, rather than submit to suffer the miseries to which want would expose them. With what feelings soever Epameinondas may have been agitated, or how forlorn soever he may have conceived his situation, he was in these circumstances, determined to exert every nerve in the defence of his country, and to omit no expedient which could, by possibility, tend to animate and encourage his troops; and it would have been unpardonable in him to have neglected any device, by which his success could be in the smallest degree promoted. The aid of superstition, that powerful incentive to the minds of the lower orders of all countries, but particularly to the imaginative Greeks, was not forgotten. The little village of Leuctra, which was situated in the plain of the same name, where the Lacedæmonians were assembled, was, as yet, famous for nothing but the tomb of two virgins, the daughters of Scedæus, who, in the remote ages of Greece, had been violated by some Spartan youths, and had at once terminated their existence and their disgrace by a voluntary death. The antiquity of the event had not effaced its remembrance;

Epameinondas.

From A. M. 3617.
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B. C. 387.
to A. M. 3641.
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B. C. 363.

Battle of Leuctra.
A. C. 371.

Biography: a popular rumour that "a Lacedæmonian army should be defeated at the virgin's tomb," was industriously circulated; and the tomb itself, to augment the effect which such a rumour was likely to produce, was solemnly and ceremoniously decorated. In addition to this, it was reported that all the temples in Thebes had spontaneously opened, and that the priestesses had interpreted the event as ominous of the success of the Thebans; and that the shield in the temple of Hercules, the tutelary deity of Thebes, had disappeared, and that the God himself was to assist the Thebans in the ensuing battle.

— The infantry of the enemy was drawn up in the form of a crescent, the favourite order of the Lacedæmonians.

Along the front of the right wing, which was commanded by Cleombrotus, the cavalry was arrayed in squadrons; and the left wing was composed of the allies, and headed by Archidamus. The Theban cavalry, it has already been mentioned, were the most famous in Greece, well equipped, well trained, and from the late wars experienced in service. Calculating upon the impression which these troops would make upon the Lacedæmonian horse, which were the worst troops in the Lacedæmonian service, Epameinondas placed them in the van of his left wing, which he commanded himself, and which he drew up fifty deep; the more effectually to take advantage of the disorder, into which it was probable that the infantry of the enemy would be thrown, by the retreat of their own horse. Pelopidas, and the sacred band, that body whose members had bound themselves rather to die in the defence of their country, than live under its subjection, occupied the extremity of the Theban right wing. To prevent his troops from being ecompassed by the arms of the long extended crescent of the Lacedæmonians, Epameinondas lengthened, as much as he could with safety, his right wing; leaving it in some parts not more than six deep; and ordering it in an oblique line, so that as they weakened, they gradually receded from the army of the enemy.

The battle commenced with the cavalry, and proved, in its continuance, the most bloody action ever known in Greece, or between Grecians. The Lacedæmonian horse were unable to withstand the well directed attack of the Thebans, and were quickly broken, thrown into confusion, and forced back upon their own infantry. The consequent disorder which ensued in the Lacedæmonian line, afforded Epameinondas an opportunity of performing one of those evolutions which are generally decisive of the fate of battles. Conceiving that the Lacedæmonians would, when they had sufficiently recovered themselves, renew the attack upon his right wing, which appeared, from its oblique position, ready for flight, he formed the least numerous, but the best and most able division of his army into a compact wedge with spreading sides. He was not deceived in the expectation which he had formed, the Lacedæmonians, whenever they had rallied, directed their attempts against the Theban right wing. Their onset was crowned with a momentary success; but Epameinondas immediately seizing the advantage which this occurrence afforded him, rushed forward with his phalanx, and during, says Xenophon, like the beak of a galley upon the Lacedæmonians, swept every thing before him, and was uninterrupted in his course till he reached that part of

the field in which Cleombrotus held his station. The Lacedæmonians rallied in defence of their king; but although they were fortunate enough ultimately to repel the desperate assault of their enemies, they were not able to preserve the life of their leader, who received a mortal wound, and was carried lifeless from the field of battle. When the death of their king became generally known, dismay spread over the Lacedæmonian army. Their feeling was but temporary; anger, rage, and despair kindled every Lacedæmonian bosom, and animated every action; and the contest was renewed with redoubled vigour between the right wing of the enemy and the phalanx of Epameinondas. But the Lacedæmonian left wing composed of the allies, who had never heartily engaged in the action, took advantage of the confusion occasioned by the death of Cleombrotus, and fled in every direction. The Lacedæmonians then no longer able to support alone the firm and steady attack of the Thebans, retreated to their camp, and formed behind its entrenchments. Epameinondas thus checked the pursuit of his enemies; for the elevated site of the camp, and the apparent strength with which it was fortified, afforded no expectation of further success. On the side of the Lacedæmonians the loss was great; and Deceon, the polemarch, who was next in command to the king, Sphodrias, and his son Cleonymus, were among the number of the slain.

The Lacedæmonians had now sufficient time to recover themselves, and leisure to reflect on their defeat; and they looked with mixed feelings of horror and sorrow upon the disgrace which they had incurred. It was the first time since the days of Lyscurgus, it was believed, that a Lacedæmonian army had been vanquished by an inferior force; and, at all events, so rare was the occurrence, that it was universally believed to be impossible. A council of war was summoned to consider of the measures which ought to be adopted. A few, and but a few, whom the courageous spirit of their ancestors had not deserted, declared their willingness to die, rather than to survive their disgrace, and expressed it as their opinion, that the Lacedæmonians ought not even now to yield. It was true, they observed, that they had been greatly reduced, but their numbers still far exceeded those of the enemy; there was therefore yet hopes of victory, and it was unfitting that the Lacedæmonians should crave a truce for the burial of their dead, which would amount to an acknowledgement that they were discomfited; but that, on the contrary, both the dignity and the honour of Lacedæmonians, and the ancient glory of her name, required that they should return to the field and recover their dead by their own valour and by the force of arms. But this bold and spirited measure was rejected by the cautious prudence of the majority of the council. When the surviving polemarchs reflected that of seven hundred Spartans, who had, on the commencement of the day, formed part of the army, only three hundred had returned safe from the field of action; that a thousand of those Lacedæmonians, who were not dignified with the name, nor entitled to the privileges of Spartans, had fallen in the battle; and that the allies, although their loss had been comparatively less, were not only unwilling, but had actually refused to renew the combat, and rather discovered pleasure in the disasters of the Lacedæmonians, than consoled with

Epameinondas.

From A. M. 3617.

— B. C. 387. to A. M. 3641.

— B. C. 363.

Biography their misfortunes; they were compelled to submit to the necessity of their affairs, and to admit, how reluctantly soever, that they had sustained a complete defeat, and that Epameinondas and his Thebans were the victors of the day. A herald was accordingly despatched by the Lacedæmonians to demand a truce, and to request permission of the Thebans to bury their dead. Thus terminated the battle of Leuctra, the most memorable, perhaps, in the annals of ancient Greece: the most bloody in its engagement, and the most fatal in its catastrophe; and, in its consequences, the most important; for, by it Lacedæmon was first seriously checked in the tyranny of her course; the charm of her invincibility, by which her allies had been preserved in their allegiance, was broken; and if we look still farther, we may consider it as the primary and leading cause of the dissolution of that confederacy, by which Greece had been enabled to maintain so paramount a pre-eminence among the nations of the ancient world, and by the dissolution of which she finally became the subject of those, whom she had always styled and regarded as barbarians.

The messengers who conveyed the melancholy news of the victory of the Thebans, reached Sparta at that moment, when the inhabitants were engaged in the celebration of the naked games. The chorus of men were on the stage, when they delivered their dispatches to the Ephors. Without discovering any emotion at the intelligence communicated to them, they proclaimed aloud the names of those who had fallen in the plain of Leuctra, admonished the women to refrain from their usual but useless lamentations, and commanded the festival to proceed. On the morrow, the same real or affected apathy, and the same peculiarity of conduct, which was the natural result of the institutions of Lycurgus, were visible in the behaviour, in the manner, and in the dress of every citizen. The stern legislator of Sparta had left but one alternative to that Spartan whom ignoble flight had carried him from the field of battle: he might either retire into banishment, exposed to all the hardships and all the contumely to which the animosity of offended tribes would expose him; or, he might remain at home, excluded from the public assemblies, incapacitated from holding any office of honour or of power, and driven almost out of the pale of society. The relations of those who had fallen in the cause of their country, appeared in public with countenances beaming with joy, and every action expressed the pride which they felt, and their unfeigned satisfaction, at the conduct of their kinsmen who had yielded up the victory only with their lives. On the other hand, the friends of the vanquished, who had preferred a disgraceful existence to a glorious death, either remained at home, or if they were, through necessity, obliged to walk abroad, their looks were downcast and dejected, their garments disordered and rent, their steps slow and melancholy, their whole appearance indicative of the most deep and contrite sorrow. But, for once, the denunciation of that sentence of perpetual ignominy, which the extreme rigour of the Spartan laws ordained, and which was expected with so much humility and resignation, was suspended by Agesilaus. The criminals were numerous, and many of them of high rank and noble extraction; and Sparta, in her depopulated state, could not well afford to sacrifice

three hundred of her citizens, in vindication of the honour of the laws. The Lacedæmonians omitted not, however, any exertion which could contribute to efface the dishonour which they had incurred; they placed under the command of Archidamus all capable of bearing arms, even of those in office who had been, on the former occasion, exempted from marching under Cleombrotus; and they hastened requisitions to the several allies, to furnish, with the utmost expedition, their respective contingents of troops.

Among most of the other states of Greece, the news of the battle of Leuctra made that impression on which Epameinondas had calculated. They rejoiced at the success of the Thebans, they were delighted that a power had arisen, of strength sufficient to curb the imperiousness of Sparta; and, whilst the more powerful indulged the expectation of revenging their injuries upon the haughty senators, those of less strength and feeble exertions looked forward with the most sanguine hopes to the immediate prospect, which the success of Thebes afforded them, of throwing off the dominion, and being freed from the heavy exactions to which they had been for so long subjected. It was in Athens alone, that the defeat of the Lacedæmonians was heard without demonstrations of joy. Immediately subsequent to the battle, the Thebans had despatched ministers to that city, with the view, the more certainly to ensure, by the promptness of the communication, the interest and the assistance of her citizens. But, although the transactions of the field of Leuctra could not be unawakened intelligence to the republican government of Athens, she shewed herself capable of checking the immediate impulse of revenge, and acted with a moderation which discovered a more deep and far sighted policy. The Theban ministers were not merely received with neglect, but treated almost with insult; and they were dismissed without being even introduced in public: an attention, on such occasions, of the most ordinary and common occurrence. But the feeling of revenge against Lacedæmon had died away in Athens with the depression of that state; and Thebes had risen to an eminence, and might assume an importance among the Grecian states, which excited in the Athenians a cautious but not an imprudent jealousy of her power.

At the same time that the Thebans had sent intelligence to Athens, they had despatched ministers to request the assistance of Jason of Pheræ, in Thessaly, who was perhaps the most extraordinary character of his age. Eminent by birth, superior by the endowments both of mind and body, and powerful from popularity, he soon became famous in the factions of his native city; from the diligence with which he trained the mercenary troops which it was common to employ in those factions, from his courage and skill in commanding them, and from the art that he possessed of attaching them to his interest. In process of time he was enabled to extend his authority beyond the narrow precincts of Pheræ, and succeeded in bringing most of the Thessalian towns under that kind of subjection, which was distinguished by the name of confederacy. But his ambition did not rest here. It had been the custom of the different republics of Thessaly, in times of difficulty and danger, to appoint a common general, under the name of Tagus; and to this distinguished honour Jason aspired. In order to his attainment of it, it was

Epamei-

nondas.

From

A. M.

3617.

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B. C.

387.

to

A. M.

3641.

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B. C.

363.

Effects

which the

battle of

Leuctra

produced in

Greece.

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Application

of Thebes

to Jason for

assistance.

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Biography. requisite that he should procure the assent of every Thessalian state; and in this he had been successful; except in the instance of Pharsalus, where he met with a powerful opponent in Polydamas, whom birth, riches, and hospitality had raised to an authority almost princely. He commanded the citadel of the Pharsalians; he had their revenue at his disposal, and he directed and controlled their councils. But in his opposition to the arduous policy of Jason he had been unsuccessful; for, although his utmost abilities and the whole force of Pharsalus had been exerted to protect the city from the encroachments of the ambitious Phereas, all their endeavours had proved unequal to the task. But the able mind of Jason looked far beyond the renown, which could be derived from the petty warfare of two small Thessalian cities; even the reduction of the whole of Greece was an object too small for his enterprising spirit; and he had conceived the vast idea of subjecting the Persian empire to his control. To reduce Pharsalus by force of arms, if he had any hopes of success, by peaceable means, was an exertion unworthy of his talents; and he accordingly sent messengers to request a conference with Polydamas. After asserting his determination to reduce every Thessalian town under his subjection, but if it were practicable rather by negotiation than by violence, he represented how easy it would be for Polydamas to second his intentions by persuading the Pharsalian people; how difficult it would be to oppose them his experience must have already taught him. It was his resolution to become the first man in Greece, and it was in the power of Polydamas to hold the second rank. So far was his project from being impracticable, it presented few, and those but trifling obstacles. In cavalry, in heavy-armed infantry, in targeteers, Thessaly possessed already a formidable force; and he had under his command a body of mercenary troops, more choice and better disciplined than was possessed by any common-wealth in Greece. With the Boeotian states he was on terms of friendship; and Athens herself had courted his alliance; but he wished not to form a connection with the Athenians, for that people considered themselves the first maritime power in Greece, and boasted their pre-eminence; and it was his design to make Thessaly in this respect her successful rival; a project more easy of execution, and more certain of success, than even his designs by land; for Athens was supplied with timber from Macedonia, which was much nearer to Thessaly; in sailors, she had none who could contend with his Phœnian subjects; and in revenue, Thessaly was far richer, and her tributary estates incomparably more valuable than the scattered islands which acknowledged Athenian dominion.

The force and the justness of the reasoning of Jason were admitted by Polydamas; but Pharsalus was in amity with Lacedæmon, and the integrity of her ruler was inviolable. At the suggestion of Jason, however he consented to proceed to Lacedæmon, to request her assistance. After three days of deliberation, the Lacedæmonians acknowledged their incapacity to protect their ally, and left him and his Pharsalians to consult for their own interest. Polydamas, therefore, on his return, brought the Pharsalians to acquiescence in the appointment of the Jason to the title and dignity of Tagus of Thessaly; and he was him-

self, at his own request, placed in command of the citadel of Pharsalus.

Such was the situation of the citizens of Phære at the time of the battle of Leuctra; and we may form an estimate of the formidable extent of his power from the number of his forces, which amounted to more than twenty thousand heavy-armed foot, eight thousand horse, and a body of targeteers. Large enough, says the contemporary historian of Greece, for war with all the world. The battle of Leuctra was an event of that description most likely to excite in the active mind of Jason the liveliest interest; and immediately upon the arrival of the Theban ministers, he ordered a fleet to be equipped, and putting himself in command of his mercenaries, and a small body of horse, he proceeded with this small force with such rapidity through the territories of the Phocians, with whom Thessaly was at war, that, by his own arrival, the intelligence of his expedition became first known in every town through which he passed. Neither time nor opportunity was given to his enemies to collect a force sufficient to oppose him, and without sustaining loss, he arrived in the territories of Boeotia. But the same motives which had actuated the Atheonians, displayed themselves in the conduct of Jason. Satisfied with the humiliation of Lacedæmon, he was not desirous of her destruction; for it accorded not with his political views, that Thebes should become too powerful. Instead, therefore, of assisting the Thebans to crush their enemies, he set himself about terminating hostilities; and he was successful in procuring a truce. The Lacedæmonians took advantage of the temporary suspension of warfare, and decamping in the evening, they rested out in their march till they reached Argostheni, in the territory of Megara. Here they were joined by Archidamus, and those troops that Lacedæmon had sent to their relief; and as the remnant of the Lacedæmonian army of Leuctra had now rescued a peaceful country, and the object of the expedition under Archidamus was thus accomplished, the troops were conducted to Corinth, where the allies were dismissed, and the Lacedæmonians were marched home to Lacedæmon.

The subsequent life of Jason is foreign to the life of Epameinondas, and to a history of the Theban wars; but the extraordinary mind of the man seems to deserve some brief notice of his subsequent fortune. A premature death prevented the execution of those extensive schemes which he projected. Whether he would have been able, had his life been spared, to realize his splendid designs, it would now be vain to conjecture; but his hopes were evidently not founded upon a mere dream of ambition. The state of Greece was singularly favourable to his project; and his own talents and resources well calculated for the work in which he intended to employ them. But his career was early interrupted; the last military action of Jason which remains upon record, is the revenge which he exercised against the Phocians, by the reduction of Heraclea, on his return from Thessaly. Powerful by the strength of the forces of his own country, and by his numerous alliances, he was acknowledged to be the greatest potentate of his age; and he resolved to display his magnificence at the Pythian Games, by proposing the reward of a golden crown to that city which should produce the finest ox, and by an easy impost, he was enabled to collect from the various towns which

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Biography. acknowledged the authority of the Tugus of Thessaly, more than a thousand oxen, and ten thousand smaller cattle. After reviewing the cavalry of Phæra, Jason had retired to give audience to those who wished to consult him. Seven youths approached, and under the pretence of receiving his decision upon some matter in dispute; but they had no sooner gained admittance, than they discovered their real object, and Jason was assassinated. Of the perpetrators of this act, two were slain by the guards, and the rest made their escape: the motives of their act are covered by the veil of obscurity. No revolution ensued to mark it as the consequence of political intrigue; but there was sufficient to evince both the popularity of Jason in Thessaly, and the dread which his talents, and the probable success of his projects had created among the rest of the states of Greece. Of the former we require no stronger confirmation, than that his brothers, Polydamus and Polyphron, were appointed his successors, and that his assassins, unable to secure protection, were forced to fly from Thessaly; and of the latter, the circumstance that these assassins were reviled by many of the other states of Greece with every mark of respect and of honour, is a sufficient testimony.

Convents at Athens. It has been already remarked, that it was the policy of the able leaders of the Athenian councils to hold the balance even between the two contending states of Lacedæmon and of Thebes, and to permit neither to acquire the preponderancy. In pursuance of this policy, Athens had, immediately after the battle of Leuctra, refused to assist the Thebans in their plans of annihilating the power of the Lacedæmonian aristocracy; and, with the same view, she now thought it necessary, in consequence of some recent occurrences among the different states of Peloponnesus, to assemble a congress at Athens. The Peloponnesians had, along with the rest of the inhabitants of Greece, and probably in a more forcible manner, experienced the oppression of Sparta; and many of them had rejoiced at the prosperity of Thebes; but, as soon as they found themselves relieved from the immediate presence of Lacedæmonian tyranny, the remembrance of their former alliances, of their ancient glory, returned upon them in their fullest force; and this disposition was somewhat increased by the fear, lest if Thebes, a state beyond Peloponnesus, should become supreme in Greece, the Peloponnesians would lose that importance which the superiority of Lacedæmon, and their connection with her, had acquired for them, and should sink into a state of insignificance and obscurity. Frequent conferences, promoted by these views, had been, in consequence, held by the members of the different commonwealths of Peloponnesus; and it had been resolved by them, that they would return to their former dependence upon Lacedæmon, and would adhere to their former system of following the Lacedæmonians upon every occasion wherever they should think proper to conduct them. Athens felt alarm lest these measures should revive the now fallen power of Lacedæmon, and raise her to her former stability; and the object she had in view, in summoning the congress, was to renew the terms of the peace of Antalcidas. According to the requisition of the Athenians, a congress assembled at Athens, and it was attended by deputies from almost every state in Greece. The Athenians

immediately laid open their object in summoning the meeting: that of renewing the security of the independence of each state; and they proposed an oath, by which every deputy was required to swear that "he would abide by the terms of the peace which the king sent, and by the decrees of the Athenians and their allies; and that, if any state partaking in the oath, should be attacked, he would assist that state with all his strength." Of all the deputies of the Grecian powers, those of Elis alone refused to needle to the proposals of the Athenians; and they insisted that Elis should be permitted to retain her sovereignty over the people of Megara, Scillus, and Triphylia.

But this congress at Athens, so unanimous in its resolutions, and by which it was intended to secure universal independency, and the general peace of Greece, was the remote cause of a war, which ultimately involved every Grecian state. By the destruction of Mantinea by the Lacedæmonians, after the peace of Antalcidas, the democratical party of the government of that city had been entirely annihilated, while the aristocratical, if it had not been strengthened by the event, had, at least, lost none of its importance or power. In the villages to which they had been forced to retire, the wealthier inhabitants, those constituting the aristocracy, possessed unimpaired the same authority, they had enjoyed during the existence of their capital; but the democratical leaders had been, by that event, deprived of the sole means by which they could either maintain or acquire any ascendancy—that of addressing assembled multitudes, and through that medium inflaming their passions, and inspiring their conduct. With the success of Thebes the hopes of the democracy had somewhat revived; but the resolutions of the congress of Athens, by which provision was again made for a general independency, incited their activity, and prompted them to propose the re-establishment of their ancient city, and the restoration of their assembly. At a meeting which was convened, the proposal met with a favourable reception; and it was decreed by the Mantinians, that the families forming the old capital should collect together, and that the place should be immediately fortified. Even the influence of Agesilaus, who had not thought that the employment of ambassador to a petty city was, on such an occasion, unworthy either of his rank or his character, was inadequate to impede the progress of their operations, or to prevent the destruction of the power of that party which was favourable to aristocracy; and after much of negotiation, probably of intrigue, the final answer which they received from the Mantinians was, "that the decree passed by the Mantinians people could not be rescinded." But, although Agesilaus departed out without feelings of disgust and resentment, yet it was with the resolution that it was neither right nor politic, that the Lacedæmonians should be the first to infringe the articles of the late treaty.

The democratical party of Tegea, encouraged by the success of the Mantinians, resolved next to attempt the restoration of their party, and with it to augment the general importance of their city. But the Tegeans had greater difficulties to surmount; for, as they were ruled by an aristocratical administration, united in its measures, they could entertain but faint

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Re-esta-
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of Mantin-
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state.

Biography. hopes that a proposal, limited to the small territory of Tegea, would meet with success. They therefore extended their views, and proposed the bold and intrepid, but ultimately successful plan, of uniting the whole of Arcadia under one government. It is unnecessary for us to trace, with any minuteness of detail, the means by which this object was accomplished: the rejection of the proposed innovation by the general assembly of the Arcadian states, produced by the influence of Hippius, the leader of the aristocratical party; the events of the war which was waged by Proxenus and Callibius, the heads of the democracy; the temporary success of Hippius, and the death of Proxenus; his final defeat, and the complete success of the popular party; and the erection, under the name of Megalopolis of a new city, a common capital, upon the southern bank of Arcadia, and in the vale of the Alpheus, a site which was highly approved and commended by the Theban leaders, who are allowed to have been the principal promoters of the measure; because its situation in the immediate vicinity of Messenia and Laconia, afforded easy opportunities of either protecting the one, or annoying and harassing the other. It is requisite, however, that we should mention that this revolution was not accomplished without crimes on the part of the Mantineaans, who thus became guilty of the first infraction of the treaty of Athens; that Orchomenus alone, of all the Arcadian towns, from an inveterate hatred of the Mantineaans, and a dread of their influence, refused to give her concurrence; and that the Lacedæmonians, furnished with but too good an excuse for attacking the reigning party in Mantinea, and of supporting their friends of the aristocratical faction, and provided with too good a title to defend their ancient allies of Orchomenus, discovered no inclination to continue their late prudent temperance of conduct, or to remain any longer inactive and peaceable spectators of events. An expedition, under the conduct of Agesilaus, was led to the assistance of Orchomenus; but it performed nothing remarkable. The Arcadians and the people of Elis avoided a general battle; and Agesilaus, pressed at last by the season, found it necessary to retire, after laying waste a part of the Mantinea territory, and gaining the advantage in a few skirmishes.

Epameinondas had, in the mean time, left nothing undone which could tend to strengthen the cause of his country. The interference of Lacedæmon in the affairs of Arcadia had been made use of to represent the Lacedæmonians as infringers of the general treaty of Greece; and by the money of the Elians, and the accession of the Phocians and their allies, a numerous army had been collected, over which Epameinondas was placed in the chief command. With so much secrecy, and with such activity had these operations of the Thebans been conducted, that not only the Lacedæmonians, but even the Arcadians, the allies of Thebes, were ignorant of them; and Epameinondas reached Mantinea, while the Arcadians were actively engaged in the attack and plunder of the Nereans. But, although their preparations had been rapidly completed, the Lacedæmonian army had been, before their arrival, withdrawn from Arcadia, and the Theban leaders considered their winter expedition at an end. By the representations, however, of the Arcadians and Elians, who from their proximity to Sparta, were

better acquainted with the weak condition of that city, than the Thebans, whose situation was more remote, Epameinondas was persuaded, notwithstanding that the season was so far advanced, to listen to a proposal of lending the united forces immediately into Laconia; and the plan met with his decided approbation, when he found the opinions of his allies, fully confirmed by the intelligence of some Lacedæmonian fugitives. It was the ruggedness of the frontier of Laconia, that had presented to the mind of Epameinondas, the most serious obstacle; and the better to ensure success, he suggested that the Peloponnesian and Theban forces should separate and attempt the ingress by different passes. The Peloponnesians proceeded by that defile which led by Ina, at one of the sources of the Eurotas, and in the district of Skiritis; Epameinondas made choice of the difficult passage by Caryæ on the Æneus, a brook whose waters after passing that city, almost immediately mingle with those of the Eurotas. Ischolaus, a Spartan, who had been placed in defence of the pass of Ion, was killed, and his army easily defeated by the Arcadians: and as that entrance which had been chosen by Epameinondas was undefended, the two armies soon joined their forces a little below Caryæ. The combined troops immediately proceeded to the attack of Sellasia, in the vale of the Eurotas; and quickly reduced it to ashes. On the second day of the march from Caryæ, they arrived at the bridge that led to Sparta, which stood at no great distance on the opposite bank: but the passage was so strongly guarded, that the confederate generals thought it prudent not to attempt it, and they continued their march down the river, carrying devastation with them in their progress. These transactions spread such consternation, not merely among the weak and cowardly, but among the wise and courageous of Sparta, that liberty was proclaimed as the reward of these Helots, who should be willing to lend their assistance; and six thousand of them were in consequence enrolled. The urgent necessity of the moment, and the imminence of the danger may have been a sufficient excuse for the adoption of a measure, so apparently pregnant with evil consequences; but, the temporary relief which it afforded, was soon overbalanced by the miseries to which it gave rise; for the Helots having once tasted of liberty, subsequently refused to return to their former state, and the whole body rising in arms against their masters, were the most efficient means of producing that liberation of Messenia, which we shall soon have occasion to mention, as one of the fruits of this expedition. In the mean time the measure was productive of advantage; for by their assistance, and that of some auxiliaries from Corinth, and a few other towns whose interest bound them to support the Lacedæmonian cause, the alarm which had been excited was entirely stilled. Although the confederate army had been forced to desist from its attack upon Sparta, it had not abandoned the plain; and while these occurrences had taken place among the Lacedæmonians, it had proceeded in its route along the left bank of the river, had crossed at Amyclæ, a little below Sparta, and was now advancing against that town. The horse had already proceeded as far as the horse-course and the temple of Neptune in the close vicinity of Sparta; and they were rather encouraged than dismayed by the dimi-

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First expedition of Epameinondas into Peloponnesus and invasion of Laconia.
B. C.
370.

Biography, native appearance of the Lacedæmonian envoy. But when the infantry, which had been concealed by the Temple of the Tindarid, marched to their support, such was still the power of the Lacedæmonian name, that not only the allied horse, but even the infantry, though much superior in number to that of the Lacedæmonians, retired with most evident symptoms of alarm. Agesilaus adopted the prudent system of not risking an engagement, but was contented with posting his men in advantageous situations. The allied army withdrew and encamped at a small distance, when a council of war being soon after summoned to consult on the plan of operations which should be pursued, it was resolved that any further attempt upon Sparta would not only be useless, but fraught with extreme danger.

The historians of antiquity have transmitted it as their opinion, that the name alone of Sparta saved her, and that she was so weak in force, that she must have fallen, before an army so numerous as that of her enemies, if their operations had been directed with vigour and with spirit. But the extent of his army, composed of troops from different nations, and consequently difficult of restraint, was the reason which induced Epameinondas, when his enemy seemed so entirely within his power, to retreat without attempting to accomplish the principal object of his expedition. Implicit reliance on his talents, his courage, and his experience had commanded for him obedience as long as the army continued on its march, and had enabled him to maintain that strictness of discipline, which is, to an enemy's country, so essential to the preservation of every army. But the success which he had attended his arms, and the little opposition he had encountered, had diminished the fear of danger, and had made his troops less cautious, and less inclined to obedience. Among the Thebians, indeed, his authority was undiminished, and he could still enforce the same severe order, and preserve the same caution in fortifying his camp, as if he had been in the immediate presence of the enemy: but those troops formed only a small portion of the whole; the rest of the army had appeared to consider themselves free of almost every restraint; and the Arcadians, in particular, refused to relinquish a practice, to which they were habituated, of lying aside their arms as soon as they had encamped, and wandering for pillage. It was in such a situation that Epameinondas found himself when encamped before Sparta; and he felt not merely that it would be hopeless in such circumstances, to make any attempt against a place so well fortified, but that a complete defeat and total ruin to his cause might ensue, from risking his troops in battle against the well-disciplined army of the Lacedæmonians. He had only one course to pursue, that of directing the impetuous desire of plunder which he could not restrain; and he accordingly conducted his army down the Eurotas as far as Gytheum, the only naval arsenal which the Lacedæmonians possessed, giving his troops during the whole line of their march, unlimited licence of plunder. Even the assault which he directed against that port, and to which he persevered for three days, proved unsuccessful; and such at last became the state of his army, so anxious were many of the allies to return home with the booty which they had secured, that desertion became so common that he was obliged hastily to withdraw from Laconia.

The intelligence of the victories and successes of the Thebans, and the extreme danger which threatened Sparta, created in Athens considerable emotion; arising not from any friendly feelings in that city towards the Lacedæmonians, but for fear lest Thebes should obtain such a preponderance as to endanger the independence of Athens and perhaps of Greece. An assembly, was in consequence, immediately called together, to consider of the conduct which Athens should observe. The Lacedæmonian ministers were first heard in support of their cause, and in defence of their country. When they had finished, the minds of the assembly was by no means of one opinion. The aristocratical party, contended, that so soon as Mantinea had broken the late treaty by carrying her arms into Tegea, it became not only the duty of the Lacedæmonians to assist the Tegeans, but it was now imperatively required of the Athenians, in conformity with their oath, that they should aid and assist them with all the power they could command. It was urged by the favourers of democracy on the other hand, that the Mantinea had been guilty of no breach of the late contract, and that by supporting the exertions of the Tegean democrats, they had done no more than enforce that independency, which it was the object of the congress of Athens to ensure to every state of Greece. The opposite parties seemed so evenly balanced, that the issue of the debate appeared doubtful, when the balance was completely turned by the appeal of the Corinthian and Phliisino ambassadors. Epameinondas, in conducting his army to Mantinea had passed through Corinth. Corinth refusing to bear arms against her old allies the Lacedæmonians, had declined to join her forces to the confederate army; and Epameinondas had permitted, or rather had been unable to restrain the allies from committing ravages upon the territories of Corinth. The unpardonable nature of this outrage upon a neutral country was forcibly urged by Cleitias, the Corinthian envoy, and the democratical party found it impossible to efface the impression which was produced by his concluding appeal to the Athenians: "Can the Athenians," he observed, "in such circumstances, without perjury, refuse to any country that assistance to which the treaty entitles the injured?" But the victory was complete, when the minister of Phlius followed on the same side, alternately rousing the fears and flattering the vanity of the Athenians. Irritation and impatience seized the multitude; they would listen to no other speakers; the question was immediately put to the vote, and it was decreed that the whole force of the commonwealth, under the command of Iphicrates, should be instantly conducted to the assistance of Lacedæmon. But, had it been in the power of Epameinondas to preserve better discipline in his army, the mighty preparations of Athens would have been useless, and her assistance would have arrived too late to save Sparta from utter ruin. As it was, the exertions of Iphicrates produced no effect; for, although he arrived in Arcadia in time sufficient to oppose the retreat of the Thebans, and possessed every opportunity of reducing them to the extremity of difficulty and distress, yet for some reasons which remain unexplained, he first withdrew to Corinth, as if with a view of disputing the passage of the Isthmus, and ultimately allowed the Thebans to pass without molestation into Boeotia.

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Conduct of

the Athe-

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Bioeraphy. Although by this expedition of the combined forces of Thebes, Arcadia, and Elis, that object had not been accomplished which had been originally intended, yet the power of Lacedæmon received a blow from which she was never able to recover. When the army of the enemy retired, rebellion pervaded the country. The Helots, in particular, having received full proof of the weakness of their oppressors, and feeling assurance in their own strength, determined to make an effort to burst the cords of their bondage, and in a body broke out into revolt. These were circumstances not to be overlooked by Epameinondas and the other sagacious leaders of the Theban assembly. They called loudly upon the relics of the Messenian race to profit by the crisis in the affairs of Lacedæmon, and to return from the several places of their exile, from (Rhegium, in Italy, Messina, in Sicily, and Evesperita, in Africa,) and taking possession of the country of their forefathers, to become again one of the people of Greece. The Messenians were not deaf to the invitation nor blind to their own interests; they flocked in from all quarters; they disdained not to associate with them the Helots; all of Grecian, many of them of Messenian, origin; a new city of Messenæ was, under the patronage of Epameinondas, founded at the foot of Mount Ithome, which itself became the citadel; and Messenæ, the fairest, the richest portion of the possessions of Lacedæmon was completely and finally separated from the Lacedæmonians. But this was not the only effect of the Peloponnesian expedition: the country of Skiritia, that rugged and mountainous district, where the Euristas and Alpheus have their sources, continued in the hands of the rebels who held Sellasia, at the upper end of the vale; while Pallene, which still continued to adhere to the Lacedæmonians, was carried by assault by Lycomedes, the able general of the Arcadians.

The next year a Theban army was again led into Peloponnesus, and surprising the army of their enemies, easily effected a junction with the Peloponnesian allies. But the danger which was threatened to the northern frontier of Thebes by Alexander of Phææ terminated the campaign at a time when all Peloponnesus seemed open to the Theban arms. The Thebans were obliged hastily to retire without being able to effect more than ravaging the lands of the Epidaurians, the allies and supporters of Lacedæmon; and laying waste the territories of Corinth after an unsuccessful attempt to seize the city, from which they were repulsed, with some slaughter, by the Corinthians under the direction of Chabrias of Atheas.

Meanwhile, symptoms of dissension began to shew themselves among the states of the Theban confederacy: and far from being surprised that this should be the case, it is rather astonishing that the confederacy should have subsisted for any length of time; and it is impossible not to admire the abilities of Epameinondas and of those great men by whom the connection had been so long preserved. Thebes, rising suddenly into a supremacy almost as extensive as that which had been formerly exercised by Lacedæmon and Athens, had neither the institutions of the former, nor the local advantages of the latter, to ensure the duration of her power. It was an authority originating solely from a succession of favourable events, ably directed by a few men of extraordinary talent, and such as any state of Greece might, in a short

time, be again able to command. The first appearance of aversion from the control of Thebes discovered itself in the country of Arcadia. Lycomedes of Mantinea, who has been formerly mentioned as the leader of the Arcadians, perceiving that it was the object of Thebes not to promote the peace and general prosperity of Greece, but to raise herself into eminence, was determined to check her ambition; and calling an assembly of the Arcadian states, he so well represented to them the former and present importance of their country, that he persuaded them no longer to submit to a dependence upon Thebes, but to insist upon an equality in command. Arcadia still continued, it is true, the opponent of Lacedæmon; but these resolutions could not but excite suspicion and jealousy in the Thebans; and although no actual breach at this time ensued, yet the friendship subsisting between those states became gradually more cool and more precarious. Nor was this all; Elis had, for years, claimed a sovereignty over the Triphylia; and these latter people, whether really suffering under that oppression which is in such circumstances so commonly exercised by one state over another, or whether desirous to free themselves from a subjection, which is always irksome, applied to the Arcadians to assist them in asserting their independence. Their application was seconded by the inhabitants of Lasion, a strong hold in Triphylia, in which the Eleians had permitted some Arcadian exiles to establish themselves, with a view to restrain the inhabitants. The Arcadians listened to the application which was made to them, and passed a decree that the Triphylia and their countrymen should receive assistance. Thus commenced those hostilities, which gave rise to the contest of Olympia, and ultimately led to the battle of Mantinea, in which Epameinondas lost his life, and Thebes her supremacy, and by which the confederacy of Greece became completely broken.

Just at this crisis, Philistius of Abydos arrived in Greece, charged by Ariobarzanes, the satrap of Bithynia, to endeavour to promote a general peace. The events which followed shewed that this new interference of Persia in Grecian affairs, had been procured by the Lacedæmonians. A congress of the states of Greece was assembled at Delphi; and it was proposed to them by Philistius, that a peace should be concluded, but that as an indispensable requisite to its establishment, Messenæ should be replaced under the sovereignty of Lacedæmon. To this condition the Thebans expressed their determination not to accede; and all negotiation being thus abruptly terminated, war was renewed with equal, if not redoubled, violence.

Events seemed now to be taking an unfavourable course for Thebes, and there was some reason to apprehend that Lacedæmon, notwithstanding that she was, at present, so much depressed, might recover her supremacy. On the earth, the Thessalians had gained some advantage against the Theban arms; for the usual success of Pelopidas had failed him; he had been made prisoner, and although his liberation was procured by the able negotiation of Epameinondas, it had not been obtained without some concessions. Thebes was, therefore, pressed on the north by the Thessalians; in Peloponnesus, Arcadia had become cool in her cause, and dissension had occurred between that state and Elis; Athens was still cordial in her sup-

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From A. M. 3617.

B. C. 357. to A. M. 3641. — B. C. 363.

Second expedition of Epameinondas into Peloponnesus.

B. C. 368.

Dissension of the Theban confederacy.

Interference of Persia to promote a general peace.

Attempt of Thebes to acquire supremacy by the interference of Persia.

Biography. port of Lacedæmon; and, to add to all this, a body of mercenary troops, procured by the influence of Philiscus, and paid with Persian gold, were now opposed to her. But Epameinondas, who had shewn himself superior to events much more adverse than these, discovered that his mind was still fertile in expedients; and as he had already seen the effects which had been so frequently produced in favour of Lacedæmon by means of negotiation with Persia, he was resolved to have recourse to that expedient, and to endeavour to foil Lacedæmon in negotiation, as he had already done by arms. At a congress of the Theban confederacy Pelopidas was chosen as the minister of Thebes, and sent to Susa; and so successful was he in his embassy, that a Persian of rank was appointed to accompany him home, and to bear from the king a rescript of those terms upon which his friendship was to be obtained. By that document it was required, "that the Lacedæmonians should allow the independence of Messenia; that the Athenians should lay up their fleet; that war should be made upon them if they refused; and that, if any Grecian city denied its contingent for such war, the first hostilities should be directed against that city: that those who accepted of these terms would be considered as friends of the king, those who refused them, as enemies." A congress of the states of Greece was summoned by the Thebans to meet at Thebes, to learn the terms of the message of the Persian monarch, and it was generally attended. But, though the summons had been so readily obeyed, yet the Thebans did not gain, from this assembly, that advantage which they expected: for, when they proposed that an oath, swearing to the observance of the terms of the rescript, should be taken by each deputy, the majority of them refused to accede, observing that they came not to take oaths, but to listen to propositions. Nor was this the sole opposition which was offered to the attempts of the Thebans. Pelopidas, for some reasons of policy which have not been satisfactorily explained, had treated Antiphus, the Arcadian minister at the Persian court, with such marked disrespect, that he drew down upon the Arcadian the contempt of the Persians. With whatever view, however, this contempt may have been shown, it was determined that the Thebans should now feel the full effect of it. Antiochus, however unfitted for the delicate management of an embassy, was a man of bravery and of spirit; and, on his return to Arcadia, by rousing the indignation of his countrymen against the Thebans, he prevailed with them so far that they made choice of such deputies as were known to be most opposed to the pretensions of Thebes. When the oath, therefore, was tendered to Lycomedes, he not only refused to take it, but he pertinaciously insisted that Thebes was not the place where the congress should have been assembled: and, upon a remonstrance on the part of the Thebans that he was promoting discord in the assembly, he declared his intention of resigning his seat in the congress, and immediately withdrawing himself from it, he was followed by the rest of the Arcadian deputies, the congress instantly breaking up, without coming to any conclusion. Thebes, being thus thwarted in her object, determined to attempt by private requisition, what she had been unable to accomplish by means of a public assembly: but her hopes of success by this

means were equally frustrated. The Corinthians who were the first to declare that they declined the interference, and wanted no alliance with the king, were followed by most of the cities of Greece: and the attempt of Thebes to acquire supremacy, through the influence of Persia, completely failed.

The next disaster which befel Thebes is to be imputed entirely to the impolitic and intemperate cruelty of her own conduct. That extent of country, which, in ancient Greece, was known by the name of Achæia, was more divided into a number of petty states, under distinct governments, than any other division of Greece: and those states had, for ages, alternately acknowledged aristocratical or democratical dominion, with the preponderance of the power of Lacedæmon or of Athens. Since the time of the destructive defeat of the Athenians, in Sicily, the Achæian states had remained quiet under aristocratical administration; and during the contest between the Thebans and Lacedæmonians they had, as yet, preserved a strict neutrality. But the ambition of those, who were the leaders of the democratical faction in Achæia, had been recently excited by the rise and the success of Thebes; and a deputation from those leaders being accordingly sent to the Thebans, at present dejected by her failure at the congress, they not only easily procured assistance, but it was granted to them with an alacrity which discovered the eagerness of the Thebans to seize upon any occurrence, by which they might, possibly, re-establish their credit. In consequence, an army of the confederacy, under the command of Epameinondas, was ordered to march to the assistance of the democratical leaders of Achæia; and repelling the opposition, which was offered to it by the Lacedæmonians and Athenians in the passes of Mount Onceia, it entered Peloponnesus without much molestation. Here it was quickly augmented by the force of the Peloponnesian allies. The principal men in Achæia perceiving the futility of any resistance which they could oppose to so large a body, determined to rely on the magnanimity, and throw themselves upon the mercy of Epameinondas, rather than either attempt to contend against his arms, or betake themselves to the miserable resource of flight. Nor did they deceive themselves in the expectation of the advantage which they were to derive from this policy. Epameinondas executed, it is true, the trust which had been reposed in him by his countrymen and their allies; he insisted upon the inviolate preservation of the constitution of each city, and he required pledges that the Achæians would be faithful to the Theban confederacy, and that they would support Thebes with their arms: but he did no more; and neither banishment nor confiscation of property, much less the horrors of assassination, the two constant attendants of revolutions in Grecian governments, followed as consequences of his measures. What might have been the effect of this leniency there are no means of judging; but we shall soon have occasion to see, that harshness would not have allied Achæia to Thebes. Although Epameinondas was the able, almost the sole director of the councils of Thebes, and the victorious general of her armies, yet as he was one of those rare and extraordinary men, who have too much firmness of character and integrity of conduct to bend to those mean artifices, by which the hearts of the multitude are usually gained, so he was not always able to

Epameinondas.

From A. M. 3617.

B. C. 387.

A. M. 3641.

B. C. 363.

Alliance of Achæia with Lacedæmon.

Biography.

From
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3617.—
A. C.
367.
to
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3641.
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363.

ensure that approbation of his conduct, which his services to his country deserved. In Achaia he had, on this occasion, excited against himself the clamour of all those, who expected to have risen upon the ruins of their opponents; many of the confederates, and particularly the Arcadians, were loud in their remonstrances, that the interest of Lacedæmon, not that of the confederacy, had been consulted in the settlement of Achaia; and such was the effect of this opposition, aided by the influence of a party within Thebes, that in the assembly of the citizens, Epameinondas was unable to support his own measure. Thebes assumed to herself the character of champion of the liberties of Greece: and persons, under the denomination of regulators, were sent into Achaia to reduce the government of every city to that of a pure democracy; a measure by which every man of property was banished from his country. But this sudden prosperity of the multitude was destined to endure but for a season. The exiles were numerous, and all possessed some influence in their respective towns. Directing their united exertions against each separately, their efforts were effectual; they soon recovered that authority of which they had been, with so much violence, deprived; their adversaries were, in their turn, persecuted and banished; and the whole of Achaia, before a neutral power, entered into strict alliance with Lacedæmon, and became the avowed enemy of Thebes.

Policy of
the Lacedæmonians.

It is necessary that a brief consideration should now be given to that policy which was at present pursued by Lacedæmon; and a more correct view of it cannot be displayed than by relating her conduct towards the Corinthians. The situation of Corinth, in peace the most enviable in Greece, became, in war, from the position of that city between the northern and southern states, the most exposed, and the most dangerous of any. Unable, by her own power, to withstand the attacks of the Theban confederacy, if these should be directed against her, she was forced to rely upon the assistance of some neighbouring power for defence; and cut off, as she now was, from Lacedæmon, by the intervention of Arcadia, Elis, and Argolis, she had so entirely reposed for support upon the Athenians, that she incurred the danger of becoming an Athenian dependency. An imprudent speech of one of those popular orators who were, in Greece, so frequently undoing the exertions of her wiser statesmen, had excited her jealousy of the Athenian intentions; and had induced her to relapse, not indeed without every degree of care and caution, the Athenian auxiliaries that defended her garrisons, and to refuse the admission of the Athenian fleet within her harbour. But when Corinth threw off the assistance of Athens, it was necessary that she should provide against the dangers to which such a step might expose her; she accordingly directed her views towards Thebes; and, communicating with that state, and meeting with every encouragement to send ministers to it, she received full permission to give to her allies information of her intentions, that those who were desirous of peace might have an opportunity of becoming parties to the treaty. The Corinthians then dispatched a deputation to Lacedæmon, to represent to the Lacedæmonians, that if they could show by what means they might resist the force by which they had been so long and so severely op-

pressed, they were still anxious to adhere to that alliance with them, in which they were now engaged, and to which they were bound by every tie of old and hereditary friendship. That if the Lacedæmonians could not give them this assurance, their first wish was, that they would join with them in endeavouring to procure, from the Theban confederacy, the best terms they could, as the sole means of preventing that ruin with which both were equally threatened. And that, if the Lacedæmonians were themselves averse from peace, they would release the Corinthians from their obligations, and permit them to make peace for themselves; "for," continued the deputies, "our destruction can bring no benefit to our allies, whereas, if we are preserved, we may still, on some future occasion, be useful to Lacedæmon." The answer of the Lacedæmonians was highly magnanimous, as far as concerned themselves; generous and liberal, with regard to the Corinthians; and displayed, as was fully confirmed by subsequent events, a wise and prudent policy. They allowed the Corinthians to make peace for themselves; they declared their willingness to release from their engagements, not only the Corinthians, but those of their other allies, who might be averse from continuing the war; but "for ourselves," they concluded, "leaving the event to God, we will persevere in arms, and over submit to be deprived of Messenia, our inheritance, received from our fathers." The wisdom of the Lacedæmonian policy was apparent from the subsequent conduct of the Corinthians; for, although they entered into a peace with Thebes, by which it was conditioned that each party should hold her ancient territories as before the war; yet, refusing to take arms against their ancient allies and benefactors, they rejected every proposal of an offensive and defensive alliance. In this recital of the transactions of Lacedæmon with respect to Corinth, is contained a full view of the policy of the Lacedæmonians—a determination not to conclude any peace which should deprive them of their authority over Messenia, and not to force their allies into a reluctant co-operation in the war. To conclude a war, at this time, would be, at once, to deprive themselves of all those hopes of reducing Messenia, which the disposition of Arcadia towards Thebes, of Athens towards themselves, and the disunion among the states of the Theban confederacy gave them just reason to expect. And although by permitting their allies to enter into separate treaties, the nominal strength of Sparta was diminished, yet, whatever advantage Sparta might, in her prosperous days, have derived from a forced service, she could expect little from it in the declining state of her affairs; she could afford her allies no assistance, and she could not hope that the mere obligation of oaths would preserve them in fidelity against the pressure of the Theban arms. If she had insisted, therefore, upon their maintaining their obligations, she might have reduced them to the necessity of becoming enemies; whereas, by the generous conduct of freeing them from those obligations, if she lost their assistance, she prevented their opposition. At all events, Lacedæmon was still supported by Syracuse, now under the dominion of Dionysius the younger, who had determined to continue and to support the plans which had been pursued by his father. When the season of war returned, a body of auxiliaries arrived from that

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Bioerzby. state, by whose assistance, joined to that of their own force, the Lacedæmonians recovered the important town of Scellasia, which since the Theban invasion had continued in the hands of the insurgents.

The expectations of the Lacedæmonians, with regard to the probable course which events would take in Peloponnesus, were not fallacious. A dissension between the aristocratical and democratical parties of Elis, gave occasion for the interference of the Arcadians in favour of the latter; and the Eleians, already irritated by the conduct of the Arcadians, with respect to Triphyly, took arms to revenge their injuries, and were successful in making themselves masters of the Triphylian town of Lasion. In consequence, the collected force of Arcadia was marched to the invasion of Elis; after defeating the Eleians in action, it directed its march towards Olympion, and placed itself in a situation to command the Olympian mountain; and it was ultimately successful in besieging Pylus, and in establishing in that town a colony of Eleian exiles. The further progress of the Arcadian arms was stopped by the interference of the Achæans, who saw their own ruin involved in the fall of Elis, which was now threatened by the Arcadians. The Achæans professed their friendly inclination towards Arcadia, but intimated at the same time their determination to protect Elis; and the Arcadians, finding that they gave efficacy to their determination, by sending a body of troops to support their enemies, thought it prudent to listen to an intimation so powerfully enforced, and they withdrew from Elis, after having ravaged the country, and confirmed the democratical Eleians in their possession of Pylus. In consequence of these occurrences, Elis returned to her alliance with Lacedæmon.

Conspiracy in Boeotia. In this distraction of their Peloponnesian affairs, the attention of the Theban leaders had been fully occupied by disorders in Boeotia itself. An inveterate antipathy had, almost from the heroic ages, subsisted between the Thebans and Orchomenians; and, although Orchomenus had been at length brought to acknowledge the supremacy of Thebes, yet, in that city, the aristocratical still continued to be the leading faction. These communicating with the aristocratical party of Thebes, which was still numerous, notwithstanding that its leaders were banished, formed the plan of a revolution; and fixed upon the review of the Boeotian cavalry, which it was the practice of the Theban rulers occasionally to make, as the time best fitted for carrying their plan into execution. But the Boeotians were, in the meantime, informed both of the nature and of the extent of the conspiracy. The Orchomenian cavalry, amounting to three hundred in number, were instantly seized, carried in chains before the Theban people, and executed. Even this cruel measure did not satiate the vengeance of the Thebans. It was decreed by the assembly of Thebes that Orchomenus should be levelled with the ground; an army was, in pursuance of that decree, marched against it; and Orchomenus, being incapable of offering resistance, yielded herself without opposition to the Thebans. Her merciless victors, instigated more by the remembrance of their ancient enmity against the Orchomenians, than impelled by the fear of any danger which they had occasion to apprehend from them, put every man to the sword, and sold into slavery every woman and every child.

After this conclusion of the Orchomenian conspiracy, so fortunate for Thebes, the Theban rulers, prevented by the situation of Peloponnesus, from the prosecution of hostilities against Lacedæmon, directed their attention towards Thessaly, where the oppression of the Tagus, Alexander of Pheræ, had induced new opposition to his authority. Alexander was sufficiently powerful to overbear his opponents; and the malcontents sent to Thebes, with the view of procuring assistance. Pelopidas, the general of their choice, led, in consequence, an army of seven thousand men through the straits of Thermopylæ; but, incautiously risking a battle with Alexander, who had both the advantage of numbers and of ground, he fell in the engagement. Whether the Thebans, notwithstanding that their leader had fallen, gained a victory, or whether, the issue of the battle being doubtful, the Boeotian army was still numerous enough to afford protection to the party that remained in opposition to the Tagus, or whether, on a second occasion, a battle was gained by the Theban arms, remains doubtful; but, whatever may have been the cause, it appears certain, the event of the expedition was favourable to Thebes, and that an alliance was concluded between the Tagus and Thebes, highly advantageous to the latter.

War continued, in the meantime, to be carried on between the people of Arcadia and Elis. A defeat of the Eleians had induced Lacedæmon to interfere in favour of her ally, and she had been so far successful, as to possess herself of Cromnus, and to establish a Lacedæmonian garrison in that town; but she was ultimately defeated; and, at the time of the celebration of the festival of the hundred and fourth olympiad, the Arcadians were in possession of Olympia. They determined not to surrender the city to the Eleians for the celebration of the festival; but, as they could not assume to themselves the presidency, they committed the sacred trust to the Pisians, who had never ceased to claim the right against what they termed Eleian usurpation. The Eleians on the other hand resolved not to yield up what they considered as an invaluable inheritance transmitted to them by their forefathers; and, engaging the Achæans and their interest, they marched to Olympia, surprised the Arcadians in the midst of the celebration of the games, and gained a victory. They pursued them as far as the public and sacred buildings; but the vanquished, having there every advantage for defence, made a stand, and the victors withdrew to their camp. During the interval of the night, the Arcadians had exerted themselves so strenuously in fortifying their position, that the Eleians were afraid to renew the assault; and, as their revenue was not large enough to support them for any time at a distance from home, they were forced to retire to Elis, without having it in their power to reap any advantage from their success.

On the retreat of the Eleians, the Arcadians found themselves entire masters of Olympia, and at liberty to prosecute any measures that they might deem most proper. But the same cause, the want of sufficient revenue, which had prevented the Eleians from pursuing the advantage which they had gained, now impeded the operations of the democratical leaders of the Arcadians, and forced them into a measure of the boldest nature, that of seizing the Olympian treasury. Their aristocratical opponents, who formed no small party,

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War in

Thessaly.

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a. c.

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Contin-

uance of war

between

Arcadia

and Elis.

a. c.

364.

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Seizure of

the Olympian

treasury by the

Arcadians.

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Biography. did not neglect this opportunity of exciting indignation, and rousing popular superstition. The Mantineaes, who seem to have been, at this time, principally guided by the aristocratical party, immediately dispatched a deputation to make offer of the proportion of pay due from them; and to protest, at the same time, against any sacrilegious use of the Olympian treasury. In consequence of this procedure, the leading men of Mantinea were cited to appear before the general assembly of the Arcadian states, to answer for conduct which was alleged to be treasonable against the united Arcadian government. The Mantineaes, doubting the impartiality of the tribunal, neglected to appear before it; but they were, in their absence, tried and convicted, and a body of troops were despatched for their apprehension. Those against whom they were sent, however, had not proceeded so far without being duly prepared for the result: they closed the gates of Mantinea, refused to admit those messengers who came in the name of the Arcadian assembly, and shewed themselves determined to act with most resolute opposition.

Remonstrance of the Arcadian assembly against Theban interference. During the interval in which these transactions had taken place, time had been afforded for reflection upon the enormity, in the eyes of a Greek, of that crime of which the democratical rulers of Arcadia had been guilty; and not only the whole of those who professed aristocratical principles, but many even of the democratical party, shamed by their superstitious feelings, and fearful of the divine vengeance, and the combined enmity of the whole of Greece, were ready to assist the Mantineaes. Even the Arcadian assembly passed a resolution, that no further trespass upon the sacred treasury should be permitted. The authors of the sacrilege, alarmed at this change in their affairs, and at the near prospect of being deprived of the only resource on which they had relied for the support of their power, sent ministers to the Thebans to request their immediate assistance. But no sooner was this measure, and the favourable answer of the Thebans known to the principal men of Arcadia, than they sent, under the authority of the sovereign assembly, to remonstrate against the march of Theban troops into their country; and, at the same time, passed a decree that the Arcadians had no right to the presidency of the temple; that religion justly demanded that it should be restored to the Eleians; and that there no longer existed any cause for continuing the war against Elis.

Conduct of the Theban commissioner at the congress of Tegea. The Eleians bend with joy of the resolution of the sovereign assembly; they were glad to conclude the war in a manner so honourable to themselves. They agreed to send ministers to meet the deputies of the Arcadian towns at Tegea, finally to arrange the terms of the treaty. At this congress, probably by some preconceived arrangement between Thebes and the democratical Arcadians, a Theban, accompanied by three hundred heavy-armed Boeotians, made his appearance. This occurrence could not fail to excite strong feelings of suspicion and alarm; but these altogether subsided, when the Theban, taking no objection to any part of the treaty, swore to the observance of it, along with the members of the assembly. In the evening joy pervaded Tegea; banqueting and every species of festivity marked the universal delight at the happy termination of hostilities;

and happiness was recorded in the countenances of all, except those who were the guilty perpetrators of the sacrilege. In their ears every peal of gay exultation rung like the warrant of their execution; they pondered in silent sadness over the fate that awaited them, and concerted together the means of their deliverance. They communicated with the Theban; and, learning from him that he had received instructions to afford them such support as circumstances might allow, they shut the gates of Tegea; and, sending parties round to seize the principal men of every Arcadian city, they succeeded in seizing so large a number, that not only the prisoners, but the town-house itself was filled with their prisoners. But the measures of the Theban and his friends were disconcerted by the spirited conduct of the Mantineaes. To Mantinea, distant only twelve miles, intelligence of the violence had been quickly communicated; and heralds were instantly sent from that city to Tegea, requiring that no Arcadian should be executed, nor even imprisoned, or detained in prison, without trial; and intimating at the same time, that the Mantinea state would be security for the appearance, before the assembly, of all those who might be accused of treason against the united government. In consequence of this spirited remonstrance, the Theban, fearful of the evil effects which his conduct might produce, liberated his prisoners; and, on the morrow, assembling at many Arcadians as he could collect, he excused himself by asserting that he had been misled by the false intelligence of a plot to deliver Tegea into the hands of the Lacedaemonians, and of the approach of a Lacedaemonian army. What credit soever his excuse might have met with, it was so far accepted, that he was allowed to depart in safety from Tegea.

But the Arcadians were determined not to allow so great an outrage to pass without a remonstrance on their part; and they sent ministers to Thebes to insist that the Theban should suffer death as the punishment of his crime. Epameinondas held the office of commander-in-chief; and to him the Arcadian ministers were referred. When they returned to Arcadia they reported, with what degree of truth seems not fully ascertained, that Epameinondas had declared that "the Theban minister, at Tegea, had done much better when he seized the principal Arcadians than when he released them; for the Thebans having engaged in the war only to serve Arcadia, any negotiation for peace, without communication with Thebes, was treason against the confederacy; that they might therefore be assured, that the Thebans would march into Arcadia, and with their numerous friends there, who were faithful to the common cause, would prosecute the war." The report of this answer threw the whole of Peloponnesus into agitation; Arcadian, Achaian, and Elis joined in exclamation against the presumption of Thebes to dictate war to them, against their inclination, within their own peninsula; and these states united in sending messengers first to Athens and then to Sparta, to request their assistance. From both they received the firmest assurances of support; but we cannot help remarking how forcibly the false state of the Lacedaemonians is evinced by the terms of the treaty to which they gave their concurrence. It was argued that the combined forces should be commanded by the general under the direc-

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Conduct of
Epameinondas
and re-union of
Arcadian,
Achaian,
and Elis,
in alliance
with Lacedaemon.

Biography. tion of the government of that country, in whose territories the enemy should happen to be stationed; — a measure pregnant with inconvenience, and which the Lacedæmonians, before the age of Epameinondas, would have rejected with indignation, even if it had been in itself less objectionable.

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B. C. 387. to A. M. 3641. —

B. C. 363. Fourth invasion of Peloponnesus by Epameinondas.

Epameinondas had, in the meantime, been employing himself in making preparations for the execution of that threat, which he had given to the Arcadian ministers: and he had been successful in collecting an army sufficient, both in number and in power, to accomplish his object and to satisfy his utmost ambition. All the Eubœan towns, with those of Thessaly, and Locris were united in his interest, and sent large bodies of auxiliaries to assist him in the promotion of the war. With this army he hastened to cross the Isthmus, in order to prevent, as much as possible, any opposition that might impede him in the prosecution of his ultimate and most important object. At Nemea he halted with the view of obstructing the passage of the Athenians into Peloponnesus; but, learning that the Athenian government had anticipated his intentions by transporting their forces by sea to the coast of Laconia, he proceeded on his march to Tegea, where he was joined by his Peloponnesian allies. These consisted of forces from Argos, the constant and inveterate enemy of Lacedæmon; from Messenia, whose very existence depended on the success of the Theban cause; and from Tegea, Megalopolis, Ales, and Palantium; three cities of Arcadia that were in rebellion against the confederacy of their country, and for whose behalf, and at whose instigation Epameinondas had undertaken the present expedition. His whole force is stated to have amounted to thirty thousand infantry and three thousand cavalry. The army of the Lacedæmonian confederacy, in number much inferior to that of the enemy, assembled at Mantinea. They were composed of the whole of the cavalry of Lacedæmon, a body of mercenaries sent from that city, and a small proportion of Lacedæmonian infantry, Agesilaus having detained the greater part of them, to guard against any attempt upon Lacedæmon; and in these were added the troops of Athens, Achæia and Elis, and those of the most considerable part of Arcadia.

Epameinondas, remained for a considerable time inactive within the walls of Tegea that he might the better preserve his own army from attack, and observe with the more facility the operations, and judge of the intentions of his enemies; that he might afford the longer time for the accession of those hostile or neutral states, whom the terror of his name, and the force of his army might induce to join the Theban cause; and that he might watch the opportunity of some change in the measures of his enemies, who possessed, in their position at Mantinea, so much the advantage of ground, as not only to forbid the hazard of attack, and to remove the hopes of success, even from his superiority of numbers, but to prevent also the usual work of ravage. The opportunity for which he so anxiously longed soon presented itself. The army of the enemy it is true, continued to preserve that advantage of position which they had so ably chosen: but the allies became impatient of rest; the quietness of so large an army, even in the command of a general of such ability and such experience as Epameinondas, gave the suspicion of a depth of plan

which they could not penetrate, and forced them to dwell with awe and fear upon the destructive explosion which must soon ensue; and they felt so dissatisfied that the Lacedæmonian infantry should remain at home, when there was little chance of danger, and should expose them with such inferior numbers to so superior a force; and they became so loud in their remonstrances, that the Lacedæmonian government found it at last requisite to yield; and they despatched almost the whole of their remaining troops to Mantinea, under the conduct of Agesilaus.

As soon as this event became known to Epameinondas, and he was assured that Agesilaus had reached Pallene, he issued orders to his troops immediately to march towards Sparta. So little expectation had his enemies of this measure, that the Theban general found the best and most direct road from Tegea to Sparta completely undefended; and the Lacedæmonian capital must have fallen without opposition, if Agesilaus had not received, from a Cretan, accidental intelligence of the proceedings of the Theban troops.

In consequence of this information, however, the return of the Lacedæmonian troops had been so rapid, that when Epameinondas arrived in front of Sparta, he discovered that Agesilaus had anticipated his intentions, and had made so able a disposition for defence, that he abandoned all hopes of succeeding by a direct attack. He accordingly sent a detachment by a circuitous route, and succeeded in taking possession of a height which commanded the town. But for some cause, so extremely inexplicable that Xenophon has referred it to the interposition of the Deity, when Archædamus advanced to attack the height, with less than a hundred men, the Thebans, without waiting for the assault, fled hastily, and some of their principal men were slain: and, although the Lacedæmonians, in the eagerness of their pursuit suffered some loss, yet Archædamus continued in possession of the ground, carried off his dead, and received from the Thebans an acknowledgment of his victory, by a solicitation, on their part, for the bodies of their slain. This discomfiture convinced Epameinondas of the hopelessness of gaining any rapid success against his enemies; and his want of supplies in a mountainous district, depriving him of all expectation of being able to remain long enough to effect his purpose, he came to the resolution to withdraw from Laconia. But the fertility of his genius suggested to him, on the abandonment of this project, the adoption of a measure which promised ample success. As long as he remained at Tegea, the terror of his arms had kept the Mantinea within their walls, and prevented them from reaping their crops, which were then ripe; and conceiving that they would take advantage of his absence, he determined to proceed by hasty marches to Mantinea, in the hopes that he might be able, by surprise, to possess himself, not only of the produce, but also of the slaves and cattle of the Mantinea.

By the extraordinary rapidity of his march, Epameinondas arrived within the Mantinea territories before the enemy had the slightest intelligence of his movements, and he found them exactly in that situation which he had pre-conceived. The harvest was ready for carrying, and the whole of the slaves, and many of the inhabitants, were in the fields, busily employed in collecting the crops, and unsuspecting of

Epameinondas.

From A. M. 3617. —

B. C. 387. to A. M. 3641. —

B. C. 363. Second invasion of Laconia

Return of Epameinondas to Mantinea.

Biography.

From
A. H.
3617.
—
B. C.
387.
to
A. M.
3641.
—
B. C.
363.

the slightest danger. But the present adverse fortune of Epameinondas had not yet forsaken him. The Mantinea had desisted the approach of his cavalry in time to procure the assistance of a body of Athenian horse that had just reached Mantinea after a forced march of two days; they represented so strongly to their allies the urgency of their situation, that they consented immediately to remount, and to risk an engagement with the renowned, and more numerous, cavalry of Thebes and Thessaly; and, although the skirmish was for some time obstinately maintained by both sides, yet the victory, on the part of the Athenians was, at last, so complete, that they not only received a solicitation from the enemy's cavalry for a truce to enable them to bury their dead, but they frustrated so entirely the plans of Epameinondas, that the Mantinians were able, with safety, to secure their property.

The affairs of the Thebans had now arrived at such a crisis, that it was necessary for Epameinondas to attempt something important; and, as well the situation of his army, as the limited term of his expedition, the situation of his allies, no less than his own honour, had even his safety on his return to Thebes, demanded that he should risk an engagement. The army under his command had already suffered from want; and, as in an enemy's country he had no means of supplying them with provisions, so the revenues of those states, who had assisted them with their forces, was inadequate to maintain those forces at a distance from home. The period was fast approaching when he must resign his command, and terminate his expedition. Epameinondas, therefore, declared, in public, his resolution to encounter the enemy; and the joy of his army was strongly evinced by the alacrity with which they prepared for battle; while the renown of the Theban name was shown by the flattering application of some Arcadians to be admitted into the corps of Theban clubmen, a body, probably, less renowned from their use of the weapon, from which they took their designation, than from the valour which the remembrance of the deeds of Hercules inspired. At an early hour of the morning, Epameinondas arrayed his troops in order of battle, marched to the foot of Mount Mantalus, and fixing upon a strong position, made preparations as if he intended to encamp. By this feint he completely deceived his enemies; who, conceiving that he had abandoned all intention of fighting, almost entirely dissolved that order of battle in which they had previously arrayed their troops.

Battle of
Mantinea.
B. C.
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As soon as Epameinondas perceived that his enemies had been completely misled by his feint, he gave immediate orders for his troops to resume their arms, and to prepare for battle. He arrayed them neatly in that order in which he had placed them on the fortunate day of the battle of Leuctra; and as he had now less chance of being encompassed from the superior number of his army, he was enabled, with more safety, to increase the depth of the phalanx. As it was his intention to direct his principal attack against the right wing of the enemy, he posted the Theban column in front of his left wing; and arrayed his cavalry in squadrons on the flanks of his infantry. By increasing, as much as possible, the strength of

the cavalry of his left, which he intended to commence the charge, he so much weakened those of his right, that he ordered them to retire to advantageous ground, and not to relinquish their position, unless an opportunity of evident success should present itself. Although the enemy had discomposed their order of battle, they had made no arrangements in case of necessity to avoid an engagement, and they were thrown into the utmost confusion when they observed the approach of Epameinondas. But they had time, before the Theban general could commence the attack, to recover their order; and the Arcadians, according to the previous terms of the treaty, occupied the right as the most honourable post; the Lacedæmonians held the apex position, and the cavalry were placed in squadrons on the flank. The action was commenced with the cavalry on both sides. But the Lacedæmonians, being totally deficient in those light troops which were accustomed to act with horse, and in which the Thebans abounded; not being also much inferior in numbers, were quickly repulsed. An engagement then ensued between the Theban and the Lacedæmonian and Arcadian infantry, which was continued for some time with such deterained obstinacy on both sides, that the issue was for long doubted. But the firm perseverance of the Thebans, at length, gave them the superiority; the ranks of the enemy were completely broken; the best part of their line took to flight, and, as had been the case at Leuctra, disunity immediately seized the remainder of the army, and they gave way on all sides. But, at this moment, when victory was complete, Epameinondas received a wound in his breast and was carried from the field. The army of the Theban confederacy, deprived of their general, of the man who alone could command authority over a body composed of troops of so many different states, was seized with consternation, and thrown into confusion. They remained, indeed, in possession of the victory which they had gained; but so great was the panic with which they were seized, that they continued almost motionless, and were rendered totally incapable of pursuing the advantage. The death of Epameinondas is marked with a magnanimity, which was well worthy of the former valour and glory of his life. As soon as he sufficiently recovered, he asked of his attendants if his shield was safe. When he learned from them that it was, he next inquired if the Thebans had gained the victory. And being also satisfied in this respect, he immediately gave orders for the spear, with which he had been transfixed, to be withdrawn, and died expressing the utmost joy at the event of the battle.

The consequences of this engagement have been thus briefly, but concisely detailed by Xenophon. Universal expectation, he observes, was strangely deceived by this event of so great a battle. Almost all Greece being met in arms, there was nobody who did not suppose that the victors would, in future command, and the defeated must obey. But God decided otherwise. Each party gained the victory, and neither gained any advantage, territory, town, or dominion, was acquired by none; but indecision, and trouble, and confusion, more than ever before that battle, pervaded Greece.

Epamei-
nondas.
From
A. M.
3617.

B. C.
387.
to
A. M.
3641.
—
B. C.
363.

PHILIP OF MACEDON.

FLOURISHED FROM A. M. 3621. B. C. 383. TO A. M. 3668. B. C. 336.

Biography

From
A. M.
3621.
—
B. C.
383.
to
A. M.
3668.
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THIS distinguished prince, who was destined to act so prominent a part in the affairs of Greece, ascended the throne of Macedon about three years after the battle of Mantinea. On this account, his life will supply a convenient link for connecting together the history of the several states, which, after the death of Epameinondas and the decline of Theban power, strove for that ascendancy over the neighbouring republics, which the illustrious commander just named had placed, for a short time, in the hands of his countrymen. Before, however, we revert to the state of things which arose from the altered relations of the Grecian confederacy, and which ultimately opened a path for the ambition of Philip and the final establishment of the Macedonian dominion, we shall proceed to abridge a few of the particulars which have been handed down by contemporary writers, concerning the education and early character of the remarkable person whose exploits we are to record.

Philip, according to the best authorities, was the third and youngest son of Amyntas, king of Macedonia. The eldest brother, whose name was Alexander, fell, in early life, a victim to the ambitious views or vindictive spirit of a powerful relative, who appears to have aimed at the sovereign power. Perdiccas, the second in order, succeeded to a weak and divided government, and would, in all probability, have sunk under the combined weight of foreign and domestic hostility, had not Pelopidas, that just and prudent general, interposed his prevailing authority, and secured, under the sanction of the Theban name, the hereditary throne which belonged to the son of Amyntas. Relieved from the menaces of his opponents, Perdiccas declared himself the friend and ally of Thebes; and as a security for the performance of every thing required on his part, he committed to the custody of Pelopidas, as hostages for his good faith, the person of his brother Philip, together with thirty youths of the first distinction in Macedon.

Education of Philip.

The confidence thus placed in the noble Theban was not shewed. On the contrary, all the biographers of Philip agree, that to this incident in his history may be attributed no small share of his future eminence, and particularly of that extensive influence which he afterwards exerted over the sentiments and politics of the leading Greeks. The young prince was established in the family of Polydamus, the father of Epameinondas; and the same tutors who had formed the mind of this renowned soldier, were procured and appointed to direct the studies of the interesting stranger. The literature, the manners, and the virtues of Greece were thus rendered familiar to the susceptible genius of Philip; and what was unquestionably the greatest advantage of all, he enjoyed the conversation and example of Epameinondas himself. Spirited and exalted sentiments, and an invincible love of glory, marked, at an early period, the character of the Ma-

cedonian prince; and this bias of his nature was encouraged and confirmed by his habitual intercourse with the son of the high-minded Polydamus. From the great Theban, too, he learned activity and vigour in all military operations; address and activity in improving all opportunities, and in turning to advantage every incident which presented itself amid the various fortunes of war. It has, indeed, been observed by Plutarch and others, that it was only in regard to such qualities as constitute a successful general, that Philip lent a ready ear to the instructions of his preceptors, and shewed an ardent imitation of the example of his illustrious friend. In justice, and clemency, and true magnanimity, says the biographer now mentioned, Philip was not to be compared to Epameinondas.

We have no means of ascertaining at what time or from what change in affairs the royal hostage ceased to have his constant residence at Thebes. It appears certain, however, that he was permitted to travel into other parts of Greece, where, under the direction of able masters, he devoted himself to the study of the manners, views, dispositions, and interests of the several individuals or states which, at that period, engaged most of the public attention. The arts, the learning, and elegance of Athens, he seems to have particularly studied and admired. With the learned men of that city, he formed connections which continued the whole course of his reign. He revered the lofty genius of Plato, and was well received by that philosopher in return. He paid due respect to the rising name of Theophrastus, whilst he enrolled the elegant Isocrates in the list of his dearest friends. Nor was the intercourse which he maintained with Athens exclusively devoted to the cultivation of his talents or the improvement of his taste. The political state, also, of that important capital, the passions, the views, and even the corruptions of its inhabitants, were objects which gained his attention and extended his knowledge of human nature. No man ever knew better than Philip all the weakness and all the strength of the Athenian character: and no one was more ready to esteem their good qualities, to despise their faults, and to derive advantage from their prejudices, violence, and fickleness.

In the course of his travels, he procured for himself the honour of initiation into the grand mysteries of Ceres, at one of the celebrations of which he first met with Olympias, the second daughter of the king of Epirus, and at that time highly distinguished by the beauty and grace of her person. He is also supposed to have accompanied Epameinondas in some of those expeditions which raised to such a height the military reputation of that great Theban, and to have studied under him the practical details of the art of war, which can be learned nowhere but in the field of battle.

The time, however, was fast approaching when the exigencies of his paternal kingdom demanded his

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Biography. presence, and gave full scope to the exercise of his natural talents as well as of his acquired skill, in the arduous duties of a commander and statesman. The conflict with the Thessalians, in which Pelopidas lost his life; and the still more momentous struggle at Mantinea, where Epameinondas died the death of a brave soldier, had deprived Macedon of her best friends and most efficient allies, and left her almost single handed to maintain an unequal warfare with Athens, as well as with the barbarians who dwelt on her own borders. Bardyllis, the veteran king of the Illyrians, availing himself of the circumstances now mentioned, and having no longer before his eyes the fear of Thebes, or the terror of her victorious generals, seized the opportunity of renewing upon Macedon a claim for tribute, said to have been paid by former sovereigns, and particularly by Amyntas, the father of Perdiccas. A refusal on the part of the Macedonian led to a trial of strength in the field. The valour of each army was equal; but the Illyrians were better disciplined and better commanded, and found no difficulty in gaining a complete triumph. Perdiccas, who endeavoured to make heavy stand in the place of military skill, fell covered with wounds; whilst the poor remains of his army, of whom more than four thousand were cut to pieces, were obliged to lay down their arms and submit to the mercy of the conqueror.

Ascends the throne of Macedon.

The throne of Macedon being thus rendered vacant, Philip was called upon to succeed his brother at the helm of affairs, either in his own right or in that of an infant nephew, the son of the late king. We are assured by Diodorus that Philip was still detained at Thebes in quality of a hostage, when the news of the total defeat of the Macedonians and the death of their king reached his ears. But it is more probable that, as Athenæus has recorded, he was already in one of the frontier provinces exercising a separate authority, or even possessing a portion of royal power, as was sometimes permitted to the younger branches of his family, when the serious reverses sustained by his countrymen opened a path to the painful pre-eminence of ruling a divided people, and of commanding a vanquished army.

Circumstanced as Macedon was, at this conjuncture, a prince whose only virtue was courage, must necessarily have completed its ruin; and one who possessed less of this virtue than Philip, would not have attempted to re-establish it. The greater part of its forces had either perished in the field, or been taken prisoners by the enemy; and the Illyrians had scarcely gratified their rage for plunder, when the Pæonians, a barbarous and warlike people, who inhabited the mountains of Macedonia, descended into the plains, to complete the work of destruction which the others had begun. Ancient pretensions also to the sovereignty of this unhappy kingdom were once more renewed, on the part of two powerful competitors. Pausanias, whom Iphicrates had set aside, openly asserted his right to the throne, and was now ready to invade the country, at the head of a large army of Thracians, who were induced to support his title. Argæus too, the ancient rival of king Amyntas, had a strong party to some of the principal towns; whilst the people of Atheos, resenting the conduct of the late king Perdiccas, in joining the Theban confederacy, and opposing the Athenian claim on Amphipolis, sent Mantius to second his attempt, with a strong fleet and three thousand soldiers.

Philip was not dismayed at these formidable preparations to dispute his succession. Deriving from nature great strength of mind, and having rendered himself a complete master of human motives, his first cares were exerted to revive the courage of the Macedonian people, and to restore discipline to their broken and dispirited army. On this occasion, as through the whole course of his public life, he availed himself of the superstitious feelings of his countrymen; and either invented or brought to their recollection the remarkable response of the oracle, which portended that Macedon should rise to the very highest pitch of greatness, under a son of Amyntas, of whose family Philip was now the sole survivor. Having thus identified his own person with that of the prophetic hero, this enterprising prince had no difficulty in rousing his subjects to new efforts. Reminding them of their ancient prowess, he set before them the brilliant rewards of military toils; and by the exertion of an irresistible eloquence, he kindled in their hearts at once the love of glory, the desire of revenge, and the animating glow of ambition. The warlike genius of his character displayed itself in a variety of improvements, applied not only to the constitution of his army, but more particularly to the art of employing their energies in the presence of an enemy: and in a short time the forces of Macedon, so lately vanquished and despised by a barbarian general, struck terror into the best disciplined ranks, and snatched victory from the most experienced troops of Greece. The phalanx was long a memorial of the fine talents of Philip, and the means of his greatest triumphs. The weight and valour of its files bore down all opposition among the armies of the east; and even the victorious legions of Rome gave way before the impetuous thicket of spears, and the huge mass of physical strength with which its onset was accompanied.

The Illyrians having retired, or being driven from a territory which they had nearly exhausted, and the Pæonians shewing no disposition to carry on a war merely for the sake of reputation, against so active a leader as Philip; there remained in the mean time only the Athenians, with their ally Argæus, to exercise the vigilance and employ the arms of the Macedonian commander: but the power and opportunities of these antagonists were extremely formidable. The Athenian fleet under Mantius anchored before Methonæ, a city placed on the Thermaic Gulph, and at that time in subjection to the government of Attica. Here Argæus joined with such forces as he had been able to raise, and proceeded forthwith to lay siege to Edessa, or Egæ, the capital of the Macedonian province of Pieria, hoping that the fall of so important a place would immediately produce the submission of the rest of the kingdom. The name of Philip, however, had already given confidence to his partisans, and prepared them for a vigorous resistance; and accordingly, when Argæus appeared before the walls of the devoted town, he saw so little prospect of success, that it became his immediate care to prevent the destruction of the troops committed to his charge; and with this view he adopted the instant resolution of effecting a retreat to Methonæ. But this contingency had been foreseen by Philip, who attacked him on his

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march, and after a smart engagement. In which Argæus fell, succeeded in making prisoners nearly the whole of the army. Such of these as were Macedonians, the prince, without hesitation, incorporated with his own ranks; whilst, in the spirit of a liberal generosity, he sent the Athenians home, loaded with kindness, and full of respect for their youthful conqueror, to lay the foundation of that popularity on which he afterwards built his fame and influence as the ruler of Greece.

To deliver his western frontier from the constantly menacing attitude of the Illyrians, Philip resolved to anticipate the movements of that active enemy by making an inroad upon them. The veteran Bardyllis, though now passed his nineteenth year, appeared at the head of his forces to oppose the Macedonians; and in a battle which ensued, he acted with a spirit and activity worthy of his former fame, till he fell fighting, surrounded by seven thousand of his bravest soldiers. A victory so signal was attended with the most important consequences. Illyria became a Macedonian province; and instead of being as formerly, a perpetual source of annoyance, it added greatly to the strength and repose of the rising kingdom of Philip.

Having thus subdued his turbulent neighbours, and extended his sway further than any of his predecessors had done, the active mind of the youthful king was now fixed upon the aggrandizement of his states, and upon the acquisition of a degree of power which might make itself felt in the remotest parts of Greece. Such projects soon brought him into contact with the leading republics of the south, and, in particular, roused against him all the suspicions and military strength of Athens.

To understand, however, the circumstances in which this youthful prince first tried the fortune of war in opposition to the Athenians, we must revert for a moment to the condition wherein the leading states of Greece found themselves placed, immediately after the battle of Mantinea.

State of
Greece.

During the arduous struggle between Thebes and Lacedæmon, the influence of Athens was gradually on the increase; and after the fall of Epameinondas, the supremacy departed from his country; whilst its rival, Sparta, was too much reduced to have the power of securing the prize for which it had spent its best blood and treasure. But the Athenian people were already beginning to feel the subduing force of a more dangerous enemy than even the sword of Theban or Lacedæmonian: they were fast becoming the victims of effeminacy and ostentation; and in proportion as they had less to fear abroad, they allowed themselves to become more licentious, giddy, and extravagant at home. Devoted to public amusements, they spent much of their time in the theatre, and lavished on such places of public resort, together with the baths, the shows, and the festivals, the greater portion of that wealth which should have been employed in strengthening their interests, and creating means of defence. The toils and privations of actual war could no longer be endured by the soft citizen, the lover and patron of the arts; and mercenaries accordingly were sought on all hands to fill up the ranks of the phalanx, and even to occupy those posts of honour in the field, once so ardently coveted by the brave contemporaries of Cimón and Miltiades. The stern eloquence of Demosthenes, and his moving appeals to

their fears and to their pride alternately, produced but weak resolutions or transitory efforts, when the luxurious Athenian, thinking the alarm false, or the danger gone by, returned to his music, his poetry, or theatrical entertainment, leaving the orator to exaggerate, and the multitude to applaud.

Sparta, as we have already observed, had been greatly weakened by the successes of Thebes, and still more by the wise policy of her great leader Epameinondas. He withdrew from Lacedæmon the more powerful of her dependents, by encouraging Argos to turn her arms against her; by exciting the Arcadians to establish their independence, and by enabling the Messenians to rebuild and fortify the city from which their ancestors had been expelled by the unfeeling dictates of Sparta. In this way was she surrounded by many secret or declared enemies, who had felt her oppression, and who therefore were resolved to prevent the restoration of her power; whilst she, regarding them as revolted subjects, shewed the utmost desire to reduce them to their former obedience. Hence arose a spirit of discontent and dissension among the inhabitants of Peloponnesus; which it was Philip's interest to keep alive, and from which he afterwards drew no inconsiderable advantage.

The Thebans again, whose mental qualities were not of the highest order, possessed little hold upon the reverence or submission of Greece. Obstinate and brave, they were equal to every thing under the guidance of Epameinondas, whose talents had rendered them sovereigns of Boeotia, and arbiters of the neighbouring states. But the battle of Mantinea had closed this reign of glory, two summers before Philip ascended the throne; and all that now remained to them of their proud character was only its fierceness and ambition. From them, therefore, the Macedonians had nothing to fear: and it is farther deserving of notice, that the only general they had, after Epameinondas, was Pammenes, the early and devoted friend of the aspiring monarch whose life is now before us.

The Phocians and Thessalians were by no means formidable, either for genius or power. The former, indeed, were brave, determined, and persevering; and in this protracted war with the other states of Greece, they displayed a degree of military skill and fortitude which shed no small lustre over their fall. At the period, however, more immediately under consideration, Phocis presented no serious obstacle to the ambitious views of Philip. The people of Thessaly too, noted for fickleness and the love of change, pursued a line of policy so completely subversive of their independence, as soon to throw into the scale in favour of Macedon the full weight of the power which a clearer view of their own interest would have led them to employ against her. In recompense for the assistance which he lent them to expel the tyrants Tisiphonus, Pitholaus, and Lycophron, they gave to Philip the liberty of using, and even of commanding their ports and shipping. Their cavalry too, the best and most celebrated in Greece, was appointed to accompany him in all his campaigns; and thus, by means of a gentle and affable address, and by affecting the greatest moderation amidst the most splendid success, he secured to himself all the advantages of conquest, while he avoided the opprobrium attached to a selfish policy and ambitious views.

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Biography. From this brief survey of the several members of the Grecian body, it is manifest that Athens was, in all respects, the most formidable, and possessed of the most extensive influence. The prudence of Philip's administration, therefore, naturally dictated to him the expediency of cultivating peace in the meantime, at least, with this ambitious though degenerate state. To secure the favour of the Athenians, accordingly, it would appear that he offered the assistance of his arms to repress the power of the Olynthians, and to recover for his new allies the possession of Amphipolis, a city which they had formerly held, and the command of which they now most ardently coveted. Amidst much doubt as to the terms and object of this alliance, it is clear that a plan was concerted between the Athenian and Macedonian governments for the reduction of Olynthus by their combined arms. It is also ascertained, that the first movements made to realize their purpose were attended with success. Potidea yielded to the attack of Philip; and Torone, a place of importance, submitted to the confederates; both of which received Athenian garrisons, and owed the Athenian power. Olynthus thus hemmed in, and deprived of the principle means of defence, could not long have resisted the united force of two such powerful enemies; and the fact that it did not fall at this epoch, is to be ascribed to the operation of causes which are not now perfectly understood, but which were probably connected with an increasing feeling of jealousy between the confederated powers themselves.

For the next event, as Mr. Mitford justly remarks, the hinge on which the following history of Athens and Macedonia turns, the historian wholly fails us, and the orators to whom we owe certain knowledge of the important fact, have avoided all detail, and all circumstances. That the purpose of Athens in the Olynthian war was conquest there can be no reasonable doubt; nor have her orators disguised that intention on her part. The views of Philip, however, are less obvious. To circumscribe the power of Olynthus, long a formidable neighbour to Macedonia, or even to root out that power altogether, might seem expedient to this politic commander, but to establish the reign of Athens over the whole Macedonian coast, without any security or compensation to his own countrymen, is a measure which indicates no trace of the wisdom by which Philip's proceedings were on all occasions distinguished. The event, however, above alluded to, and which took place at this period, threw a strong light on the motives of the one party, and determined finally the conduct of the others. Of Methoné and Pydna, the principal seaports in his dominions, the Athenians had long possessed the former, though adjoining to both his capitals, Pella and Ealessa; the other being the only maritime town which had been retained in subjection to Macedonia, and was now in the hands of Philip. Upon this important place also, the insatiable ambition of Athens now darted its views; and sending her fleet thither, encouraged the inhabitants to revolt, promising them the support and protection of the Athenian people.

A more flagrant breach of confidence could not well be committed. It was in vain for Philip to send ministers to Athens to complain of the injury; no redress was obtained; on the contrary, Demosthenes,

in his harangues to the people, congratulated them on this accession to their power, as well as on the loss sustained, by one whom he was pleased to pronounce their enemy. The fact is thus clearly avowed, though no attempt is anywhere made to justify it, or even to set forth the motives which induced the Athenian admiral to violate, by so unambiguous a measure, the alliance then subsisting between his republic and Macedonia.

Having in this manner forfeited the co-operation of Philip, the Athenians, relaxed in their efforts against Olynthus. Confining their views in the meantime to Amphipolis, they sent their general Iphicrates against it with a considerable armament; but as this able officer was superseded at the very moment he was arranging terms for a capitulation, the Amphipolitans refused to close the negotiation, and stood again to their arms. The siege was raised, and the troops, now under Timotheus, were directed against some inferior towns on the coast of Thrace, the capture of which but poorly rewarded the labours, and ill answered the expectations which attended the equipment of fleets and armies.

It was reserved for other means than the sword and the battering-ram to reduce Amphipolis. Charidemus, an Athenian general, who had passed over to the Olynthians with the forces under his command, seems to have induced the leading men of that city to espouse the cause which he himself had appeared to desert. He used his interest so successfully with the Amphipolitans, that they consented to abjure the Olynthian dominion, and to embrace the protection of Athens; but in what manner, or by what argument this revolution was effected, it is now in vain to conjecture, it being a point of honour with the Athenian democrats to conceal and reward every act of treachery which seemed to promote their own views.

Before we proceed to unfold the operations which occurred in the war between Macedonia and Athens, we shall record a few of the more interesting events which diversified the domestic life of Philip. Upon his return to Macedonia, after his successful campaign against the tyrants of Thessaly, when already regarded with admiration as a consummate soldier and statesman, Olympias, the daughter of the King of Epirus, was conducted with all due honours to his court, where their personal were celebrated with much pomp and magnificence. The beauty and liveliness of this princess had struck him forcibly, when he first met her at Samothrace, whilst engaged in the mysteries of Ceres; but the filialty of Philip, as a husband, has been generally called in question; and his irregularities on this head were no doubt the cause of the family quarrels which rendered himself so unhappy, and excited suspicions as to the legitimacy of Alexander's birth. In due time, the birth of an heir gratified the hopes of Macedonia; and the news of the queen's delivery reached the ears of the delighted monarch immediately after he had listened to the account of a victory gained by his general Parmenio, and of a prize obtained by the chariots at the Olympic games.

Philip had from his earliest years affected, or felt a deep respect for learning, and the profounder branches of philosophy; and among the great men to whose precepts he had listened, and from whose fame he had

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Alliance with Athens.

War between Philip and the Athenians.

Biography.

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derived lustre to his court, was the celebrated Aristotle. The letter addressed to this sage, by the Macedonian sovereign on the birth of his son, is familiar to every reader of Grecian history, and has been universally regarded as expressing at once his reverence for the great Stagierite, and his sense of the vast importance of giving a right bias to the mind of a youth who was destined to preside over the fortunes of a powerful kingdom. The epistle runs as follows :
" King Philip, to Aristotle. Health !

" You are to know that a son hath been born to us. We thank the gods, not so much for having bestowed him on us, as for bestowing him at a time when Aristotle lives. We assure ourselves that you will form him a prince worthy to be our successor, and a king worthy of Macedon. Farewell !"

We pass over the absurd anecdotes which have been preserved by several analists, relating to the various dreams and omens which shadowed forth the future greatness of Alexander. These, as well as the monstrous fiction which was invented to connect his paternity with a visit of Jupiter Ammon, to the chamber of Olympius, were no doubt circulated to feed the contemptible vanity of the prince, at the period when, elated by his numerous triumphs, he thought proper to spurn the recollections of an earthly origin, and to lay claim to the honour of a divine descent. The gospel of Macedonian soothsayers, is beneath the notice of history ; and although Bayle has gravely dilated on the letter which the queen addressed to her son on the eve of his departure for Asia, we cannot allow ourselves to believe that the ridiculous story of the serpent was ever countenanced by Olympius.

Social war.

But to return to Philip and the interests of Greece, we may observe, that almost immediately after the unsuccessful attempt made by the Athenians on Amphipolis, a revolt took place among their confederates at home, which led to what has been called the *social war*. Rhodes, Chios, Byzantium, and the newly established commonwealth of Cos united together, to resist a dominion which they considered not only oppressive but degrading ; and they engaged in their alliance Menodorus, king of Caria, who, as well as the others, suffered from Atheonian exactions upon the commerce of his subjects. Measures being then concerted, they joined in declaring to the government of Athens, " that they were resolved henceforward to protect their own commerce with their own fleets, and wanting thus nothing from the Athenian navy, they would of course pay no more tribute for its support." The island of Eubœa, too, actuated by similar motives, was eager to throw off the yoke ; and, for this purpose, invited to their aid a small army of Thebans, who crossed over, in order to establish a footing among their allies, before the people of Athens could adopt any measures to shake their independence. All these precautions, however, were in vain. The Atheonians, under the prudent command of Timotheus, soon recovered their influence among the Eubœans, and reduced the Theban troops to such distress, that, without coming to a battle, they were glad to accept of a capitulation and return home.

The other confederates were not so easily brought to concession. But before any decisive steps were taken against them, and just as the victorious general was listening to the congratulations excited by his re-

turn from Eubœa : lo, messengers arrive from Amphipolis, with the alarming news that Olynthos and Macedonia were united in a confederacy, to carry their arms against that favourite colony of the Athenian people, so recently restored to their dominion ; adding that it must necessarily fall, if not succoured with that speedy support which they were sent to supplicate.

The situation of Macedonia, deprived of sea ports and having her central provinces occupied by Athenian garrisons, dictated to Philip the expediency of this alliance with Olynthos. Pydna had also been seduced from him by the most unjustifiable means ; and he had recently seen Amphipolis transferred to the same people, by the operation of a species of influence which justly excited his worst suspicions. Potidea and Methonê were likewise subject to Athens ; and the remainder of the sea coast was in the possession of the Olynthians, with whom he had waged a hazardous war, for the sake of his Athenian allies, who required his services by the seduction and capture of Pydna. Olynthos and Macedonia, indeed, were not likely to remain long on terms of friendship. Their interests were so diametrically opposed, that the rise of the one almost necessarily implied the depression of the other ; and yet they had both suffered so much injustice at the hands of the Athenian government, had been treated with such barefaced insolence, that they agreed in the meantime to forget their mutual aggressions and individual advantage, and profit by the embarrassment of that people, now engaged in an arduous war with their allies, in order to drive them for ever from the coasts of Macedonia, and the shores of western Thracæ.

Nothing was more unexpected at Athens, than a treaty such as this between Macedon and Olynthos. The possibility of it ever, had never once occurred to the orators nor popular leaders of that aspiring city ; and the tidings, accordingly, that Philip had joined his victorious arms to those of their inveterate enemies, the Olynthians, spread dismay and confusion through all classes of the Republic. This event afforded a fair opportunity for covering with reproach that unprincipled party, who, by advising the nefarious aggression at Pydna, had forced a valuable ally to become a dangerous enemy. Violent dispute and much conflict of oratory ensued between the antagonist members of administration ; of which the result was, according to the mind of the sovereign multitude, that negotiation should be entered into with the Macedonians and Olynthians, and the whole military strength of the state employed for the important purpose of reducing their rebellious allies.

It belongs to the general historian to trace the progress of the war which Athens carried on against the several commonwealths which had dared to throw off her yoke ; we shall, therefore, confine ourselves to the operations of Philip and his new confederates in the north, in pursuing the plan which he had adopted for diminishing the Athenian influence in the Macedonian and Thracian colonies.

In pursuance of the decree passed at Athens, envoys were forthwith despatched to Macedonia ; and commissioners were sent thence in return to treat on the part of Philip and the Olynthians, in the Athenian capital. Various proposals were made on both sides without any success, and perhaps without any sincere desire

Philip of

Macedon.
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B. C.
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to
—
3668.
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B. C.
336.
Alliance
with Olyn-
thos.

Biography.
From
A. M.
3621.
—
B. C.
383.
to
A. M.
3668.
—
B. C.
383.
Capture of
Amphipolis.

of accommodation on either. In the meantime, the alliance between Macedon and Olynthus was advancing to a conclusion, a measure of which the expediency was rendered more manifest by the negotiation lately attempted with the common enemy. Philip resigned in favour of his allies, the city of Anthemus, which originally belonging to Macedon, had twice changed its masters, and now reverted to a people whose dominion was cherished, and who set a high value on the possession.

But all this arrangement and concession on the part of the Macedonian monarch, was only preparatory to the execution of his settled purpose of wresting Amphipolis from the hands of the Athenians. The siege being formed, the skill which Philip had acquired in the science of attack, availed him greatly in his efforts, to intimidate the townsmen into compliance; and the influence of a friendly party within the walls contributed, it is thought, not less than his battering engines, to dispose the garrison to listen to speedy terms. Dindorus, it is true, informs us that the town was taken by storm; and there can be no doubt that the Athenian faction made a desperate resistance, and lost much blood in defence of their works, as well as in repelling the various assaults which were made, wherever a breach was practicable. At length the determined resolution of the assailants deprived the besieged, at once of the hope and of the means of holding out till relief could arrive from the Athenian territory. A surrender took place; and on this occasion the humanity and liberal spirit of Philip were strikingly set forth, and added much to the reputation for magnanimity which he had formerly acquired. No one was put to death for having opposed the views of the king, or for entertaining political attachments inconsistent with his claims. Only the most violent of the Athenian partisans were banished, because they could not be trusted in a place now held by a different interest, or voluntarily withdrew, as not thinking themselves safe under so complete a change of circumstances. All prisoners of war were freely dismissed. The affability of Philip, and his kind consideration for all, gained every heart; and in uniting Amphipolis to the Macedonian kingdom, he did as little violence to the feelings of its inhabitants as to its municipal constitution.

OLY.
105. 3

Capture of
Potidea.

Having settled the affairs of this important station, the conquerors next proceeded to Pydna. Notwithstanding the revolt which had done so much discredit both to themselves and to the Athenians; there still remained among the citizens, a strong party attached to the interests of Philip, and with these adherents, such an arrangement was privately made as opened the gates of the town at the first approach of the Macedonian army. His next object was the reduction of Potidea. This place the reader is aware had formerly belonged to Olynthus; and the oppressive nature of the Athenian government had already prepared the minds of most of the people for returning to their ancient allegiance, which the presence of a garrison within their walls alone prevented them from effecting. As soon therefore as the combined forces of the Macedonians and Olynthians appeared before the town, the Athenian party consulted their safety by retiring into the citadel, where they were almost immediately compelled to surrender at discretion.

With his usual humanity, Philip instantly provided for the personal security and comfort of the prisoners who thus fell into his hands. Giving up Potidea to the Olynthians, he reserved nothing for himself but the right of disposing of the Athenians found within the walls; sensible that his interference was absolutely necessary to protect these unfortunate persons from the rage of the natives, who would have made haste to revenge upon them the tyrannical treatment of which they had some reason to complain. The generous policy of the Macedonian prince did not confine itself to mere personal security. He liberally supplied the wants of his prisoners in the meantime; and without burdening them with the payment of ransom, or in any way restricting their liberty of action, he sent them to Athens at his own expense.

The effects of this campaign made a deep impression on the Athenians. Every dependency of any consequence, on the northern shore of the Egean, from the confines of Thessaly to the Thracian Chersonesus was wrested from them, and added to the strength of their growing enemies. Meanwhile the confederate or social war, engaged their whole attention, and occupied all their means, without affording the most distant prospect of a favourable issue. Philip, eager to profit by this embarrassment at Athens, and to derive some advantage from his conquests, directed his thoughts to the gold-mines of Thrace, where, as being at no great distance from Amphipolis, seem to have given to this colony the great value which it all along possessed in the eyes of the Athenians. At this period Cotys or Sitalces was king of all Thrace; a singular person, and one who affected to exchange the unpolished mode of life habitual to his countrymen, for the soft and enervating luxury of more southern climates. He possessed little of that warlike spirit and savage boldness which had rendered his ancestors so formidable; but appears to have put his chief confidence in the power of Athens, with which he was in alliance, and to one of whose generals, Iphicrates, he had given his daughter in marriage. Indeed, he appears to have laboured under a species of romantic insanity; which led him to forsake the habitations of men, and the protection of cities, that he might plunge into the depth of forests, and build his court amid the wildest scenery of uncultivated nature, exhibiting his state on the banks of rapid rivers, and receiving perfumes from the flowers which sprang up around his tents.

Such was the man against whom Philip conducted his victorious army. The particulars of the expedition, indeed, are not recorded accurately by any historian, whose works have come down to us. It seems, however, perfectly ascertained, that Cotys did not remain to dispute the advance of the Macedonian forces. On the contrary, he fled with precipitation, leaving to the desecration of Philip's soldiers a delightful residence in the woods, called Onocarsis, to which, as the place of his chief enjoyments, the infatuated king had opened several unvenues meeting in a centre. Diffident of his power in the field, Cotys was determined to try the effect of his literary powers on the mind of the invader. He despatched an epistle to Philip, the contents of which have unfortunately not transpired; but as the perusal of the piece produced a smile on the countenance of his brother monarch, the Macedonian courtiers caught the feeling which that smile ex-

Philip of
Macedon.
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—
B. C.
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to
A. M.
3668.
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B. C.
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336.

OLY.
105. 3.

Conquest
of Thrace.

Biography,
From
A. M.
3621.
—
B. C.
383.
to
A. M.
3668.
—
B. C.
336.

pressed, and burst out into the loudest merriment at the very idea of a letter from the wrong-headed Cotys.

Advancing into the country, the king of Macedon found a colony of Thasians situated at Crenidae, in the neighbourhood of the mines; for it appears that the people of Thasus had derived a lucrative employment from working the veins of gold. This colony he instantly dislodged, and settled Macedonians in their place, giving to the new establishment the name of Philippi, so famous afterwards in Roman history for the defeat of Brutus and Cassius. He next proceeded to examine the state of the celebrated mines. His soldiers descended with torches, and soon discovered a vein which had not been wrought for a considerable time. They found, however, that the former possessors had not been deficient either in art or perseverance. Canals had been contrived with infinite pains to drain off the water, which was directed into what appeared to them to be subterraneous lakes; and, on the whole, though the works bore recent marks of neglect or ignorance, Philip saw abundant encouragement for renewing operations on a large scale. Numbers were accordingly employed, and all the contrivances which ingenuity could suggest, were immediately put in action, to draw from this fund of wealth greater treasures than it had hitherto yielded. Nor were his labours untended with success, for the addition which he thus made to his resources was estimated at ten thousand talents, or two millions sterling annually; a sum so improbably large, that we cannot free our minds from the suspicion of a material inaccuracy. Mr. Mitford, without stating his authority, reduces the amount to a thousand talents, a return not only much more reasonable, when viewed in reference to the means used for obtaining it, but also more commensurate with the wants which Philip had to supply, and the military operations which he had to defray.

While the Macedonians were thus successfully realizing their projects upon Thrace, a rebellion was stirred up against Cotys by Miltocythes, a prince of his own family; and, although this absurd king was in alliance with Athens, and had been honoured by the Athenian people with the freedom of their city and a golden crown, his cause was abandoned by the democratic party headed by Demosthenes, and the views of his unnatural relative encouraged and actively supported. The object of this turbulent and unprincipled body was evidently to create in Thrace an occasion for their interference against Philip, the progress of whose arms had excited to small apprehension in the Athenian republic. But their iniquitous plans were not crowned with success. Ergophilus, the first commander employed by them, was superseded before he could perform any thing which deserved a place in history. Anticles, too, who was sent to succeed him, was not only in like manner soon recalled, but was even prosecuted and condemned for want of zeal in this nefarious project. Still unrewarded by any material impression on Thrace, the demagogues at Athens had however the malignant satisfaction to hear that Cotys was assassinated by two brothers, citizens of the Grecian town of Cnoss, whose names were Heracles and Python. The latter forthwith repaired to Athens, where, in the presence of the assembled people, he avowed the murder, and expressing his

satisfaction with what he had done, demanded the reward which the Athenians had been accustomed to give for accomplishing the death of a tyrant.

It should seem that Philip, though not an unconcerned spectator of what was going forward, abstained rigidly from all participation in actual hostility, in favour of either side. He saw the Athenians continuing to prosecute their infamous designs against the infant son of the murdered king, and even stirring up new competitors for the Thracian crown; but neither policy nor a sense of equity, nor even the generous humanity upon which he so often professed to act, overcame his determination to remain neutral. He estimated, with sufficient foresight and accuracy, the effects of protracted hostility as well on Athens as on Thrace; and as the great aim of his ambition was to weaken both, and to extend his influence over the whole Grecian peninsula, he beheld, no doubt, with an inward feeling of satisfaction, the waste of treasure and the effusion of blood, so copiously drawn from the two contending parties.

It belongs to the annalist to detail the sundry movements made by the Athenians to accomplish their ends in the neighbourhood of Macedon, even whilst the confederate war raged in other quarters with unabated fury. These occurrences do not fall under our department, further than they are connected with the transactions of Philip's reign, and his concern in the affairs of Greece: a consideration which induces us to quicken our steps, to pass over the treaty with Thrace, and the settlement of differences with the confederated powers, and to proceed at once to the sacred or Phocian war; an event which opened, in the very heart of the Grecian states, a theatre for the talents, the ambition, and the military skill of this Macedonian sovereign.

The war which we have just designated arose from the deep dislike and envy which Thebes entertained towards Phocis and Lacedæmon. The first of these states was accused of occupying some lands situated on the banks of the Cephissus, which the religion of ancient times had consecrated to Apollo, and thereby consigned to perpetual desolation. The Amphictyonic council, instigated by the intrigues of the Thebans, and professing to act as the guardians of religion and of the rights of the god, whose territory had been violated, found themselves induced to impose on the Phocians a heavy fine for their impiety. A similar punishment was inflicted on Lacedæmon, for a supposed breach of public faith in seizing, at a period of national peace, the citadel of Thebes; but as the decision of the venerable Amphictyons was not in this case so powerfully backed by popular feeling as it was when directed against the sacrilegious Phocians, it seems not to have been very rigidly enforced. These last offenders, however, were pursued with equal zeal and hatred by the partisans of Thebes, and they were on the point of being expelled by their pious neighbours, when the sense of injustice, and a clear perception of the hypocritical motives of their principal persecutors, drove them to extremities, and dictated an appeal to arms. Philomelus, a man of talents and plausible address, was appointed their leader, who by means of certain private resources, and a small donation from Archidamus king of Sparta, succeeded in raising a body of troops, at the head of which he instantly marched to Delphi, took possession of the

Philip of
Macedon.
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B. C.
383.
to
A. M.
3668.
—
B. C.
336.

OLY.
106. 2.
Sacred or
Phocian
war.

Biography. city, and assumed the custody of the temple with its immense treasures.

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3621.

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383.
to
A. M.
3668.
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A. C.
336.

A formal decree on the part of the Amphictyons pronounced the people of Phocis enemies to heaven and to Greece; and an invitation was addressed to all who acknowledged the authority of the council, and who retained any regard for religion, to draw the sword against sacrilege, and thereby to discharge the sacred obligations which they owed to the Gods and to this country. This summons produced the desired effect. In a moment, the Locrians, Thessalians, Perrhaeians, Dorians, Dolopians, Athemaneans, Achaean, Phthiot, Magnes, Cnians and some others, influenced either by indignation at the profane conduct of the Phocians, or by the intrigues of Thebes, rushed into the field to oppose Philoetolus and his adherents.

The Athenians employed in watching Philip, or in directing against him the arms of their mercenaries and allies, satisfied themselves with an empty promise to the Phocian general, and with the vain formalities of a treaty. They allowed him to be defeated and killed in a battle by the members of the holy alliance; and soon after this event, their fears were so much engaged by the menaces of the Persian court, that measures of self-defence occupied all their thoughts, and suggested the expediency of a lasting peace with the ruler of Macedonia. A proposal even was made by some of the leading persons in the Athenian administration, to invite Philip to join them in an armed defence against the common enemy of Greece; and it is said, that a deputation was sent to the other states to induce them to acknowledge Macedonia as a member of the Hellenic body. This it is well known, was ardently desired by Philip, and was, there is reason to believe, in order to gratify that monarch, proposed by some one of his partisans at Athens. The suspicions of Demosthenes, however, and a full disclosure of the designs of Persia, which were not directed against Greece but Egypt, frustrated the hopes of the Macedonian faction, and excluded the king from the honour which they had intended for him.

Reduction
of Methone.

In the meantime, says Leland, this prince ever restless and aspiring, ever attentive to the schemes which his ambition dictated, and ever provided with some pretence to justify his hostilities against those who were obnoxious to him, turned his thoughts to Methone as a city which his interests required he should reduce. The Methoneans prepared themselves for an obstinate defence; and the siege which ensued is chiefly remarkable on account of a wound which Philip received in one of his eyes, and which has given occasion to several fabulous narratives. It was inflicted with an arrow, which, on being extracted, was found to have inscribed on it the following label: "Aster to Philip's right eye." This expert Bowman, it seems, had offered his services to the king, recommending himself by the assurance that his skill in shooting was so nice, that he could with his arrows strike down a bird in its flight. "It is well," said Philip, "I shall make use of thee when I wage war with starlings."

The Athenians had sent succours for the relief of Methone; but the siege was pressed with so much vigour, that these only arrived in time to witness the triumph of their active enemy. The city was immediately raised to the ground: the lands were divided

among the soldiers: and thus, instead of a station which the marauders of Athens had long occupied for the annoyance and control of the Macedonians and Olynthians, a colony was planted to watch them, in their turn, and to oppose their machinations against the frontier settlements of either people.

The moderation of Philip on this, as on all similar occasions, added to his character a reputation much more precious and enduring, than the mere fame of conquest. At a time when slavery was the fate of all such prisoners of war, as were not thought deserving of the severer penalty of death, the Methoneans, who had submitted to his mercy, and that too, without any stipulation, were allowed to march out of the city, every individual with one suit of apparel, in search of a new habitation. The spirit of party, from which no man has ever suffered more than Philip, will not allow that even here his motives were pure, or his intentions really humane. The fierce democracy of Athens now began to see to the most pious-worth actions of the Macedonian, on which besides an insidious desire to extend his influence over Greece, and to gain by hypocritical professions, those hearts whom he could not expect to subdue by arms.

Philomelus, the Phocian general, was succeeded by Onomarchus, who, with much talent and address, induced his countrymen to continue the war, and to repair the losses of their army. After various success nearer home, this commander at length courted the alliance and co-operation of Lycophron, one of the Thessalian tyrants whom Philip had deposed, and who seems eagerly to have embraced the present opportunity for recovering some portion of his former power. Troops were sent into Thessaly to further his views, and to establish him at Pherra, the capital of his dominions; where he immediately commenced preparations for securing his independence. Philip could no longer remain inactive. He marched into Thessaly; attacked Lycophron; and, notwithstanding the presence of the Phocian army under Phayllus, inflicted on him a severe defeat. Onomarchus, however, was at hand with a large and well appointed force, determined to revenge the loss sustained by his brother, and to confirm the hopes of Lycophron. Philip made haste to meet him, and to prevent, by a battle, the inroad which the Phocian meditated. The Macedonian phalanx was already an object of dread to the best disciplined troops, and Onomarchus knowing both its strength and its weakness, practised against it a stratagem, which, on this occasion, succeeded in thwarting the consummate generalship of his opponent. The Phocians gained a victory, the effects of which, in the existing circumstances of Macedonia, might have proved fatal to a less determined prince than Philip, but which in his case served only to animate his exertions, and to improve his military tactics, for more successful exertions thereafter.

Onomarchus, after having defeated the Thebans in the heart of their own dominions, appeared once more in Thessaly as the ally of Lycophron, at the head of twenty thousand foot and five hundred horse: being stimulated, it is said, by the promise of undisputed power in that country, and the command of all its defeated resources in prosecuting the war with Boreia and her confederates. The king of Macedonia, unimpaired by the result of the late conflict with the same enemy, instantly took the field to oppose him. The two

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to
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Defeated
by the
Phocians.

B. C.
333.
O.V.
106. 4.
Phocians
defeated by
Philip.

Biography.
From
A. M.
3621.
—
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to
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336.

armies now advanced against each other, equally eager to engage, and equally animated with the hopes of victory. Glory, ambition, and revenge, were the motives which stirred in the breast of Philip, and glowed through all his ranks. His cause was fair and popular: he fought against tyranny and oppression in the person of Lycophron; against sacrilege and profanation as chargeable upon the Phocians; and in defence of liberty, of Greece, and of Apollo, their injured and favourite divinity. He ordered all his men to deck their heads with laurel, a tree sacred to that god; whilst the emblems and instruments of worship were displayed in the standards which accompanied his troops into the field. Many of the Thessalians too, alienated by the oppression of Lycophron, and abhorring the profane alliance in which he had joined, were found in the ranks of Macedonia, burning with zeal for religion, as well as with a desire to revenge their individual rights, upon the head of this usurping chief. The army of Philip, therefore, regarded themselves as the soldiers of a pious cause; commissioned by heaven to inflict due punishment on the robbers of temples and the profaners of shrines. The Phocians, on the other hand, came into action the champions of a national quarrel; conscious, indeed of having taken a bold step for securing their ancient rights over the structure at Delphi, but smarting at the same time under the sense of injurious conduct, on the part of the Amphictyons, and of all who attempted to enforce their severe decree. The battle which ensued was obstinately contested, and victory remained very doubtful. The infantry on each side equal in number, and fighting with a resolution which nothing could subdue, kept the issue in suspense till the Thessalian cavalry, led on with their characteristic spirit and effect, broke the lines of the Phocians and decided the fortune of the day. Horror and dismay hurried great numbers of the fugitives into the sea, which was contiguous to the field of battle; and among these their general Onomarchus himself. A fleet was seen approaching the shore, as if to lend succours to the vanquished, or to afford the means of retreat. It was the armament under Chares, sent by the Athenians to support the enemies of Macedon, and which arrived just in time to witness their complete discomfiture. More than six thousand Phocians perished in the conflict, or in the precipitate flight which followed it: the body of their chief was sought out and hung upon a gibbet, as a memorial of sacrilegious crime and divine vengeance: and three thousand of their number, who had fallen prisoners of war into the hands of the enemy, are reported to have been delivered up to the dreadful penalty which was denounced by the general laws of Greece, against the violators of sacred things.

Fear, jealousy, and envy were the prevailing feelings at Athens, excited by the news of Philip's victory. Speeches were pronounced, and resolutions were passed, and recrimination between the contending parties was mutually indulged; but no decisive step was taken to check the rising power of Macedon. Unwilling themselves to take the field, the Athenian demagogues attempted to stir up new enemies to Philip in his own neighbourhood; and are said, with this view, to have negotiated with the Olynthians, the former allies of Macedon, and to have promised them assistance in whatever enterprise they might undertake against the

conqueror of Onomarchus. It was, perhaps, at their instigation too, that fresh troubles arose in Thrace; but whatever might be the source whence they sprang, they only added to the credit of Philip, who strengthened the hands of Cersobleptes, the reigning prince, and baffled completely the designs of the leaders.

The obscurity which hangs over the minor events of ancient times prevents us from ascertaining the exact order in which several of the occurrences of Philip's reign took place. For instance, it is difficult to determine what space of time elapsed, and what transactions intervened between the victory gained over the Phocians, and the descent of Philip into the lower parts of Greece, with the intention of joining the Thebans. It was, however, whilst the memory of his successes was still vivid, and the might of his arms still felt, that he yielded to the impetuosity of his Thessalian allies, and appeared at the Straits of Thermopylae. Nor does it appear that Philip was much in earnest in this attempt to penetrate into Greece. When Diophauntus, the Athenian general, refused a passage, no disposition was shewn to force it; and although a slight movement on the part of the Boeotians would have laid open the Straits, by compelling the enemy to retreat, the leader of the Macedonians did not deem it expedient to advance. On the contrary, he quietly withdrew his troops, and after a short stay in Thessaly, on his march homeward, he finally returned to his capital to watch the progress of events, and to prepare new means for availing himself of contingencies.

Philip had now reached the point at which his ambition had long aimed; the power, we mean, of influencing the councils of Greece, and even of controlling the measures of the more prominent states. Thessaly and Thrace being now united to Macedon, either as allies or subjects, his dominion extended from the Egean sea to the Adriatic; and, having in his possession the principal ports on the eastern and southern shores of the neighbouring provinces, he secured the approach to his capital against any sudden inroad, meditated by the naval forces of the Athenians. His army, the best disciplined and effective in Europe, had an unlimited confidence in his talents and courage, and was ready to follow him whithersoever he should lead. By the surrounding republics he was regarded as the avenger of sacrilege; the protector of religion; and as alone worthy to take the direction in the expiation of a crime, which ought to have united the whole world to punish and repress it. Nor was the influence attached to his personal qualities less captivating than the success which crowned his military efforts in the prosecution of a righteous cause. Affable and humane, he tempered the exercise of despotic power with a marked attention to justice, and the feelings of individuals; and whilst he used his subjects and their wealth as the means of gratifying his own ambition, he gave to every one of them so direct an interest in following up his views, that they at once admired him as a hero, and revered him as a benefactor.

Whilst Philip was consolidating his affairs at home, new labours were preparing for him by the restless emissaries of the Athenian democrats. The horror of sacrilege had now lost so much of its force, that the Phocians found several of their confederates perfectly disposed to share with them the treasures of

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Macedon.
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the Delphian god, and to prosecute human ends by means of divine resources. As long as the sacred gold continued to be drawn from the repositories of Apollo, no difficulty was found in raising soldiers to vindicate the sacrifice; and it is accordingly mentioned by Diodorus, that in the spring, after the defeat of Odomarchus, large reinforcements were seen pouring in from friendly states, to augment the Phocian army, now under Phayllus, the brother of their late commander. Athens, according to his report, furnished of mercenaries no less than five thousand foot and five hundred horse; and yet, he adds, the Athean government from the Delphian treasury, drew pay for a still greater number. Lacedæmon sent one thousand men; Achæia from various towns two thousand; and Lycophra, the former tyrant of Thebes, presented himself at the head of two thousand. Of these forces, so heterogeneous in their materials, and so discordant in their motives, Phayllus, the Phocian, was appointed commander-in-chief.

These extensive preparations were not attended with any material result. The Phocians were repeatedly vanquished by the soldiers of Thebes, but apparently with no considerable loss; the former soon appearing again in the field, and even assailing the posts of their victorious enemies. Phayllus soon repaired his losses, and, by a system of rapid movements and sudden attacks which the more phlegmatic Thebans were not always prepared to meet, made a deep impression on their army, and even reduced one of their principal towns. On the death of this general, however, the Phocians were less successful; for hazarding a battle near Charonea, under the direction of Mnæses, they sustained a serious overthrow, and lost many of their best troops.

Thebes and Phocis, the principals in this sacred war, were about this time diverted from the main object of their hostilities, by the attention which each was called upon to pay to the interest of certain cities placed under their protection. The scene of warfare was accordingly transferred into Peloponnesus, where Sparta, assisted by the Phocians, drew out their forces against the people of Megalopolis, who, on their return were encouraged and reinforced by the presence of the Thebans. It belongs not to the object which we have in hand to trace the operations of this subordinate contest; nor to unfold the cause and progress of the troubles, which, about this time arose in Eubœa, and gave occasion to the interference of the Macedonians. We, therefore, proceed to the third period of the sacred war, which had the effect of bringing Philip into more intimate relations with the leading states of Greece, than had at any former juncture subsisted between them, and during which, Athens and Macedon became the principal belligerent powers.

It had all along been the policy of the Athenian demagogues to create war for Philip among his Thracian or Thessalian neighbours, and to give employment to his arms at a distance from their own territory. The Olynthians, at first the enemies and afterwards the allies of Macedon, were now induced by the popular leaders at Athens to break truce with that prince, and to throw themselves upon the protection of their state. It is not easy to perceive an adequate motive for this revolution at Olynthus. In

former times, indeed, the naval power of Athens predominated all over the Egean sea; and the Macedonians, though victorious on land, had occasionally to endure both insult and loss, from the marauding expeditions which from time to time appeared on the coast, under the flag of that rather faithless people. Unable to protect his own property, Philip could not extend protection to his dependants or allies; but in order to obviate these evils, he had of late directed his attention so successfully to the establishment of a marine, as to be able not only to ward off the piratical assaults of his enemies, but even to carry the war into their own harbours. Ships bearing his authority, had already taken and plundered the islands of Imbros and Lemnos; had forced the sea port of Gæstus in Eubœa, and captured a fleet of merchantmen richly laden; and, what made a still deeper impression at Athens, the coast of Attica itself was visited by a hostile armament, and the sacred ship Paralus was taken out of the very harbour of Marathon. The Olynthians, therefore, had every thing to fear from the power and activity of Philip, as an enemy, when they deserted his interests, and exposed themselves to the fury of his revenge. This politic commander was yet in Thrace, when information reached him of the prevalence acquired by the Athenian party at Olynthus, and the threatened secession of that state from the Macedonian alliance. Without delay he exerted his utmost endeavours to know the cause of so unexpected a revolution; to hear complaints, to remove grievances, if any were felt, and by all means to restore between the governments that unshaken confidence, without which peace could not subsist. This, says Demosthenes, it was the business of the Athenians to prevent; and to effect that end, the measures employed by the popular agents proved in a little time effectual.

Throughout this negotiation, the promises of Athenian aid were so ample, that the Olynthians imagined the war was to be almost entirely carried on by their new allies. A fleet, with a small land force under Chares, was, as donbt, despatched with due expedition to ravage such parts of the coasts as owed obedience to Macedon, and even to extend a predatory war a little way into the interior. No preparation being made to oppose him, the Athean commander succeeded so well in his plundering campaign, that at the end of a short period, he returned home to his employers laden with booty, to feast the multitude and boast of his own exploits.

It was the close of the year, before Philip could collect an army sufficient to chastise the Olynthians, and protect his shores from the incursions of Chares. In the commencement of the following season, the Athenian admiral appeared once more with his ships and light-armed troops, to pursue his wonted exactions upon the defenceless inhabitants of the coast; leaving the Olynthians to fight two battles with their formidable enemy, who, routing them completely, drove them for refuge within the walls of their town. Unable to oppose the progress of his arms, the infatuated inhabitants had recourse to treaty. They sent to him when within a short distance of their gates, expressing their readiness to listen to terms, and to renew the former alliance. Philip replied, that "it was now too late; that he had before abundantly and repeatedly expressed his earnestness to

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Biography. treat with them; but now it was become too evident that there was but one alternative; they must quit Olynthus, or he Macedonia.

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Olynthus.

The town was besieged, and, after some experience of the usual occurrences of assaults and desertions, surrendered at discretion into the hands of the king of Macedonia. The interests of his dominions pointed out the policy which it here behoved him to pursue. He demolished Olynthus, annexing the territory belonging to it to the nearest province of Macedonia; and, according to Diodorus, sold by public auction the whole body of the people, without regard to condition, sex, or age. Philip, it is added, was present at the sale, where Aristotle the philosopher, is accused of assisting, and even of aggravating the misfortunes of a people with whom he had lived in friendship, by pointing out the richest of the inhabitants, and instructing the king how to extort their treasure and procure exorbitant ransoms.

Were we to follow the authorities quoted by Le Land, in regard to the Olynthian war, we should allow ourselves to fall into the error of ascribing the defection of that people to the intrigues and corruptions of Philip; who, notwithstanding, seems to have been taken completely by surprise, and to have made no preparation to profit by a revolution which he himself is imagined to have instigated. Diodorus, in this part of his narrative, has evidently derived his information from Demosthenes; whilst this orator, as is well known, drew his principal charges against Philip, from sources foully tainted by the infusion of party spleen, and pronounced them in language which is more remarkable for its vehemence than its truth.

As every attempt to reduce the power of Philip was found to result in augmented influence, and even in an extension of his territorial dominions, the Athenians were now convinced, that, to render Macedonia harmless, it would be necessary to allow it to revert to the enjoyment of peace. Demosthenes himself gave his countenance to pacific measures. The wiser part of the citizens could not fail to mark the growing power and successful ambition of their great enemy, to be sensible, at the same time, of the increasing corruption and inefficiency of their own countrymen. From the period that they had attempted to recover Amphipolis, no less a sum than fifteen hundred talents had been expended; one hundred ships had been lost; seventy-five tributary cities had fallen into the hands of the Macedonians; Olynthus was destroyed, and Eubœa had revolted; the several Grecian states having harassed and wasted each other by their foolish quarrels, were now completely alienated by mutual jealousy and suspicion; and, to crown all, Philip was more admired, more dreaded, more ambitious, and more warlike than ever.

The desire of peace was further strengthened by the failure of a negotiation which had been entered into with Phocis, now, of course, become the bitter enemy of Athens. The first step, therefore, to be taken in this delicate state of affairs, was to ascertain the dispositions of Philip in regard to peace; and the next was to prepare the minds of the sovereign multitude for entering into terms with a man who they had been taught to believe, laboured all day and meditated all night, to accomplish their destruction. Two Athenians of some note, Stratocles and Eucratas, had

been taken prisoners at the fall of Olynthus; the former of whom liberated without ransom, returned to his native city, full of gratitude and admiration for the generous prince who had set him free; and made known to his countrymen that Philip entertained a sincere desire for a close alliance and a lasting peace with the commonwealth of Athens. A decree had, however, been formulated at no very distant period, denouncing death to any one who should propose peace with that monarch, and forbidding, under a similar penalty, the appearance of a Macedonian herald on the Attic soil. To try the temper of the people, a motion was made to repeal that savage decree. The proposal was listened to with moderation, and, on the whole, the passions of revenge and of pride were now so completely subdued by the love of security, that a commission of ten persons was appointed to convey to Macedonia the wishes of the Athenian people. The members of this embassy were; Ctesiphon, Phrynon, Philocrates, Jatrocles, Nausicles, Cimón, Demosthenes, Dercylus, Æschines, and Aristodemus.

Whilst Athens was thus employed in thoughts of peace, Philip was pursuing his warlike designs within the Thracian territory. He had already circumscribed the dominions of the devoted Cersobleptes, within very narrow limits, and deprived him of several important towns; and, at the period the commissioners passed through Thessaly, on their way to Macedonia, they found the celebrated general Parmenio besieging Halus, a town claimed by the Pharsalians, whose cause Philip had espoused, and attached to the Athenians, whose power in that part of Greece he was determined to undermine.

Arrived at the Macedonian capital, the deputies were introduced to the king, and admitted to an audience. As they had agreed to speak in the order of their seniority, Æschines first addressed the king, endeavouring to convince him of the friendly disposition of the Athenians towards his person; of the justice of their claims upon Amphipolis, and certain other possessions of which he deprived them; and, above all, of the unreasonableness of his hostile views upon the territory of their allies.

Demosthenes being the youngest, was the last to speak, and had certainly the most difficult task to perform. He was now in the presence of a prince, whom in his absence, he had frequently assailed with the most furious invective, to whom he had uniformly ascribed the most impure and selfish motives, and whose actions he had often represented as cruel, treacherous, and unjust. The person whom he was to address, too, was not only a consummate politician but an able orator; a master of the art in which Demosthenes excelled; a persuasive speaker himself, and a perfect judge of eloquence in others. The courtiers of Macedonia stood around, full of expectation and curiosity; the reputation of the great Athenian orator, had prepared them for an extraordinary display of talent and address; and even the ambassadors themselves who had so often heard their distinguished colleague thunder forth from the tribunal his indignation against Philip, were now impatient to witness the effects of his eloquence, and to hear those irresistible arguments and potent remonstrances, with which he had promised to attack, and hoped to confound, the obstinate policy of Philip. All was suspense, and

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the most eager curiosity; and every man now waited in silence for some splendid specimen of forcible, dignified, and subduing oratory. But Demosthenes, unaccustomed to such an audience, and such a combination of circumstances, lost courage and presence of mind. He who had so often braved with success the tumult and abuse of an Athenian assembly, was, in this new scene, utterly disconcerted and abashed. His faculties refused their office. He began in a hesitating and ungraceful manner; muttered a few unintelligible sentences, till, at length, his terror and embarrassment increased to such a degree, that his recollection totally forsook him, and he stood before the assembly totally unable to proceed. Philip saw his distress and pitied him. With that politeness and humanity which were natural to him, and with that condescension which he knew so well how to affect, he encouraged him to go on, reminding him that he was not now before an assembly of his countrymen, whose resentment he had to dread in case of failure; begged him to take time to collect again his scattered ideas, and to pursue his intended harangue. Demosthenes, accordingly attempted to resume his speech, but was not able; his confusion continued, his embarrassment increased, and he was once more compelled to take refuge in silence.

The ambassadors being allowed to retire, Demosthenes instantly gave vent to his chagrin and disappointment, by condemning the freedom with which Æschines had addressed the king, and the severity with which he had canvassed his political measures. "What!" exclaimed the baffled orator, "have you forgotten the present state of Athens; how greatly the people have been harassed by war, and how ardently they wish for peace? You have now so irritated Philip, and spoken so harshly, that instead of ending the war by a happy accommodation, you have only to expect the most violent and hostile resentment, in place of the pacific and favourable disposition in which we found him on our arrival!"

Before Æschines could reply to this peevish invective, the envoys were again called into the presence of Philip. This able sovereign, whose command of temper never forsook him, immediately proceeded to reply to their representations in the order in which he had listened to them, with the utmost force and perspicuity. He addressed himself particularly to Æschines, and went over the several topics of his speech with much fairness and accuracy; but in such a manner, as according to the report of this orator himself, did not implicate him in the intrigues of the war-party at Athens, or express any suspicion of his pacific professions in regard to Macedonia. As to Demosthenes, his harangue conveyed so little, either in the way of fact or of argument, that no reply was necessary. Perhaps, too, it might suit with the present views of Philip to treat the Athenian demagogue with some degree of slight. He might choose to affect a contemptuous disregard for his powers, as well to mortify his great opponent, as to remind the world that the man who had ever inveighed with the utmost violence against him in the hearing of a mob, had not been able, on this important occasion when reasoning and not invective was expected by his audience, to offer any thing to their notice which deserved either reply or observation. He then invited them to an entertainment; where, if we may give credit to

Æschines, his colleague conducted himself with still greater weakness and confusion than before. Presiding over the festivities of the banquet, Philip displayed those powers of conversation and wit which at once rendered his society delightful, and gave him a firm hold of the affections of his guests. At table he reiterated his assurances of a pacific disposition towards Athens; expressed his respect and friendship for the government; and declared that as soon as the alliance between them should be confirmed, the Athenian people would have reason to be satisfied with the most substantial marks of his favour.

Demosthenes, sensible that he made a mean figure at the Macedonian court, is said to have conducted himself on the way homeward, with excessive obscurity and adulation towards the other members of the embassy. Immediately on their arrival, too, when their proceedings were reported to the council of Five-hundred, the orator, as one of that body, spoke very favourably of his colleagues in general, and moved that according to custom, when the conduct of an embassy was approved, they should be honoured for their services with a public supper in the Prytæum; and as the business of peace was so successfully begun, he further proposed that they should wear on the occasion crowns of the sacred olive. The motion was acceded to, and the entertainment was given.

When the matter came before the people at large, and the ambassadors were introduced in their turn, to give an account of their proceedings at Macedon, Demosthenes at once relinquished his complimentary tone towards his colleagues, and proceeded so far as to insinuate, that in their transactions with their countrymen as well as with Philip, they had betrayed either ignorance or incapacity. As the youngest he was as usual the last to appear. He began by observing, that all that the other envoys had said was little to the purpose; and requesting that the decree of the people appointing that the embassy might be read, he farther moved, that the king of Macedonia's letter to the Athenians might be read also. "Here then," said he, "is the substance of the business on hand; and I propose that the herald expected from Macedon be received; that the ambassadors who are to follow him be likewise received; and that two days after their arrival, the people be summoned to consult respecting the terms of the peace which is now contemplated with Philip."

A variety of particulars connected with this occurrence have found their way into the biographical sketches of Demosthenes, some of which, although resting on rather doubtful authority, are strikingly characteristic of that powerful orator. Impatient of all allusion to the conference at Macedon and to the personal character of Philip, "you shall see," he exclaims, in his address to the populace, "how I propose to cut off these superfluous matters. Æschines praises the memory and eloquence of Philip. But so far am I from agreeing with him, that I apprehend any other man in the same rank and circumstances, would not be counted inferior to him in these particulars. Ctesiphon praises his person: I think my colleague Aristodemus has a figure no less graceful. Others tell you of his mirth and gaiety at table: I think Philocrates is by far the more joyful companion. One man, says, it was left to me to speak about Amphi-

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Biography. polis; but this your orator would not willingly suffer either you or me to speak.—But this is all trifling. I shall draw up a decree for entering into a negotiation with Philip's heralds and ambassadors, who are now expected, &c."

It is well observed by Olivier that it was necessary to collect together all the accomplishments of the several ambassadors, in order to give a just idea of those which centered in the character of Philip: and it is impossible to read the childish personalities of Demosthenes, on this occasion, without disrespect for the man who could attempt to under-rate the qualities of a distinguished prince, by dwelling on circumstances in themselves so extremely trifling, and to which that individual himself would have been the last to attach any intrinsic value.

The herald and the ambassadors from Macedonia arrived in due time. These last were three in number, and bore names which were, even at that period, respected in Greece, and which have since been celebrated over the whole civilized world, Eurylochus, Antipater, and Parmenio. The first was eminent for eloquence and valour, and is known to have rendered effectual services, by each of these endowments to Philip, and to his son Alexander. Parmenio joined the merit of an honest courtier to that of a brave soldier; and we may judge of the esteem in which he was held by his discerning master, from the following characteristic remark. Being told on one occasion, that the Athenians had chosen their ten generals for the year: "Happy people!" exclaimed Philip, "who can every year find ten! In my whole life," continued he, with his eye fixed on Parmenio, "I never knew but one."—Antipater is said to have been the most respected and most trusted of all Philip's ministers. This prince, we are told used frequently to say at table, "come, let us drink deep; it is enough for me, that Antipater is sober!" And when one morning he came into his audience chamber later than usual, "I have been long a-bed," said he, looking around him, "but it is no matter: Antipater was awake."

Discussions now took place at Athens relative to the peace and partly in regard to the extent of the alliance to be entered into with Macedonia. Philip was desirous of confining the treaty to the Athenians, exclusive of their allies, whilst some of the more moderate party in the government insisted that the interests of these should be provided for and secured. On this point, however, so essential to their public credit and individual reputation, the wavering politicians of Athens shewed neither consistency nor steadfastness. To terminate their heartless disputes, it was resolved to send a commission of five persons to Macedonia to bring the peace to a conclusion; in which number was Eschines, now the devoted tool of Philip's designs. Demosthenes, under pretence of ransoming prisoners, contrived to attach himself to the embassy and proceeded accordingly to the head quarters of the Macedonian ruler.

It was at Pella where Eschines and his colleagues obtained an audience of Philip, who amidst these numerous negotiations and embassies, was usually employed in directing the movements of his armies. He was indeed, at that period, on the eve of concluding the conquest of Thrace; an object which he wished to accomplish before he renewed his conferences with the Athenian ministers: and with this view, he allowed them to wait nearly a month in his capital, before

he could be induced to leave his troops in the active season of a successful campaign. On his arrival at Pella, he found ambassadors not only from Athens, as he had expected, but also from Thebes and Lacedæmon, imploring his interposition to settle some difference between these rival states, and to give the aid of his arms to bring to a conclusion the warring warfare which was still going on between the Thebans and Phocians.

After granting an audience to the Athenian deputies, in which some reasonings were made in regard to the warlike attitude in which Philip continued to remain, and some vague explanations and professions on his part were returned to quiet their apprehensions; the king urging the necessity of his presence in Thessaly, where his troops were still investing Halus, proposed to carry the several embassies along with him; in the hope, as he was pleased to express himself, that their mediation might be the means of terminating the protracted contest between the Pharsulians and the inhabitants of Halus.

The treaty with Athens received at length the ratification of Philip. In enumerating the allies of either people, Halus was excluded on the part of Macedonia, and Phocis on that of the Athenians. The Phocians assisted and protected by Athens in the commencement of the sacred war, had it appears given offence to their proud neighbours by refusing to yield to them certain towns which commanded the straits of Thermopylæ, and were at present so much the objects of their displeasure, that they were specially excluded from participation in any benefit of the treaty between them and the Macedonians. This exclusion of the Phocians is, indeed, ascribed by some writers to the policy of Philip, who still found his interest concerned in representing that people as so completely polluted with sacrilege, and so obnoxious to the displeasure of the gods, as to be altogether unworthy of the faith of treaties or the protection of holy arms. It does not appear, however, from an impartial review of his conduct, that the king of Macedonia was actuated by feelings of bigotry or the desire of revenge. He longed for an opportunity to mediate as an armed umpire in the affairs of Greece; and as he had promised to the deputies of the principal states, that their several views and interest should not be overlooked in the settlement of differences between Thebes and Phocis, he found it expedient to leave the consideration of these differences for future deliberation with the parties most intimately concerned.

To bring the Phocian war to a speedy conclusion, either by conference or by arms, appears to have been an object which engaged the attention of Philip both before and after the peace with Athens. Even whilst the ambassadors were at Pella, preparations were on foot, which the king did not disguise, were meant to enforce his mediation with the belligerent states of Greece, and to conduct to a termination the destructive contest in which they had for nearly ten years, employed their armies and expended their treasure. It was probably therefore at the suggestion of this monarch, that immediately after the ratification of the peace, a decree was passed at Athens declaring, that if the Phocians did not duly surrender the temple of Delphi to the Amphictyons, the Athenian people would join in arms against them, and against all who should support them in their contumacy. Philip, indeed, addressed a letter in his own name to his new allies, in-

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Bent on war, the party headed by Demosthenes appear at this juncture to have renewed their overtures to Phœcis, and to have knit themselves in closer alliance with the Lacedæmonians. The project of occupying the three towns which commanded the pass of Thermopylæ, was again revived; but the Phœcians reposing little confidence in Athenian faith, and doubting the sincerity of Lacedæmon, refused to accede to the arrangement. They preferred the chance of obtaining favour in the eyes of Philip, whose regard for their interests they had been led to believe was cordial and firm, although political reasons had induced him to disguise it, during his negotiations with their enemies. Refusing therefore to surrender the towns in question, and yet unwilling to come to a rupture with the Lacedæmonians, they excused themselves, by observing, that "Sparta had too much occasion to look to her own dangers."

The tranquillity of Greece was now once more exposed to the greatest hazard. The popular faction at Athens, ready to sacrifice every thing for the maintenance of their own power, were fast precipitating their country into war, without the prospect of any rational means whereby to bring it to a prosperous issue. Philip could not be ignorant of their intrigues at Phœcis, and of their tampering with the Lacedæmonians; and as his preparations for advancing into the territory of the belligerent states were already well matured, it was obvious that nothing short of a general combination of the Grecian republics could impede his progress into the heart of their country. It was at this crisis accordingly that Isocrates published his celebrated oration to Philip; which, under the form of that species of address, was in reality an appeal from himself and the moderate party, at Athens, to their fellow-citizens, and to the whole Greek nation. The object of this famous tract was to induce the king of Macedonia to assume such a lead among the states of Greece, as would prevent them from imbruing their hands in one another's blood, and enable them, at the same time to unite in an unanimous and combined exertion against their common enemy, the barbarians of Persia. Taking a cursory view of the actual condition of the several republics around him, he depicts, in lively colours, the

misery and humiliation to which they had all reduced themselves by their foolish jealousy and ill-directed ambition; and then turning his eyes to Philip, he describes that sovereign as in every respect worthy of confidence, and as by far the fittest person of the age to reconcile the Greeks to one another, and to lead their confederate armies against the tyrants of Asia. Encouraging both Greeks and Macedonians with the almost certain prospect of success, the ingenious orator concludes his address to the royal commander in these words—"The sum of what I advise is this; that you act beneficially towards the Greeks; that you reign constitutionally over the Macedonians; that you extend your sway as widely as may be over the barbarians. And thus will you earn the gratitude of all, of the Greeks, for the good you will do them; of the Macedonians, if you will preside over them constitutionally and not tyrannically; and of all others, as far as you relieve them from barbaric despotism, and place them under the mildness of a Grecian administration. Others must have their opinions of what the times want, and will judge for themselves how far what is here written may be adapted to them; but I am fully confident that no one will give you better advice, nor more accommodated to the existing state of things."

We are perfectly satisfied with Mr. Mitford's reasons for placing this oration in the interval between the peace with Athens and the conclusion of the sacred war. And between these two points, as he observes, it farther marks its time as having been put forth, after symptoms of a disposition toward a new breach with Macedonia had been manifested by a party at Athens, and while the Lacedæmonians were apprehensive of an accommodation between the Thebans and Phœcians. By Leland and other authors, the date of Isocrates' performance is placed after the sacred war, and even subsequently to the execution of the Amphictyonic decree, which had been passed against the sacrilegious cities of the Phœcian district.

This cool appeal to the reason of the Greeks, taken in connection with the chances of an unsuccessful struggle against the power of Macedonia, had a very considerable effect in preparing their minds for an accommodation. The disposition among the republics, to co-operate with Philip towards the establishment of peace throughout the country, became very general, and was manifested with nothing of the usual republican violence. It does not appear, however, that this personage himself was at all desirous to assume the office which was thus created for him. So little solicitous, indeed, was he to take the lead in settling the troublesome and invidious business of the sacred war, that we have the authority of Demosthenes for saying he invited the Lacedæmonians to charge themselves with its decision, and declared his readiness to submit entirely to their arrangement. What may have been his motives for this moderation, or whether his declarations were really sincere, are points which history has furnished us with no means for determining. It is probable, that he wasaverse from moving into Greece so long as he had enemies in Thebes still unsubdued: at all events, he did not proceed to gratify the impatience of his allies in the south, until Halus had surrendered to his arms. That town being garrisoned by Phœnicians, in whom Philip could confide, and the Thessalians at large

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being devoted to his interests, the warlike Macedonian at length turned his face towards Thermopylae at the head of an imposing force.

The Phocians, commanded by Phalarus, the son or brother of their late general, were still in a condition to dispute the pass with Philip, and even to occasion to him considerable delay and loss. Having, however, no confidence in the Athenian government; being suspicious of the designs of Lacedæmon; finding that the Thebans had joined the invader, and that the greater part of Peloponnesus was ready to rise at his nod, they saw the madness of attempting, single-handed, to arrest his progress; and made haste, accordingly to profit by the disposition towards mild measures, on which Philip still professed to regulate his conduct. Not daring to entertain the hope that they would be allowed to remain at Phocis, they stipulated with him for leave to emigrate unmolested, and to carry with them their personal property. On these simple conditions, the important military stations of Nicaea, Thronium, and Alponus, were delivered to the king of Macedonia; and Phalarus immediately after commenced his retreat towards Peloponnesus, where he found a temporary refuge. Greece was now open to the Macedonians and Thessalians, whose progress into a country, torn by mutual jealousy, occasioned the most painful alarm. The vengeance of Thebes was more dreaded by the Phocians and the Boeotians, who had favoured their cause, than the sovereignty of Philip; and it required all the influence and management of this humane ruler to repress the vindictive spirit which actuated his confederates. He succeeded, it is said, in procuring personal safety for all. The higher class of Phocians were content to quit their native soil; whilst the inferior orders, availing themselves of permission to surrender to the king of Macedonia, exclusively, were received, together with their principal towns, into his protection.

The sacred war was now ended, and the fate of Greece placed almost entirely in the hands of the king of Macedonia. The moderation of this sovereign at the period now under review, is the most remarkable feature of his character; and whatever may have been the motives whence it sprang, it certainly added not less to his influence as an umpire, than to his reputation as a conqueror. Amidst all the invective of Demosthenes, and the more perplexing partiality of Greek historians, we see clearly that the Macedonian prince, in pursuing the brilliant objects of his ambition, never sacrificed the principles of humanity in the case of a vanquished foe, nor aggravated the sufferings of the unfortunate, whatever might be their rank or condition. His clemency was particularly manifested in the pains which he took to temper the penalty incurred by the sacrilegious Phocians. It was expected, and even demanded of him by his allies, that the Amphictyonic law should be allowed to take its course against that unhappy people. According to that constitution, which all Greece had for centuries acknowledged in them, though not always, indeed, reduced to practice, the punishment to be awarded should be determined by the Amphictyons alone. But with a sincere desire to promote the ends of justice, and to obtain a milder sentence, as well, perhaps, as in deference to those states which had avowed resistance to the Amphictyonic decrees, on the ground that the judges acted under undue influence, Philip in-

vented a congress of deputies from all the states of Greece.

Among the representatives nominated by Athens, were Æschines and Demosthenes; neither of whom, however, found it convenient to attend. The former, about this period, deserted the popular side; while his colleague was associated, and went over to the party of Phocion, which numbered in its ranks Isocrates, and all the leading characters, who exerted themselves for the tranquillity of the republic, and a gradual diminution of democratical power and violence. To take advantage of popular feeling in the meantime, Æschines pretended sickness, that he might be allowed to remain at home; and Demosthenes, to thwart the views of his adversary, declined the appointment with which he was honoured, and kept his station in the assemblies of the people.

The congress appears to have met first at Thermopylae. The business before them was of the most delicate nature, involving the interests of all Greece, and the life or death of many thousands whose participation in the crime of Phocis had subjected them to the bar of public law. The two main points to which their deliberation would be invited with the greatest earnestness, were, judgment on the Phocians, and a restoration of the funds belonging to the Delphian treasury: and as prejudice, vindictive feelings, and selfish views, actuated most of the deputies then present, it was wisely resolved to come to no determination in the meantime, but to refer these important points to the authority of the Amphictyons to be thereafter assembled.

Philip found his benevolent and liberal intentions in the congress not a little impeded by the unremovable conduct of his own allies, the Thebans and Thessalians. It became necessary therefore to secure, in the second meeting, such a number of votes connected with a different interest, as would check the preponderance of these, and guide their judgment to a more equitable decision. This object seems to have been attained, and partly perhaps, by the exertions of Athens; which re-appointed her former ministers to represent her on that solemn occasion: but, it must be added that, in regard to the minor details and arrangements arising out of these important transactions, a great degree of obscurity prevails even in the best writers whose works have come down to us.

The contending orators, Æschines and Demosthenes, each giving an account of this interesting meeting, do not, as Mr. Mitford justly remarks, give the clear and full information which might be expected. There appears however to have been a great deal of discussion and warm debating. According to Æschines some of the Amphictyons, those especially from the smaller republics, were very rude uneducated men. The rough mountaineers of Ceta, who also had a seat in the Amphictyonic council, are said to have exceeded the Thebans themselves, in barbarous fanaticism and vindictive demands. Insisting that, in order to appease the anger of the gods against the Greeks, the whole Phocian people should be put to death, by being precipitated from the cliffs of the sacred hills. Against such extreme intemperance the measures already taken would afford a main security: the most guilty or at least the most distinguished of that devoted nation having submitted to a voluntary exile, and thereby removed themselves from the grasp of their

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persecutes. Nor did the ferocious bigotry which impelled the Etans to crave the blood of their countrymen, actuate the majority of the congress. On the contrary the decree which was finally passed by the Amphictyons, and sanctioned by the representatives of the Grecian states, although denouncing a punishment that cannot fail to appear excessive in the eyes of a modern reader, was yet much more moderate than the stern spirit of the law required in the case of a sacrilegious robbery. This celebrated document is given at length by several authors; and it was in substance as follows: that the Phocians should in the first place, forfeit all the rights which had belonged to them as federal members of the Amphictyonic council; that the three principal cities of Phocis should be dismantled, and all the other towns destroyed; that the people should live in villages not less than a furlong apart from one another, and none consisting of more than fifty houses; that they should surrender all their heavy armour and their horses, and not be allowed to possess any until the debt to the god should be fully repaid; and that, in order to liquidate the said debt, a rent of sixty talents yearly should be assessed upon the Phocian lands.

The vote of which the Phocians were thus deprived, was enforced on Philip by a decision of the Amphictyonic assembly. The greater part of the Greeks viewed this sovereign as the protector of their civil and political rights, the avenger of the gods, and the restorer of natural purity. He was besides descended from Hercules, an advantage which weighed much with this superstitious people, and he was known to set a high value on the rank of an Amphictyon, and the honour of directing in the affairs of the Grecian confederacy. The double vote, therefore, formerly exercised by Phocis was now transferred to the King of Macedon and his successors for ever.

The proceedings of Philip as arbiter of the disputes so long pending between Thebes and the Phocians, although characterized by much clemency and moderation, and particularly by the absence of all personal animosity against those who had the most exposed themselves to his resentment, excited at Athens an unaccountable degree of alarm, jealousy, and contention. A violent ebullition of democratic fury succeeded the news, either of Philip's advance through the straits, or of his preponderance in the Amphictyonic council, and sundry precipitate resolutions were adopted in the warmth of the moment, by the leaders of the popular party, which would infallibly have drawn on them the power of Macedon and the allied Amphictyons, had they not been recalled to their reason by a letter, in which he pointed out the folly and injustice of their intentions. We are inclined to think the commotion now spoken of was occasioned by the appearance of the Macedonians after passing the ravine of Thermopylæ, and not, as Mr. Mitford supposes, by the judgment pronounced on the Phocians. In truth, the Athenians were so much disobliged by the refusal of Phalaris to put into their hands the three towns which they wished to garrison, as the means of commanding the straits, that they had ceased to promote the Phocian interest, or even to maintain the friendly relations to which they were bound by the terms of the treaty subsisting between them; on which account the penalty inflicted on the violators of the Delphian repository could not, of

itself give them any uneasiness, nor drive them to those hasty determinations which ensued upon the arrival of their messenger Dercyllus.

It happened that their messenger, named Dercyllus, made his appearance at Athens when the people were assembled in Piræus to transact public business; and such was the effect of his tidings on their inflammable and vacillating minds, that a decree was instantly voted, commanding all free inhabitants of Attica to remove without delay their families from the country into some one of the fortified towns, and that these places should be immediately put into the best state of defence. Nay, the alarmed and incensed multitude further decreed, that a sacrifice should be instantly offered up to Hercules, according to the established ceremony usually observed in the commencement of a new war.

The epistle from Philip and the return of reflection, as well, perhaps, as their total inability to oppose any effectual resistance to the measures now in progress, prevented the Athenian populace from having recourse to actual hostilities. The congress was accordingly held as already described, first, at Thermopylæ and afterwards, as is commonly believed, at Delphi; at which latter place the final judgment of the Amphictyons and their assessors was delivered, for re-establishing the religious peace and political tranquillity of the Grecian states.

This weighty affair being settled, and his utmost efforts having been employed in behalf of the unfortunate outcasts of Phocis, Philip returned home: carrying with him the gratitude and respect of the whole Greek nation, if we except the demagogues and their deluded followers in the city of Athens. To this testimony of Demosthenes himself is so strong and explicit as to stand in need of no corroboration. In his oration to the crown, he admits that even at Thebes the voice of those prevailed, who at the time joined the Thessalians in extolling Philip as their friend, benefactor, and preserver: and throughout Greece the people at large rejoiced in the peace, for which they readily acknowledged themselves indebted to the king of Macedon. With this warrant, the praise bestowed by Diodorus, on the same occasion, will be more easily admitted. "Philip," says that historian (lib. 16. ch. 60.) "having concurred with the Amphictyons in their choice for the common welfare of Greece; having provided means for carrying them into execution; and having conciliated good will on all sides by his humanity and affability, returned into his kingdom, bearing with him the glory of piety, added to that of military talents and bravery; and in possession of a popularity which gave him great advantage for the future extension of his power."

Having entered so minutely into the transactions of Philip's reign as connected with that progress of events which gave him the supremacy over Greece, we must confine ourselves to a more general outline of the subsequent part of his life. The people of Athens, violent only in their speeches and resolutions, continued to impeach his conduct, excite enemies against his person and government, and prosecute such individuals as were thought to favour his designs or to enjoy his good opinion. It was at this period that Demosthenes pronounced the most splendid of his orations against that monarch, and concerted measures for the expulsion from Athens of all the creatures

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of Macedon, as well indeed, as of all who did not concur in the interperate counsels which it pleased him so much to recommend to the effeminate, vain, and credulous multitude over whom he presided. It was in vain however for Demosthenes to harangue or for Chares to practise intrigue. The democratic party in Greece was now too weak to oppose the influence of Philip's name, or to kindle a war among the exhausted republics which had so lately acknowledged the beneficial interposition of that popular monarch. The smaller commonwealths disgusted with the imperious conduct of their more powerful neighbours, who in their turn had dominated over the rest; and perceiving clearly that Athens, Thebes, and Lacedæmon were no longer able to maintain their own independence, or to extend protection to their allies, gladly committed to Macedon that tutelary ascendancy which had so long been an object of ambition and contest among the Greeks themselves, and which had only passed from one to another to the ruin of the whole. All Peloponnesus courted the alliance of Philip. The Messenians and Argians sent deputies to sue for his countenance, declining the offer of Atheolian protection, and treating with neglect the specious arguments of Demosthenes against Macedonian influence.

We pass over the political intrigues and prosecutions which engaged the attention of Athens for some time after the conclusion of the sacred wars, and proceed to accompany Philip to Macedon. Aristotle was now invited to the court of the Macedonian king, and to him was committed the important charge of instructing the heir of the crown. Receiving from the father, as the object and motive of his anxiety to have his boy well educated, this sole direction "that he may learn to avoid those errors which I have committed and of which I now repent." To engage him more effectually to a faithful and diligent discharge of this great trust, he loaded the philosopher with presents, worthy at once of the generosity of the giver, and the distinguished merit of him upon whom they were conferred. He caused Stagira the city which gave birth to the sage, and which had shared the fate of all the Olynthian towns, to be carefully rebuilt; and the inhabitants who were at that time slaves or fugitives to be restored to their original settlements, and to enjoy their former privileges. In addition to this he made a grant of land for a spacious park, laid out in shady walks and ornamented with seats and statues of marble, for the use of the peripatetic philosophers, who were there induced to pursue those studies which have given so much celebrity to this sect, and immortalized the name of their ingenious founder.

From the unsettled nature of the surrounding governments, and perhaps too from the active character of his own mind, Philip found it necessary to lead an army into eastern Thrace, where a party, adhering to Chersobleptes, were attempting to undermine the influence of Macedon, and to restore that of Athens. The result of this expedition was triumphant to the arms of the Macedonians, and added to their dominions the Grecian townships on the Thracian coast. Provoked, it is said, by Athenian intrigue among the savage tribes which inhabited the shores of the Danube, or desirous to chastise the irregular ambition of those northern hordes which occupied the extreme boundaries of his dominions, Philip felt himself induced to hazard a campaign in the Scythian wilds, at

that time the regions of fancy, and peopled by chimeras springing from the lively imagination of the Greeks. The details of this interesting expedition are irrecoverably lost. It is certain, however, that the Macedonians, overtaken by an early winter, found the roads towards their own country so completely blocked up with snow, that it was impossible to send even a single messenger to announce their state or to solicit assistance. It was reported in Greece that Philip had been seized with a severe illness, and even that he was dead; but his perseverance and constitution surmounted the numerous difficulties with which he was beset, and on the return of spring, he fought his way back into his own kingdom. It is of this memorable invasion that Demosthenes speaks, when he says that "in quest of glory, Philip freely met all kinds of hardship and danger in every shape; undismayed by words, unappalled by sickness, patient under confinement by snow, he was contented to pass the winter, living upon millet and rye, in a Thracian cellar."

The Athenians taking advantage of Philip's absence in Scythia, fitted out ships to cruise in the Ægean, with the view of distressing the commercial towns which were in alliance with Macedon, and also of inducing such of them as were not steadfast in their political attachment, to accept the protection of Athens, and to relinquish that which they now found so little efficient. Succeeding in this plundering and treacherous warfare beyond their utmost expectation, the popular party under Demosthenes, not only defended the piratical conduct of their commander, who in open defiance of a positive treaty, was every where levying contributions upon the maritime states in alliance with Macedon, but even proceeded so far as to concert measures for a confederacy of the leading states of Greece, in order, if possible, to repress the formidable power of Philip, and recover that consequence which they had formerly possessed among the inferior republics of Peloponnesus. With this view Demosthenes pronounced his third Philippic; an oration which produced greater effect by the eloquence which pervaded it, than by the justice of the cause which it professed to advocate, or by the weight of the reasons upon which that cause was sustained.

Too impatient to wait for a regular declaration of war, the sovereign multitude at Athens, having Demosthenes now for their political chief as well as apologist, sent positive orders to their commander on the Thracian station to act against Macedon, whenever a convenient opportunity might be found. Diophanes, accordingly, proceeded to take by storm two Grecian towns of the Macedonian alliance, and sent as prisoners into the Athenian colony of Chersonesus, all the inhabitants who had escaped the sword. Amphilichus, too, a Macedonian of rank, who was commissioned to remonstrate against these hostile proceedings, and empowered to negotiate for the release of the captives, was himself thrown into prison, where he was not set free till a ransom was paid of nine talents, or near two thousand pounds sterling. Nor were the admirals, Callias and Aristodemus, less busy at sea. They stopped all ships bound to a Macedonian port, or to such as were in alliance with that country; condemned all on board as enemies to the Athenian people, and sold them for slaves; not when complaints were made by Philip's ministers of these gross infractions of a subsisting treaty, and the matter

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To prepare for the conflict with Macedon, which such irritating policy could not fall sooner or later to produce, Demosthenes entered into correspondence with the Persian government which had also begun to tremble at the ambitious views of Philip; and so well did he know how to increase and turn to his own advantage the apprehensions of that effeminate court, that a considerable sum of money was remitted to him for the purpose of aiding the Grecian confederacy against their powerful neighbour. By liberal conduct towards Eubœa also, the confidence of that island was once more recovered in favour of Athens. The next object of the great orator was to secure a strong footing in Byzantium, and some other towns, in the entrance to the Euxine; and thereby at once to effect some commercial advantages, and to establish a readier intercourse with the satraps of Persia. In Perinthus, Selymbria, and the city just named, the interests of Athens, aided by the personal pleadings of Demosthenes, obtained a decided preponderancy; and thus both in Europe and in Asia, a formidable coalition was arrayed against Philip, who, in the meanwhile, was still detained amid the snows of Scythia.

As a biographical anecdote, it is not unworthy of mention that when the Macedonians were returning from their Scythian expedition, encumbered with the bulky spoil which they had taken from the enemy, and which consisted of arms, chariots, and 20,000 mares, they were attacked in a defile of the Mæian mountains, by a people called Triballi, who gained so much by the suddenness of their onset that they had nearly discomfited the veteran troops of Philip before it was possible for them to recover from their confusion. In this imminent hazard, the king rushed into the middle of his army, encouraged his soldiers, restoring order, and fighting with the most desperate valour, till at length his horse sunk under him covered with wounds, and he himself fell senseless on the ground, having his thigh pierced with a spear. The young prince Alexander, who was also on this trying occasion performing actions of the most determined bravery, flew with the noble and gallant attendants who were fighting at his side, to rescue his father, who was now at the mercy of the enemy. He himself covered him with his shield; the barbarians were driven back, and the king was removed from the tumult to a place of safety.

Philip's wound occasioned a lameness which continued to affect him through life. He is said to have borne it impatiently; a circumstance which led his son to address to him on one occasion the good-humoured query—"How can you, Sir, be displeased at an accident, which at every step you take recalls your valour to your remembrance?"

Upon his return to Macedonia, Philip directed his forces against Perinthus, and others of the Hæmipontine cities, which, during his absence, had accepted the protection of Athens; but being deficient in naval strength, and having to sustain the opposition of several maritime states on both sides of the Egean, he found it expedient to desist from his un-

dertaking. This disappointment to the Macedonian ruler was unquestionably effected by Demosthenes, who was now at the head of affairs in Athens. Regardless of the treaty which bound the republic in amity with that prince, the great orator employed all the means in his power to annoy Philip, both in his own territory and in those of his allies. He spared no pains, and grudged no sacrifice either of principle or personal consistency, that he might accomplish the two leading objects of his administration, to surround Attica with friends, and Macedonia with enemies.

Greece was again on the eve of being thrown into confusion by an act of sacrilege on the part of the people of Amphissa, who were accused of using the land consecrated to Apollo, not only for feeding their flocks, but even for the purposes of tillage. The matter being referred to the Amphictyons, in whose assembly both Demosthenes and Æschines now occupied seats as Athenian representatives; the Amphissians were punished with a fine, and by the banishment of some of their more guilty citizens. This decision, however, did not at once secure public tranquillity. The war-party at Athens encouraged the men of Amphissa, to set at naught the sentence of the most solemn tribunal of their country, and oppose the execution of it by force of arms; and thus another sacred war would have instantly ravaged the finest portion of Greece, had not the designs of the Athenian demagogues been in the mean time defeated by the ascendancy of more pacific counsels, and particularly by the election of Philip to be general of the Amphictyons. This event, at least, if it did not altogether prevent an appeal to arms, gave a different character to the hostilities which ensued, and led to a result which Demosthenes and his friends could not have anticipated.

Whilst the Amphissians were in open rebellion against the whole Greek nation, and setting at defiance the judgment of this supreme court, the popular faction of Athens, by whom that insignificant people were excited to these irregular and violent proceedings, were most actively employed in forming a confederacy of the principal states and their allies, against the king of Macedonia. Thebes had been induced to unite with her ancient enemy in this coalition; and Coriuth, long disused to martial exercises, and insensible to military renown, showed so much spirit in proposing to encounter the post of Philip, that Diogenes, who was then residing within her walls, ridiculed her unwonted exertions by an incessant rolling of his tub from one spot to another. Being asked why he put himself to this uncommon toil, the philosopher replied, "that for once he would avoid the imputation of singularity, and so would not be the only person in Corinth not absurdly employed."

It was impossible that Philip could be ignorant of the intrigues which Demosthenes was thus practising against his interests, and of the positive injuries sustained by his commerce, from the incessant hostility of the Athenian cruisers. It was not yet, however, advisable to repel force by force, nor to avenge upon the people of Athens the unwarranted infringement of a treaty which had been solicited by themselves. Invited by the Amphictyons, he joined them at Thermopylae, where, in virtue of the office to which he had been lately raised, he issued requisitions to the several

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The crisis was now arrived, when the war-party at Athens would find themselves compelled either to relinquish their favourite project against Philip, or to oppose themselves to the Amphictyonic council. They chose the latter. Having ten thousand mercenary troops at their command, they sent them to assist the Amphissians in the conflict with the confederate army; and in this way lifted their hands against the constitution of the great Grecian republic, in a cause which, even if it had been successful, would only have entailed disgrace upon their politics.

Of the actual warfare which followed, no details have reached modern times. It is evident, notwithstanding, that the talents of Philip obtained a complete victory over the Amphissians and their allies, and reduced them, in consequence, to a speedy and unconditional submission to the power of the Amphictyons; and it is further manifest that this wise monarch exerted all the influence which belonged to his high rank and successful services, to alleviate as much as possible the heavy penalty denounced against his sacrilegious foes.

The result of this insurrectionary movement having proved at once detestable and injurious to Demosthenes and his party, the ulterior views upon which all the recent measures had been made to bear, were becoming more and more impracticable. No means were left untried to accomplish the great object of a confederacy to put down Philip. To engage his attention in the meanwhile, two embassies were sent, complaining of his hostile proceedings, and reminding him of the treaty which subsisted between Macedonia and Athens; whilst emissaries on their part were actively employed at Thebes and other neutral states, craving co-operation in the war which the Athenians were preparing to direct against the general of the Amphictyons. The reply of the king to one of the embassies, is worthy of a place even in this outline of his transactions. It was worded as follows: "Philip king of the Macedonians to the Athenian council and people, greeting: What your disposition towards us has been from the beginning, I am not ignorant, nor with what earnestness you have endeavoured to gain the Thessalians, the Thebans, and the rest of the Boeotians to your party. But now you find them too wise to submit their interests to your directions, you change your course and send ministers with a herald to me to admonish me of the treaty, and demand a truce; having in truth been injured by us in nothing. Nevertheless, I have heard your ambassadors, and I consent to all your desires, nor shall I take any step against you, if dismissing those who advise you ill, you consign them to their deserved ignominy.—So may you prosper."

Both Philip and the Athenians exerted themselves to the utmost to gain the Thebans. The democratical form of government which now prevailed among this people afforded simple scope for the eloquence of Demosthenes, who, at length, had the satisfaction of securing them for his purpose, as allies of Athens. The troops of the confederacy were soon after set in motion, and a large body of Theban horse and foot were quartered in Thebes, as being nearer than their own city to the expected scene of hostilities: and

such was the zeal of the sluggish Boeotians, that to accommodate their allies with a comfortable residence in their houses, they themselves marched out and encamped in the fields.

Amidst these demonstrations, the king of Macedonia, still holding his place at the head of the Amphictyonic contingents, had contented himself with occupying Elasteia, a town of great importance as connected with the command of the Thermopylean pass, and consequently with the safety of the small army of which he continued to direct the movements.

It was already drawing towards the close of the year, when no steps had yet been taken by the Macedonians to moderate their desire for war. Philip continued in Phocia with his troops; and knowing that there was a large party, both at Athens and Thebes, who deprecated the fatal tendency of the measures pursued by the popular leaders, was, perhaps, not yet entirely destitute of hope that peace might be preserved. To prevent, however, all possibility of reconciliation, the united forces of Thebes and Athens, broke up their encampment, and proceeded forthwith to occupy a position on the Boeotian frontier, a few miles distant from Elasteia. It even appears that the sword was immediately drawn by these ardent republicans, and that one or two skirmishes, attended with no material result on either side, were provoked by them, in order to prove their arms, before winter should compel them to quit the field, and retire from the presence of their enemy.

After all that had passed in the council, and even in the camp, among the partisans of Demosthenes; after armies were raised and blood was actually shed in battle; Philip, however, thought it became his office, as general of the Amphictyonic confederacy, to make one more effort for preserving the tranquillity of his constituents, and for warding off the dreadful calamity which seemed to hang over Greece. He did not, therefore, allow the season of military rest to pass by without assuring the Thebans and Athenians of his continued desire of peace, and of his great reluctance to have recourse to the extremities. These professions, however, if sincere, had an effect on the popular mind, precisely the opposite of what was intended. The moderation of Philip was ascribed to his fears; and the Athenian multitude, confident in their own strength, and in the number of their allies, loudly proclaimed defiance, and declared that no treaty should be entered into with the king of Macedonia. The Thebans listened to the pacific proposals of the great Amphictyon, with more calmness and deliberation. They even wavered in their resolution in regard to the steps which they had already taken, and still more in relation to the hazardous policy upon which they were about to commence a campaign against the most experienced soldier of the age; but Demosthenes, who was made acquainted with their thoughts, flew to Thebes, ascended the tribunal, and addressing himself to the assembled people, swore by Minerva, "that if any one should dare to say that peace ought to be made with Philip, he would, himself, seize him by the hair, and drag him to prison." He intimated the pacific and roused the warlike; and had, at length, the triumph of counteracting by his eloquence, all the effects of sober reasoning, and of the soundest political views on the Theban public.

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Nor were the exertions of this distinguished person either smaller or less successful in preparing an army for the field. From the Eubœans, Megarens, Corinthians, Achæans, Corcyrans, Leucadians, Acarnanians, and the Athenians, he collected a mercenary force of fifteen thousand foot and two thousand horse; besides a liberal supply of money, of which the amount is not exactly known. The Boeotian heavy-armed troops, are reckoned at fourteen thousand. Of the Athenians, the number is not any where given; but it is understood that the total amount of the confederate army, assembled at the instance of Demosthenes, and ready to contend for the empire of Greece, was not less than fifty thousand.

In his choice of commanders for this important war, Demosthenes was less successful than he had been in the enlistment of soldiers. Having little confidence in the abilities of Chares, who had received a variety of defeats, but who was still too great a favourite with the multitude to be entirely superseded; he resolved to divide the chief command amongst several generals, and even to entrust a portion of it to a veteran Theban. On the part of the Athenians, Lycicles, and the above named commanders, assumed the main direction, and appear to have formed the array of battle with considerable skill, according to the ground which they occupied, and the probable designs of their formidable antagonist.

Philip led to the field of Chæronea, upwards of thirty thousand men, the greater part of whom seems to have belonged to the Amphictyonic states. Alexander, now about eighteen years of age, assisted his father in performing the arduous duties of general-in-chief, and is said to have displayed not less valour, whilst fighting hand to hand with the enemy, than consummate knowledge of tactics in directing the movements of the brave Thessalian cavalry which was placed under his immediate command, and which contributed essentially to the fortune of the day.

The issue of this important struggle is well known. Neither courage nor perseverance could balance in favour of Athens, the great advantage of military talent which belonged to the side of the Amphictyons. The genius of Philip and Alexander bore down the obstinate valour of Thebes, and checked the fiery impetuosity of Athens; and, after a most sanguinary conflict, drove the confederates from the field, covered with the bodies of their bravest troops, as well as of the noblest of their youth, who had sworn never to yield. The Athenian confederacy was totally annihilated, and the glory of Grecian independence was for ever extinguished on the plain of Chæronea.

The gossip of biographers has made itself very busy in repeating anecdotes of Philip's immoderate levity on the night succeeding the battle; and about the cowardice of Demosthenes during the heat of the conflict, in which his violent measures had involved so many braver men. That the Macedonian king drank more than enough after the toils of that eventful day; and that Demosthenes, to facilitate his escape, threw away his shield and fled, may be historically true; but it is of more importance to us, to note the political effects of the victory at Chæronea, and to record its consequences in relation to the subsequent proceedings of Philip.

With that rare humanity and self-command, which distinguished the character of this warlike prince, he gave liberty to all the prisoners of war, and even sent to Athens the bodies of the slain, that they might be interred with that honour and respect, which were due to the remains of gallant men. To soothe the Athenians, and to confirm his assurances of pacific views towards them, he appointed his own son, and Antipater his favourite councillor, to repair to their city, now disturbed by faction, and dreading the full weight of the vengeance which the popular party had taken so much pains to provoke. He invited them, in short, to renew the treaty which they had so shamefully violated, and to enjoy again the blessings of peace, which they so little knew how to value.

It is said, that among the commissioners sent to the king of Macedon to ratify the treaty, there was one Demochares, an excessively rude character, and at the same time, a mighty offender of free speaking. When admitted to an audience before taking leave, Philip, in a very obliging manner, asked the embassy if there was any thing particular in which he could further gratify the Athenians. "Yes," cried Demochares, "hang thyself." The indignation of all who witnessed this unpardonable rudeness was loud and violent; but the king, with a very proper feeling of contempt for this brutal republican, silenced their demands for punishment, by exclaiming, "Let the ridiculous hawler depart unmolested." And addressing himself to the other ambassadors, he said, "Go, tell your countrymen that they who can utter such outrages, are much less inclined to peace and moderation than he who can forgive them."

We are now approaching the last public transaction in the life of Philip. Peace having been restored to the Greeks, their thoughts were turned by him to the general enemy of their country, the king of Persia; and inducements were held out to the several states of Greece, to enter into a confederacy against that powerful monarch. The motives which influenced the Macedonian in this undertaking, were not, perhaps, well understood at the time, and certainly have not been distinctly recorded by any contemporary historian. Diodorus, in the following terms, narrates the circumstances merely, in which the sentiments of that prince, as well as the Grecian confederacy, were expressed. "Philip, the king, encouraged by his victory at Chæronea, by which the most renowned states had been checked and confounded, was ambitious of becoming the military commander and head of the Greek nation. He declared, therefore, his intention of carrying war, in the common cause of the Greeks, against the Persians. A disposition to concur in his purpose, and to attach themselves to him, as their chief, pervaded the Grecian people. Communicating then with all, individuals as well as states, in a manner to conciliate favour, he expressed his desire of meeting the nation in congress, to concert measures for the great object in view, which accordingly met at Corinth. This explanation of his intentions excited great hopes, and so produced the desired concurrence, that at length the Greeks elected him generalissimo of their confederated powers. Great preparations for the Persian war were put forward, and the proportion of troops to be furnished by every state, was calculated and determined."

Philip of
Macedon.
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From
A. M.
3621.
—
B. C.
383.
to
A. M.
3668.
—
B. C.
336.

Biography.

From
A. M.
3621.
—
B. C.
383.
to
A. M.
3668.
—
B. C.
336.

It is recorded that more than two hundred thousand men were raised for this magnificent expedition against the tyrant of western Asia. But Philip was not destined to lead these troops in the victorious career which they then anticipated, and which Alexander afterwards so fully realized. His last military exploit was already performed.

Upon his return to Macedon, Philip had given his only daughter in marriage to the king of Epirus, and was now indulging in those festivities with which royal nuptials are usually accompanied, when a young man, who had thought himself injured or slighted by the king, plunged a dagger into his bosom, and laid him lifeless at his feet. The murderer, whose name was Pausanias, instantly fled towards the gates of the city, where a chariot was ready to convey him to a place of safety; but he was overtaken by some of the king's attendants, who, more desirous to revenge the deed than to ascertain the motives which had led to it, despatched the guilty youth with innumerable wounds.

Conjecture has assigned various reasons, and suggested a variety of views, to account for this atrocious crime; and several of these, as might be expected, have had a reference to the vindictive temper of Olympias, the queen, who had, some time before, been repudiated, to make way for a more youthful consort. The conduct of Olympias, upon hearing of the death of her husband, if it has been at all fairly reported, affords but too much countenance to the suspicions which were entertained, in regard to the share which she had in inflaming the resentment of Pausanias, and even in directing it against the life of the king. It has also been imagined that Demos-

thenes, acting in concert with the Persian court, who had taken alarm at the preparations of Greece, had succeeded in turning a feeling of private revenge, on the part of the young Macedonian, into an instrument by which he might at once gratify his own malice, and render an essential service to his Asiatic allies. The death of the assassin placed a seal on all the secrets connected with his bloody enterprise; and the precise share, accordingly, which any of the leading characters of Macedon, Athens, or Persia, may have in its contrivance or execution, must for ever remain undetermined.

"Thus," says Diodorus, after relating the circumstances of Philip's murder, "thus fell the greatest potentate of his time. With very small resources in his outset, he acquired the most powerful monarchy that ever existed among the Greeks. His great success arose less from the force of his arms and the greatness of his victories, than from his extraordinary talent for reasoning and conversation, and from his obliging and affable disposition towards every class of men. He esteemed mere physical courage and strength of hand in the field as one of the lowest qualities in a superior officer. He set an almost exclusive value on military science, as distinguished from personal prowess, and not less on the talent of conversing, persuading, and conciliating, those over whom a general might be appointed to preside. Upon these last he founded the only favourable opinion which he entertained of himself; for, he was wont to remark, the merit of success in battle he could only share with those under him, whereas the victories he gained by argument, affability, and kindness, were all his own."

Philip of

Macedon.
From
A. M.
3621.
—
B. C.
383.
to
A. M.
3668.
—
B. C.
336.

HISTORY.

CHAPTER XV.

CONTINUATION OF THE HISTORY OF THE JEWS.

FROM A. M. 3595, B. C. 409, TO A. M. 3836, B. C. 168.

SECTION I.

History With the books of Ezra, and Nehemiah terminates the connected chain of history transmitted to us in the sacred volume of inspiration. A chasm in the records of the Jewish nation then occurs, which Josephus has neglected to fill up, and which it has defied the industrious researches of later writers to supply; hence the lover of history and of antiquity, not less than the practical legislator, has to lament the entire absence of all information, respecting the state and condition of the Jewish nation from the time of Nehemiah to the reign of Alexander the Great. It is not difficult to account for this circumstance if we consider the limited nature of the historian's labours in the early progress of this most interesting branch of literature. At those periods in the existence of nations, when the wants of people are confined to the supply of the necessities of life; and the inhabitants thinly scattered over an extended territory are protected, by the general absence of wealth and luxury, from those feelings of ambition, which are in most cases the causes of great political changes, year after year succeeds in the annals of the people without any distinguishing features of public good or natural ill, excepting those produced by the variation of climate or the unfavourable influence of the seasons upon the productions of the earth. If the nation be unprovided with laws adapted for the preservation of civil happiness and the repression of civil injury, the promulgation of some useful system of law not unfrequently forms an epocha in the history, sufficiently remarkable to be publicly recorded. The introduction of some novel mode of worshipping the divinity, is also an event of such importance as to call for a memorial of the period at which it took place. But whena either of these causes have existed as in the case of the Jewish nation, when private happiness is secured by a regular code of law like that of Moses, when the form of public worship is such as to admit no change, when peace reigns at home, and no foreign enemy disturbs the labours of the husbandman or the regular administration of justice, the duties of the historian almost cease; his task is rather to describe the miseries which men inflict upon each other, than to record the blessings which a gracious Provi-

dence pours forth upon the world. We need not, therefore, be surprised at the silence of Josephus, respecting the transactions of the century succeeding the government of Nehemiah. It would have been an abundant source of pleasure to the true believer in the divine legislation of Moses, had the picture been drawn by some able hand of the peaceful state of the Jewish nation during this period; but the ancient historians had other views, and those who tread in their steps must not presume to supply by the force of imagination the deficiencies of ancient annals. One circumstance alone is recorded by Josephus as disturbing the public tranquillity between the times of Nehemiah and Alexander the Great; it is an instance of the dreadful consequences of anger, and the punishment of ambition, and it may also be considered as testifying such an increase of national wealth, as made the office of the high priest an object worthy the regard of a man who aspired after power.

The Jews were subject to the kings of Persia until the overthrow of that monarchy by Alexander, and paid a yearly tribute, to an extent which does not seem to have been oppressive. A governor appointed by the king held the supreme power in Judea, but the internal administration of the government is considered to have been vested in the person of the high priest.

During the time Bagoses held the office of governor, Johanan the son of Judas was the high priest, whose brother Joshua possessing great influence with Bagoses, obtained from him a promise of the high priest office; but whether the succession only was procured at his brother's death, or it was intended to dispossess Johanan, is not distinctly stated by Josephus. Joshua so conducted himself on the strength of this promise, that, in a quarrel which took place between the two brothers in the Temple, Johanan slew Joshua. As soon as Bagoses received intelligence of this horrible event he came to Jerusalem, and charging upon the whole nation the crime of this sacrilege, he imposed a tribute of fifty drachmas for every laith that was offered in the Temple; which was paid for seven years, but the payment of this imposition did not affect the Jews with anger so much as did the

Of the Jews.
From
A. M.
3595.
—
B. C.
409.
to
A. M.
3836.
—
B. C.
168.
The age
succeeding
Nehemiah
prosperous.
State of
Judea.
B. C.
366.
Murder of
Joshua by
Johanan the
high priest.

History	conduct of Bagoses, who profaned the Temple by entering into that court where none but circumcised persons were allowed to enter.	give him the empire of the Persians; that as soon as he saw the high priest he recognised him to be the same that had appeared to him at Dio, and therefore, in the person of the priest, he adored the God who had thus granted him a revelation of his will. Alexander kindly embraced Juddan, and accompanying him to Jerusalem, offered sacrifices to God in the Temple; and being made acquainted by the high priest with the prophecies of Daniel, which predicted the overthrow of the Persian empire by a Grecian king, he derived from them the greatest encouragement to carry on the war against Darius, not doubting but that he was the person described in the prophetic books.	Of the Jews.
From A. M. 3595.	Juddan, the son of Johanna, succeeded to the priesthood, whose brother, Manasses, marrying the daughter of Sanballat, the governor of Samaria, is related by Josephus to have been the first high priest of the Temple at Mount Gerizim. This Juddan was the high priest who received Alexander at Jerusalem, and so successfully mitigated the conqueror's wrath; the circumstances of the transaction are interesting, and therefore we shall detail them at length.	At his departure these circumstances so effectually recommended the Jews to the favour of Alexander, that when they petitioned him to allow them to live under their own laws, and in the free exercise of their religion, and further to be exempted from tribute every seventh year, because their law forbade them to cultivate the soil in the year of the sabbath, he immediately complied with their request. The Jews further implored his protection for their brethren whom he would find settled in Babylon; and many of them, won by his kindness, enlisted as soldiers in his service, and accompanied him on his expedition.	From A. M. 3595.
B. C. 459.	In the second year after the victory over the Persians at the river Granicus, Alexander having pushed his conquests into Syria, and besieged the city of Tyre, met with so valiant a resistance that he was compelled to employ not less than seven months in the siege. Whilst occupied in reducing this important fortress, Alexander sent to demand the submission of the neighbouring provinces, and to require from the inhabitants supplies of provisions for the support of his army. The Jews alone refused compliance, faithful to their sovereign the king of Persia, they would not desert him, nor break the oath of allegiance they had taken, and accordingly they made answer to Alexander, that so long as Darius lived they were his subjects, and would not own any other as their king. The Samaritans on the contrary, not only complied with all his demands, but anxious to shew their attachment to Alexander, and to testify the perfect sincerity of their submission, sent a body of eight thousand men to assist him at the siege. The fidelity of the one and the disloyalty of the other, met with rewards proportionable to their conduct; the time-serving disposition of the Samaritans being subsequently treated with contempt by Alexander, whilst, under the controlling power of Providence, the firm faith of the Jews gained for them not less the admiration than the protection of the conqueror.	At his departure these circumstances so effectually recommended the Jews to the favour of Alexander, that when they petitioned him to allow them to live under their own laws, and in the free exercise of their religion, and further to be exempted from tribute every seventh year, because their law forbade them to cultivate the soil in the year of the sabbath, he immediately complied with their request. The Jews further implored his protection for their brethren whom he would find settled in Babylon; and many of them, won by his kindness, enlisted as soldiers in his service, and accompanied him on his expedition.	B. C. 469.
A. M. 3836.	In the second year after the victory over the Persians at the river Granicus, Alexander having pushed his conquests into Syria, and besieged the city of Tyre, met with so valiant a resistance that he was compelled to employ not less than seven months in the siege. Whilst occupied in reducing this important fortress, Alexander sent to demand the submission of the neighbouring provinces, and to require from the inhabitants supplies of provisions for the support of his army. The Jews alone refused compliance, faithful to their sovereign the king of Persia, they would not desert him, nor break the oath of allegiance they had taken, and accordingly they made answer to Alexander, that so long as Darius lived they were his subjects, and would not own any other as their king. The Samaritans on the contrary, not only complied with all his demands, but anxious to shew their attachment to Alexander, and to testify the perfect sincerity of their submission, sent a body of eight thousand men to assist him at the siege. The fidelity of the one and the disloyalty of the other, met with rewards proportionable to their conduct; the time-serving disposition of the Samaritans being subsequently treated with contempt by Alexander, whilst, under the controlling power of Providence, the firm faith of the Jews gained for them not less the admiration than the protection of the conqueror.	At his departure these circumstances so effectually recommended the Jews to the favour of Alexander, that when they petitioned him to allow them to live under their own laws, and in the free exercise of their religion, and further to be exempted from tribute every seventh year, because their law forbade them to cultivate the soil in the year of the sabbath, he immediately complied with their request. The Jews further implored his protection for their brethren whom he would find settled in Babylon; and many of them, won by his kindness, enlisted as soldiers in his service, and accompanied him on his expedition.	A. M. 3836.
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B. C. 168.	In the second year after the victory over the Persians at the river Granicus, Alexander having pushed his conquests into Syria, and besieged the city of Tyre, met with so valiant a resistance that he was compelled to employ not less than seven months in the siege. Whilst occupied in reducing this important fortress, Alexander sent to demand the submission of the neighbouring provinces, and to require from the inhabitants supplies of provisions for the support of his army. The Jews alone refused compliance, faithful to their sovereign the king of Persia, they would not desert him, nor break the oath of allegiance they had taken, and accordingly they made answer to Alexander, that so long as Darius lived they were his subjects, and would not own any other as their king. The Samaritans on the contrary, not only complied with all his demands, but anxious to shew their attachment to Alexander, and to testify the perfect sincerity of their submission, sent a body of eight thousand men to assist him at the siege. The fidelity of the one and the disloyalty of the other, met with rewards proportionable to their conduct; the time-serving disposition of the Samaritans being subsequently treated with contempt by Alexander, whilst, under the controlling power of Providence, the firm faith of the Jews gained for them not less the admiration than the protection of the conqueror.	At his departure these circumstances so effectually recommended the Jews to the favour of Alexander, that when they petitioned him to allow them to live under their own laws, and in the free exercise of their religion, and further to be exempted from tribute every seventh year, because their law forbade them to cultivate the soil in the year of the sabbath, he immediately complied with their request. The Jews further implored his protection for their brethren whom he would find settled in Babylon; and many of them, won by his kindness, enlisted as soldiers in his service, and accompanied him on his expedition.	B. C. 168.
Priesthood of Juddan.	Juddan, the son of Johanna, succeeded to the priesthood, whose brother, Manasses, marrying the daughter of Sanballat, the governor of Samaria, is related by Josephus to have been the first high priest of the Temple at Mount Gerizim. This Juddan was the high priest who received Alexander at Jerusalem, and so successfully mitigated the conqueror's wrath; the circumstances of the transaction are interesting, and therefore we shall detail them at length.	At his departure these circumstances so effectually recommended the Jews to the favour of Alexander, that when they petitioned him to allow them to live under their own laws, and in the free exercise of their religion, and further to be exempted from tribute every seventh year, because their law forbade them to cultivate the soil in the year of the sabbath, he immediately complied with their request. The Jews further implored his protection for their brethren whom he would find settled in Babylon; and many of them, won by his kindness, enlisted as soldiers in his service, and accompanied him on his expedition.	Alexander's favour to the Jews.
B. C. 332.	Juddan, the son of Johanna, succeeded to the priesthood, whose brother, Manasses, marrying the daughter of Sanballat, the governor of Samaria, is related by Josephus to have been the first high priest of the Temple at Mount Gerizim. This Juddan was the high priest who received Alexander at Jerusalem, and so successfully mitigated the conqueror's wrath; the circumstances of the transaction are interesting, and therefore we shall detail them at length.	At his departure these circumstances so effectually recommended the Jews to the favour of Alexander, that when they petitioned him to allow them to live under their own laws, and in the free exercise of their religion, and further to be exempted from tribute every seventh year, because their law forbade them to cultivate the soil in the year of the sabbath, he immediately complied with their request. The Jews further implored his protection for their brethren whom he would find settled in Babylon; and many of them, won by his kindness, enlisted as soldiers in his service, and accompanied him on his expedition.	—
Arrival of Alexander in Asia.	Juddan, the son of Johanna, succeeded to the priesthood, whose brother, Manasses, marrying the daughter of Sanballat, the governor of Samaria, is related by Josephus to have been the first high priest of the Temple at Mount Gerizim. This Juddan was the high priest who received Alexander at Jerusalem, and so successfully mitigated the conqueror's wrath; the circumstances of the transaction are interesting, and therefore we shall detail them at length.	At his departure these circumstances so effectually recommended the Jews to the favour of Alexander, that when they petitioned him to allow them to live under their own laws, and in the free exercise of their religion, and further to be exempted from tribute every seventh year, because their law forbade them to cultivate the soil in the year of the sabbath, he immediately complied with their request. The Jews further implored his protection for their brethren whom he would find settled in Babylon; and many of them, won by his kindness, enlisted as soldiers in his service, and accompanied him on his expedition.	—
Conduct of the Jews.	Juddan, the son of Johanna, succeeded to the priesthood, whose brother, Manasses, marrying the daughter of Sanballat, the governor of Samaria, is related by Josephus to have been the first high priest of the Temple at Mount Gerizim. This Juddan was the high priest who received Alexander at Jerusalem, and so successfully mitigated the conqueror's wrath; the circumstances of the transaction are interesting, and therefore we shall detail them at length.	At his departure these circumstances so effectually recommended the Jews to the favour of Alexander, that when they petitioned him to allow them to live under their own laws, and in the free exercise of their religion, and further to be exempted from tribute every seventh year, because their law forbade them to cultivate the soil in the year of the sabbath, he immediately complied with their request. The Jews further implored his protection for their brethren whom he would find settled in Babylon; and many of them, won by his kindness, enlisted as soldiers in his service, and accompanied him on his expedition.	—
And of the Samaritans.	Juddan, the son of Johanna, succeeded to the priesthood, whose brother, Manasses, marrying the daughter of Sanballat, the governor of Samaria, is related by Josephus to have been the first high priest of the Temple at Mount Gerizim. This Juddan was the high priest who received Alexander at Jerusalem, and so successfully mitigated the conqueror's wrath; the circumstances of the transaction are interesting, and therefore we shall detail them at length.	At his departure these circumstances so effectually recommended the Jews to the favour of Alexander, that when they petitioned him to allow them to live under their own laws, and in the free exercise of their religion, and further to be exempted from tribute every seventh year, because their law forbade them to cultivate the soil in the year of the sabbath, he immediately complied with their request. The Jews further implored his protection for their brethren whom he would find settled in Babylon; and many of them, won by his kindness, enlisted as soldiers in his service, and accompanied him on his expedition.	His behaviour to the Samaritans.
Alexander's progress to Jerusalem.	Juddan, the son of Johanna, succeeded to the priesthood, whose brother, Manasses, marrying the daughter of Sanballat, the governor of Samaria, is related by Josephus to have been the first high priest of the Temple at Mount Gerizim. This Juddan was the high priest who received Alexander at Jerusalem, and so successfully mitigated the conqueror's wrath; the circumstances of the transaction are interesting, and therefore we shall detail them at length.	At his departure these circumstances so effectually recommended the Jews to the favour of Alexander, that when they petitioned him to allow them to live under their own laws, and in the free exercise of their religion, and further to be exempted from tribute every seventh year, because their law forbade them to cultivate the soil in the year of the sabbath, he immediately complied with their request. The Jews further implored his protection for their brethren whom he would find settled in Babylon; and many of them, won by his kindness, enlisted as soldiers in his service, and accompanied him on his expedition.	—
Conduct of Alexander.	Juddan, the son of Johanna, succeeded to the priesthood, whose brother, Manasses, marrying the daughter of Sanballat, the governor of Samaria, is related by Josephus to have been the first high priest of the Temple at Mount Gerizim. This Juddan was the high priest who received Alexander at Jerusalem, and so successfully mitigated the conqueror's wrath; the circumstances of the transaction are interesting, and therefore we shall detail them at length.	At his departure these circumstances so effectually recommended the Jews to the favour of Alexander, that when they petitioned him to allow them to live under their own laws, and in the free exercise of their religion, and further to be exempted from tribute every seventh year, because their law forbade them to cultivate the soil in the year of the sabbath, he immediately complied with their request. The Jews further implored his protection for their brethren whom he would find settled in Babylon; and many of them, won by his kindness, enlisted as soldiers in his service, and accompanied him on his expedition.	—

History the son of Jupiter Ammon, and to undertake a most laborious expedition to his Temple, which was situated in the midst of the deserts of Libyn, and twelve days journey from Memphis, for no other purpose than that of procuring himself the title of son of Jupiter.

From A. M. 3595. —
n. c. 409. —
to A. M. 3836. —
n. c. 168. —

The transactions with Jaddua, at Jerusalem, may serve to throw some light upon this part of Alexander's conduct. If Alexander was persuaded that he was the king of Greece, prophesied by Daniel, as the conqueror of the East, and that he was under the immediate protection of heaven, as being a man specially marked out to fulfil the destinies of the world, and if as is probable in conformity with the popular religion of Greece, he believed the existence of the heroes of ancient days, those favoured mortals who were descended from the Gods; it would appear almost a natural consequence of such a combination of circumstances on the mind of a heathen man, that he should believe himself to resemble Hercules and Boeubus, not only in their victories over the east, but in their descent from the thunderer of Olympus, and in conformity with this belief should compel the priest of Ammon publicly to declare that divine descent of which himself had already received powerful and convincing evidence. That the governor of the universe would by visions encourage a king to attempt conquests, foretell his success so plainly in the written prophecies of a foreign nation, grant him an almost universal empire, and do all this for one, and not most highly beloved in the courts of Heaven, was a notion that never could enter the mind of the religious men either of Greece or Rome; and however we may ridicule Alexander's conduct, it was still that error which a man in the full career of success, of a warm and sanguine temper, and under the influence of an idolatrous religion, could hardly avoid; an error which every event subsequent to the transactions at Jerusalem served only to confirm, and which was increased by every new success.

Origin of the Samaritan nation, and of the temple at Mount Gerizim.

The history of the Samaritan nation is closely connected with this period in the annals of the Jews, we will therefore pause to give an account of its origin, and to state the leading points of the controversy, which has existed respecting the date of the building of the Samaritan temple upon Mount Gerizim. Under the name of Samaritans are included all the inhabitants of the country which was possessed by the ten tribes before their captivity. The name is derived from Samaria, a city in that part of the land of Israel belonging to the tribe of Ephraim, which was built by Omri, king of Israel, and became the capital of the ten tribes. The kingdom of Israel being destroyed by Salmanasser, and the ten tribes carried into captivity, never more to return, the king of Assyria, repopulated the country with colonies from Babylon, Cathath, and the neighbouring districts, and afterwards learning that the land was infested with lions, sent to punish them for their gross ignorance of the true God, he gave orders for the return of some of the priests whom he had taken captive, and enjoined to teach the religion of the law of Moses to the new inhabitants. A corrupt religion was thus formed by the strange union of the Mosae institutions, with the grossest superstition of the heathen nations. But there is reason to believe that this religion became purer in its form at the time of the return of the two

tribes from captivity in Babylon, under Ezra, and Of the Jews. Zerubbabel; and to this may be attributed in some measure the desire expressed by the Samaritans to partake the benefits of the decree of Cyrus, for the rebuilding of the Temple at Jerusalem. But Zerubbabel refusing their request, as being persons of a different nation from the Jews, though in part professing the same religion; from hence arose the perpetual enmity which even to this day subsists between the two nations; for the Samaritans, in anger, used every endeavour to hinder the building of the Temple and fortifying the city at Jerusalem, and succeeded so far as to hinder the works being completed until the government of Nehemiah. The feud between the two nations seems also to have been increased by the establishment of that part of the ecclesiastical discipline by Ezra and Nehemiah, which compelled those Jews who had intermarried with the nations forbidden in the law of Moses to put away their wives: the enforcement of this law caused Samaria to become the place of refuge for all who were weary of the painful observances of the law, and sought a place where they might worship the God of Abraham, and yet be free from the severities of the Mosae discipline.

We may easily conceive with what feelings of abhorrence the devout Jews, on the one hand, would regard those who had connected themselves by marriage with those idolatrous nations whom God had so frequently commanded them to root out, as being the cause of their apostasy from his laws; and on the other, what a desire of revenge and retaliation for the infliction of injury would arise in the minds of those whom the strict enforcement of the law by the governors of the church compelled either to relinquish their wives or to give up their title of descent from Abraham and the patriarchs. It was natural that the Samaritan who professed himself a Jew in religion, not less than these excommunicated Jews, should desire to have a temple like that at Jerusalem, where they might worship the God of Moses. Accordingly we find that one was built on Mount Gerizim, and in process of time it was held by the Samaritans in even greater veneration than that at Jerusalem.

Much doubt exists respecting the time of the building of this temple, some authors making it contemporary with the excommunication of one of the sons of Joiad, the high priest, in consequence of his having married Sanballat, the Horonite, which circumstance is recorded in the 27th and 28th verses of the last chapter of the Book of Nehemiah. Others, on the contrary, following the authority of Josephus, refer the temple at Gerizim to the time of Alexander the Great. The latter seems to be the opinion most commonly received, but the learned author of the connection of the Old and New Testament, having taken no inconsiderable pains, to support the former hypothesis we shall state the argument on both sides as concisely as the nature of the argument will admit.

Josephus relates that Sanballat being governor of Samaria, under the last Darius, and thinking to acquire influence with the Jewish nation, married his daughter to Manasses, the brother of Jaddua, who had succeeded his father John in the high priesthood. The elders at Jerusalem, unwilling that Manasses, who had thus married a stranger, should share any

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to A. M. 3836. —
n. c. 168. —
Hostility between the Jews and Samaritans

Controversy respecting the date of the temple at Gerizim.

Account given by Josephus.

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part of the high priest's authority, enodmned his marriage, and obliged him either to repudiate his wife, or to suffer excommunication. Manasses was inclined to submit to the dissolution of the marriage, rather than lose the honour of the priesthood; but Sanballat, anxious for the honour of his daughter, persuaded Manasses to accept from him the authority of a high priest at Samaria, promising him, at the same time, the succession to his authority as governor, and engaging, under permission of Darius, to build for him a temple at Mount Gerizim, like that at Jerusalem. Manasses then retired to Samaria, and it occasioned no small alarm, when it was discovered that all the priests, as well as the laity, at Jerusalem, who were similarly married to strangers, and their number was by no means inconsiderable, revolted to Manasses; Sanballat supplying them with the means of subsistence, giving them land to cultivate, and leaving nothing undone to gratify his son-in-law. Josephus further relates, that Sanballat, considering the invasion of Alexander, as admirably suited for the full accomplishment of his plans, revolted from Darius, and joined Alexander with 8,000 men; and then communicating to him his wishes, both sought and obtained his permission to build the temple; that, after the arrival of Alexander at Jerusalem, nine months later, the Samaritans met him, and requested him to honour their temple with his presence. Such is the account given by Josephus. But Prideaux contends that Josephus has erred in placing the building of the temple in the reign of the last Darius-Codomanus, and that he ought to have ascribed it to the time of Darius Nthus; that is, to the age of Nehemiah; that Josephus's account contains in itself a contradiction; for it was absolutely impossible that the temple at Gerizim could be built in the time of nine months, so that Alexander should have been invited to visit it, as Josephus relates he was, by the Samaritans, immediately after his coming to Jerusalem; especially, if it be considered, that during seven months of that time, Sanballat was at Tyre with Alexander assisting at the siege, and 8,000 of his people with him; that since Sanballat died nine months after the commencement of the siege of Tyre, the temple designed to be built by him, could not have been built under Alexander's permission after his death, because the Samaritans were then quite out of favour with Alexander; being, on account of their rebellion, deprived of their city, which was given to the Macedonians, and themselves reduced to the greatest distress.

Thus much as to the internal evidence of the falsity of Josephus's account. Prideaux admits that the temple at Gerizim was built by a Sanballat, who had married his daughter to the son of a high priest at Jerusalem, but contends that this Sanballat, is Sanballat the Hronite, whose opposition to Nehemiah's designs for the restoration of Jerusalem is recorded in the historical book of Nehemiah, and that the person mentioned in the 28th verse of the 12th chapter, is the same with Manasses, whose Josephus relates to have been the first high priest in the Samaritan temple. "And one of the sons of Joiada, the son of Elnishib, the high priest, was son-in-law of Sanballat, the Hronite; therefore I chased him from me." He grounds his proof of the identity of the Sanballat of Nehemiah, with the Sanballat of Josephus, on the similarity of their conduct; both being enemies of

the Jews, and both having married their daughters to the son of a high priest of the Jews. In the same manner, though Josephus places the marriage of Manasses in the high priesthood of Jaddan, the grandson of Joiadin, and says, that he who contracted it was the brother of Jaddan, and son of Johanan; yet Prideaux considers in the same way the similarity of the description of Manasseh given in Josephus, with the person mentioned in the 13th chapter of the book of Nehemiah, in the 28th verse, proof of the identity of the two persons; both being sons of a high priest, both having married a daughter of a Sanballat, and both having been excommunicated for that offence.

The learned dean's argument is certainly plausible; and entitled to its due weight; if Josephus's testimony were contradictory to any single fact mentioned in the Scripture history, it would be conclusive against the historian; but we should always be unwilling to mistrust an historian, unless we are well assured we are justified in so doing; and when we consider how many of the apparent contradictions contained in the page of history, are to be attributed to our partial knowledge of the facts, we should rather desire to obtain a solution of the difficulty, than a plausible argument against the fact. We would therefore suggest, that the temple at Gerizim might have been proceeded upon before the arrival of Alexander in Syria, and even before the permission of Darius had been gained; and that Sanballat made this request to Alexander, as a further proof of his willing submission to his authority. It is not improbable, that in the space of ninety years, there should have been two Sanballats, governors of Samaria, if a family of influence of that name were settled there: or that, at a time when the marriages of Jews with heathens seems to have been a national vice, the sons of two high priests should have been guilty of the same error; an error, which perhaps appeared pardonable as a means of procuring public quiet by the union of the two chief families of the rival nations; and which Manasses might have good reason to hope would escape the severe punishment inflicted as far back as the time of Nehemiah upon a similar offence.

We learn from profane history, that the empire of Alexander was, at his death, divided amongst his generals, who at first assumed no other title than that of governors of the provinces under Alexander, his posthumous son by Roxana, whom they had declared king jointly with Arideus. But this division of the government did not last long: God had foretold, by the prophet Daniel, that four kings should arise and divide the Macedonian empire between them; and it accordingly came to pass, that these generals, disputing with each other, kept up a continual warfare, until, in the space of a few years, their number was reduced to four.—Cassander, Lysimachus, Ptolemy, and Seleucus. Cassander had Macedonia and Greece; Lysimachus, Thracia and that part of Asia which is contiguous to the Hellespont; Ptolemy, Egypt, Libya, Arabia, Palestine, and Coele-Syria; and Seleucus the rest. In the contests which took place between the Ptolemies and the successors of Seleucus, Judea suffered considerably. Lying between Egypt and Syria, the kings of those countries were equally desirous to attach it to their dominion; and by its situation it became,

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168.Prideaux's
examina-
tion of this
story.Division of
the empire
of Alex-
ander.

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390.Jerusalem
taken by
Ptolemy.Imputa-
tions of
supersti-
tion cast
upon the
Jews.

not only the prize of the contest, but the arena upon which the combatants fought for the victory. In the first division of Alexander's empire, Syria, Phœnicia, and Judea, were allotted to Laomedon of Mitylene; but Ptolemy, soon perceiving how conveniently those countries were situated both for the defence of Egypt, and for any attempt he might be desirous of making upon Cyprus, resolved to make himself master of them. Ptolemy at first tried to purchase of Laomedon his portion of the empire; but not being able to prevail upon him, he determined to obtain it by force, and sent Nicanor to invade the country, who speedily conquered Laomedon, and gained for Ptolemy the entire possession of the territory. The Jews alone refusing to submit to their new master, Ptolemy marched into Judea, and laid siege to Jerusalem, which he took after some time, by storming the place on a Sabbath. Josephus relates that Ptolemy gained admission under pretence of doing sacrifice in the temple, and took the city by treachery. The learned Prideaux supposes that Josephus, in asserting that the city was thus taken, gives a false colouring to this transaction, lest he should expose his nation to the contempt of the Greeks, for so ridiculous a folly as that of not defending themselves when attacked on the Sabbath. But there is no reason for supposing that Josephus would wilfully falsify his narration on such an account; and if we examine attentively the whole passage, we shall see clearly that the Jewish historian means his reader to understand, that had the Jews suspected Ptolemy, they would not have yielded so easily, and that their city was taken through their keeping the Sabbath, in the confidence that Ptolemy would not deal treacherously towards them. "Ptolemy," says he, "took Jerusalem by using deceit; for when he had come into the city, under pretence of doing sacrifice, and the Jews had forbore to oppose his entrance, not suspecting his hostile intention, and through this absence of all suspicion, as well as the sacredness of the day, were in a state of idleness and rest, he without difficulty made himself master of the city." *

Undoubtedly the city was captured, because the Jews were keeping the Sabbath on that occasion; but such an observance of the Sabbath, which would occasion the walls to be unmanned, and the guards released from the strictness of their discipline, would be caused by the conduct of Ptolemy, in requesting to be allowed to enter the city for the purpose of sacrificing in the temple. And so far was Josephus from wishing to hide this transaction, that he seems rather to have gloried in the simplicity of his countrymen, and to have considered it an honourable testimony of their minds being more attentive to their duty to God, than to the preservation of their lives and liberties; for in his book against Apion, in replying to the ridicule cast by Agatharchides on his countrymen, for suffering their city to be taken on the Sabbath, he has this remarkable expression—"Agatharchides may call this transaction one worthy of ridicule, but to those who examine the subject with minds free from evil intention, that conduct will

* Επειδὴν γὰρ Σαββάτου ἐν τῇ πόλει ἦν θύμην, καὶ τὸν λαὸν αὐτὸν ἀνυπόπτους, οὐκ ἠγνοῦσαν τὴν πόλιν, καὶ τὰ τὸ ἀνεπίσταν καὶ τὴν ἡμερὰν ἐν ἡμέρᾳ καὶ παύσει τοῦ γυμνασίου, αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τῇ πόλει γίνετο τὴν πόλιν.
Antiq. l. xii. c. i.

appear worthy of the highest encomiums, which has Of the Jews. led some men constantly to regard obedience to the laws and piety to God before their own safety, or the freedom of their country." Ταῦτα μὲν Ἀγροῦρχιδης καταλέγων εἶπεν οὕτως. τοῖς δὲ καὶ μετὰ ἐπερχομένην ἐξέτασεν φαίνεται μὲν καὶ πολλὰν εἶναι ἐπαμεινῶν ἐν αὐτῇ, καὶ παρὰ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους τινες νόμους φυλάττειν καὶ τὴν πρὸς ὅσον ἐναρξάναι αὐτοὺς πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον. He does not appear to think it worth attempting any elaborate defence of his countrymen; for if in his history, which was written prior to this book, against Apion, he had furred the story of Ptolemy's treachery for the purpose of concealing the truth, in his subsequent work he would surely have defended his former statement, by asserting the probability of his account; he would have expatiated upon Ptolemy's conduct, and have endeavoured to shew how likely it was to deceive the Jews, and would not have rested satisfied with stating in plain terms a circumstance of which he was ashamed. The city thus captured, Ptolemy at first treated the Jews with severity, and carried above a hundred thousand captives into Egypt; but,

subsequently calling to mind the fidelity with which they had always served their masters, and that a loyal but not a rebellious spirit had ensued their misfortunes, he thought such persons qualified for stations of trust, and therefore, selecting from them thirty thousand for military service, he placed them as garrisons in the most important fortresses of his empire. Some of them he settled at Lybia and Cyrene, and from them were descended the Cyrenian Jews, a tribe for whom we cannot but feel interested, since to it belonged Simon the Cyrenian, who bore our Lord's cross on the way to Calvary, and others, who are mentioned in the Acts of the Apostles. So long as the power of the Ptolemies in Egypt enabled them to defend their frontiers successfully against the descendants of Seleucus, Judea and Coele-Syria remained in their possession; but as their empire declined, the kings of Syria made good their encroachments upon the territories of the kings of Egypt; and Judea fell with Syria under their government. The Jews, however, notwithstanding the frequent incursions made into their country by the contending parties, increased in commercial prosperity: to the Ptolemies they paid a regular tribute; but the internal government of Judea seems to have been confided to their own rulers. The protection afforded to the Jews by the Egyptian princes, but especially by Ptolemy Soter, occasioned many of them to emigrate, and settle in Egypt, and especially at Egypt free-Alexandria, where they still continued to enjoy equal privileges with the Macedonian colonists. By this means it pleased the Divine Providence to prepare the way for the completion of that great and important work, the translation of the Hebrew Scriptures into Greek, in that version, which, from the supposed number of the translators has been called the Septuagint. The knowledge of the true God became more extended, and the Creator may indeed be said not to have left himself without witness in that his favoured nation, who were in those days, as they are at the present time, scattered over the world, and preserved by him as a distinct nation, notwithstanding the natural causes that tended to assimilate them with the various nations amongst whom they dwelt. But Egypt was not the only spot where the Jewish people found protection. When Seleucus

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Ptolemy to
the Jews.

Egypt free-
Alexandria.

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afforded to the Jewish
nation by the Seleucid.

became possessed of the empire of Asia, 300, a. e. and built numerous cities in Syria, and Asia Minor, in all of them he planted Jews, and gave them equal immunities and privileges with the Greeks and Macedonians, and especially at Antioch in Syria, where they settled in great numbers, and became almost as great a part of the people as they were at Alexandria. In the countries beyond the Euphrates, and at Babylon, they also existed in great numbers; and when we consider what a principle of fidelity to their governors at that time pervaded the nation, it is most likely that they contributed very materially to the establishment of the empire of Seleucus, and his settling them so numerous in his own cities is a proof how mainly he depended upon them for assistance in the further increase and support of it.

And if we may judge from the conduct of Antiochus the Great, the same honourable feelings of loyalty to their kings continued to exist at a still later period; for it is related, that when the state of the country in Phrygia and Lydia was considerably disturbed by intestine commotions, Antiochus the Great, having experienced the great steadiness with which these eastern Jews always submitted to their governors, sent two thousand of their families from Mesopotamia and Babylon into those parts, to keep in check the seditious spirit of the former inhabitants; and from them, thus transplanted from Syria and Babylon, were descended most of the Jews whom we find scattered in great numbers all over the Lesser Asia, at the time of the first promulgation of the Gospel.

We have stated that Coele-Syria and Palestine were continually exposed to invasions from the contending kings of Egypt and Syria, and these wars were terminated in the subjection of that country to the Syrian princes. To pursue this intricate portion of Jewish history through all its minute details, down to the final possession of Judea by Antiochus Epiphanes, and the war of the Maccabees, would be unproductive of any benefit, we shall therefore content ourselves with the relation of those few circumstances of any interest relating to the Jewish nation, which occurred during this period. The most important event we have to record during the whole period of time from the conquest of Alexander to the birth of Christ, is the translation of the Holy Scriptures of the Old Testament into Greek, in the version called the Septuagint. If we were to credit the history of this memorable work, as given by a person who wrote under the name of Aristeas, we should place its accomplishment in the year 277, a. e. during the reign of Ptolemy Philadelphus. For the examination of the controversy respecting the origin of this translation, we must refer the reader to the article Septuagint; we shall here only state that a probable source of this translation is the change of language which naturally took place amongst the Jews at Alexandria; for the bulk of the common people, not preserving their knowledge of the Biblical Hebrew, and the Egyptian or Greek languages in their intercourse with the people amongst whom they dwelt, a translation of the laws, at least, would be necessary, in order to teach them their duty by means of that language with which they were best acquainted. In the time of Ezra, when the Scriptures were read, it was customary to interpret them in the Chaldee, the people being more familiar with that dialect of the

Hebrew language, in consequence of their long residence in Babylon; and in the same manner it is highly probable that the custom of interpreting the Hebrew Scriptures into Greek might have prevailed in the synagogues at Alexandria, many years before a regular translation was effected. We can scarcely conceive that Ptolemy Philadelphus would have neglected to procure some copies of the religious laws of the nation, which formed so great a part of the inhabitants of the capital city of his empire, at a time when he was forming a collection of books from all parts of the world; and it does not appear improbable that, when the Hebrew language was one so little known to any but the Jews, the king should have ordered a translation of them to be made, with the view of informing those learned men who were ignorant of the Hebrew, with the laws of the Jews. This theory would account for all the fabulous stories of the short period of time in which the work was accomplished, which indeed would only be the labour of committing to writing an interpretation which was every Sabbath-day orally delivered in the synagogues. The books of the prophets were not commonly read in the synagogues, till after the time of the Maccabees; and we find in the Septuagint version such a difference in the correctness of the version of the Pentateuch, and the books of the prophets, as would lead us to conclude that the translators of the law were far better skilled in the knowledge of the Hebrew language than those who after them translated the books of the prophets; a circumstance which tends to prove the gradual accomplishment of the translation, against the opinions of those who think it was completed at one time. We may then, not without reason, regard the Septuagint version as a work that gradually came into existence, as the wants of the Jewish church at Alexandria required, the five books of the law, and the book of Job, being first edited in a written translation, at a time when the Hebrew language was accurately understood, and the succeeding books being translated at later periods, and therefore liable to those imperfections which would naturally result from a less perfect acquaintance with the original language.

The next occurrence worthy of notice is a dreadful persecution of the Jews at Alexandria, which arose in the following manner. In the year 217, a. e. Ptolemy Philopator warring with Antiochus the Great for the possession of Coele-Syria, overthrew him with great loss at Raphia, a town lying between Rhinocorura and Gaza, and compelled him to retreat to Antioch. On the retreat of Antiochus all the cities of Palestine and Coele-Syria, and amongst them the city of Jerusalem sent embassies to renew their submission to Ptolemy, for having been long under the government of the Egyptians, they still retained their affection to their old masters. Ptolemy soon after made a progress through the country, and coming to Jerusalem, offered many sacrifices and oblations in the Temple; but being desirous of admission into the inner court he would have pressed into the sanctuary, and into the holy of holies, where the high priest alone was permitted to enter once in the year on the great day of expiation. This occasioned no small uproar in the city. The high priest explained to him the sacredness of the place, and the prohibition contained in the law; the priests and Levites

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assembled with the people, and implored him to desist from his purpose, but the king persisting came into the inner court, and was going into the Temple itself, when he was seized with so great a terror and confusion of mind, that he fell down and was carried off apparently dead. Recovering from his sickness he departed from Jerusalem in great wrath, and venting forth many threatenings against the whole nation of the Jews. On his return to Alexandria he began to visit his anger against the Jews of Jerusalem upon those of Alexandria, and published a decree forbidding those to enter his presence who did not sacrifice to the gods whom he worshipped. This decree was in effect a putting the Jewish nation out of the protection of the law, for it prevented any Jews from suing for justice in the king's court. And whereas the Jews of Alexandria ranked equally with the Macedonians, the original founders of the city; by another decree he commanded them to be enrolled in the lowest order, and at the time of enrolment to be branded with a hot iron, the impress of which was an ivy leaf, the badge of his god, Bacchus; at the same time he allowed as many of the Jews as would be initiated into the heathen religion to retain their privileges, and remain in the same rank. Of the many thousands of Jews at Alexandria there were found but 3000 ready to forsake their God in order to secure the favour of their king. The remainder stood firm in the profession of their religion, choosing rather to suffer the greatest evils than to apostatise from the faith. Those who submitted to the king were so abhorred by their countrymen, that they would have no communication with men who were guilty of such great impiety, and this being interpreted as done in opposition to the real authority so enraged Ptolemy that he resolved to extirpate the whole nation, and commanding all the Jews in Egypt to be brought in chains to Alexandria, there shut up great numbers of them in the Hippodrome, (a large place without the city, where the people assembled to see horse races and other shews,) intending to destroy them with his elephants; for two days they remained confined in this place, the execution being delayed in consequence of Ptolemy's drunken carousals, which prevented his thinking of the proposed massacre till too late in each day to accomplish it. But the third day the king himself being present, the elephants were brought forth and made drunk with wine, that they might more fiercely execute his rage against the people; but instead of attacking the Jews, they fell upon those who came to be spectators of the massacre, and destroyed many. Ptolemy considering this a divine interposition no longer dared prosecute his rage against the Jews, but restored them their privileges, and revoked the decrees he had made.*

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304.

In the subsequent reign of Ptolemy Epiphanes the Jews were quite alienated in their affections from the Egyptian princes, and willingly submitted themselves

* This account is contained in the third book of the History of the Maccabees: this book being of less authority than the two first books of the Maccabees is omitted in our English translation, but it is extant in the Syriac language, and is in most of the ancient manuscript copies of the Greek Septuagint. The name Maccabees was of later origin than the time of this persecution, but because the Jews at Alexandria suffered in the cause of religion, as did the real Maccabees; for this reason, these as well as others, who endured martyrdom for the profession of the truth, were called Maccabees by the later Jews. 138, n. c.

to the authority of Antiochus the Great, who in return bestowed many favours upon the nation and gave them his entire protection. To Antiochus the Great, Seleucus Philopator, succeeded in the kingdom of Syria: during his reign, Simon a Benjamite, the governor of the Temple, quarrelling with Onias the high priest, in revenge went to Apollonius the governor of Cæle-Syria, under Seleucus, and informing him what great wealth was hoarded in the Temple of Jerusalem, advised him to seize it in behalf of the king. Heliodorus, the king's treasurer, was sent upon this information to get possession of it, who came to Jerusalem, and notwithstanding the earnest supplication of the priests and people, persisted in endeavouring to fulfil the king's commands. In the second book of Maccabees, the third chapter, it is related that the hand of God in a most miraculous manner prevented the sacrilege: for upon Heliodorus approaching the Treasury there appeared a vision of a man on horseback, who ran against him and struck him to the ground with such force that he was taken up speechless, and almost without life. Heliodorus recovered, and having offered sacrifice in the Temple for his preservation returned to the king, and being asked by him whether he knew any man who was fit to go again on the business to Jerusalem, he answered—"If thou hast any enemy or traitor send him thither, and thou shalt receive him well scourged, if he escape with his life; for in that place no doubt there is an especial power of God; for he that dwelleth hath his eye on that place, and defendeth it, and he beareth and destroyeth them that hurt it."

SECTION II.

We have now brought down the Jewish History Rise of the to the times of the Maccabees, and the government Maccabees. of that race of princes called the Asmonean princes.

The origin of the Maccabees is so closely connected with the state of religion, that we must trace its varying conduct during the preceding centuries from the time of Nehemiah, in the year 3559, in order to form a right estimate of the circumstances which led to the establishment of the descendants of Asmoneus on the throne of Judea. In this period of time including, according to Prideaux, a space of 290 years from the last visit of Nehemiah to Jerusalem, (mentioned in the 13th chapter, in the 6th verse of the book of Nehemiah,) the death of Simon the Just, forms a distinguishing epocha. The Jews tell us that Simon was the last of the men of the Great Synagogue which consisted of 120 persons, who returned with Ezra from the captivity in Babylon, and was established for two reasons; first for the purpose of restoring the observance of the law according to the practice which existed before the captivity, and secondly to collect all the sacred books into one body, and to compose the canon of Scripture. They pretend that after Ezra, Daniel, and his three companions, Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego, held the first places in this assembly: that Simon the Just sat at the lower end, and that all these persons were contemporary; but this is quite irreconcilable with their chronology.

The Jews tell us very extraordinary things of this Simon the high priest. Just.

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409.
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3836.
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Progress of religion from the time of Ezra.
B. C.
392.
The great synagogue.

Hiey

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1st. It is said in the Talmud of Jerusalem, that during the whole of his pontificate, the goat azazel, the scape-goat, was dashed to pieces before he could fall half way down the precipice over which he was thrown. Whereas after the death of this great man, the goat escaped into the desert, where he was caught and eat by the Saracens; which was considered as a great misfortune.

2dly. During his whole life, when, on the day of solemn expiation, the high priest drew lots on the two goats, that which he drew with his right hand, had always the inscription, "Pray to God;" and that which he drew with his left hand was always for the azazel, or scape-goat; whereas after his death this varied, and the high priest sometimes drew the lot for the azazel with his right hand; which was taken for an evil omen.

3dly. The scarlet ribbon which was tied to the head of the goat azazel (this was not appointed in Scripture; but, however, custom had given it authority,) always appeared white during the pontificate of Simon the Just; which was looked upon as a proof of the remission of the sins of the people, according to those words of Isaiah (chap. l. v. 18.) "Though your sins be as scarlet, they shall be white as snow." But after the death of Simon this also varied, and the scarlet ribbon appeared sometimes red and sometimes white.

4thly. While he lived, the western lamp of the golden candlestick was always burning, but after his death it sometimes went out.

5thly. While he lived the fire of the altar burned clear; and after a hillot or two was put on it in the morning, there was no occasion for any more wood during the whole day; but when he was dead, the fire languished, and required a continual supply to keep it in.

6thly. While he lived, the blessing of God multiplied, the two loaves of first fruits, offered on the day of Pentecost; and the twelve loaves of shew-bread set upon the golden altar in the Sanctuary, and which were left there the whole week till the Sabbath following, when others were put there in their stead. These loaves, they say, were multiplied so, that when they were distributed to all the Priests that waited in the Temple, as a kind of blessing, each had, at least, a piece as big as an olive, which was enough for their refreshment; and some had to spare. But when he was dead, this blessing ceased, and the shares distributed among the priests were so small that the more modest returned their thanks, and the others still held out their hands.

These stories can have no other foundation than the existence of religion in a prosperous state under his priesthood. The exaggeration must be pardoned, for men even in these days are not exempt from the common error of describing the happiness of former ages in terms, which, as they are beyond credibility, serve no other purpose than that of testifying the existence of prosperity. The truth of the whole is probably this, that Ezra was assisted in his labours by some persons who partook with him his zeal for the reformation of religion, the same spirit which animated them continued for some time to influence those who succeeded them in the government of the church, and that Simon's known attachment to religion, and the exertions he made during his life for the preservation of right principles, among his countrymen, procured

for him the traditional honour of having been one of those who assisted in the early reformation of the Jewish church.

Not to delay any longer upon these Jewish fables, we proceed to notice a change of some importance, which took place at Simm's death, in the ecclesiastical government at Jerusalem. Simon the Just, and probably all his predecessors, had united with the high priesthood the presidency of the sanhedrim or national council; but Eleazar his brother, who succeeded him in the priesthood, yielded the presidency to Antigonus of Socho, a man of great eminence on account of his learning in the law of Moses, and who taught the law to the people. He was the founder of the school of the tannin or mishnah doctors, by which name all the doctors of the Jewish law are distinguished, who lived between the death of Simon and the middle of the second century after Christ, when Rabbi Juchin Kakkodesh composed the Mishna. In the gospels these doctors are called scribes or lawyers, and are described as those who sat in Moses' seat. This is the first notice we have of the establishment of divinity schools among the Jews. The men of the great synagogue only taught the scriptures to the people, but the doctors who succeeded added also the traditions of the elders, and held that they were of equal obligation, as if both had equally been delivered from Mount Sinai.

Antigonus continued in this employment for twenty-eight years, and died; another change was then effected in the constitution of the sanhedrim, and the divinity school, by the appointment of a vice-president, who taught jointly in the chief school at Jerusalem; a fact which shows a considerable increase in the demand made by the people at large for this sort of instruction. As might naturally be expected, the establishment of schools of divinity, and the corruption of the law by the introduction of tradition, would give rise to the promulgation of great variety of opinions. The Jews ascribe the origin of the sect of the Sadducees, to the method of instruction pursued by Antigonus, for having in his lectures inculcated, that God is to be obeyed not for the sake of reward, but from filial love and fear only; two of his scholars, Sadoc and Balthus took upon them to infer the non-existence of rewards after this life, and then separating from the school of their master, taught that there was no resurrection or future state, but that all the rewards given by God were only relative to this life; thus began the sect, which from Sadoc were called Sadducees, who differed from Epicurus only in this, that they allowed the power and the providence of God over the world, whereas, the Epicureans deny both. Whether this account be true or not, of this we can have no doubt, that the establishment of a school of divinity, wherein that noble and most excellent portion of knowledge is taught, more as a matter of science than as a means of progress in all practical obedience and duty to God, has in the nature of things a very great tendency to assist the propagation of false opinions, while men forgetting the object to which alone their minds ought to be directed in such studies, take the principles of religion for weapons to combat for the prize of superiority over an antagonist in argument, and are content if they gain the victory, even though it be by the sacrifice of some portion of sacred truth.

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A. M.
3595.—
B. C.
409.to
A. M.
3836.—
B. C.
168.Change in
the eccle-
siastical go-
vernment.
B. C.
292.Divinity
schools
established
and the tra-
dition of the
elders
taught to
the people.Rise of the
Sadducees.
B. C.
360.Effects of
a school divi-
nity.Religion
flourished
down to his
time.

History

From
A. M.
3595.B. C.
409.A. M.
3836.B. C.
168.Rise of
athetical
principles
in Judea.n. c.
175.Hethenish
High
Priests.Jason sup-
plants
Onias his
brother.Encourages
apostasy
from the
law of
Moses.

We must keep in mind that in the interval of time between the death of Simon the Just, and the rise of the Maccabees, the opinions of Epicurus began to be broached in the heathen world, and it is not surprising when we consider the great intercourse the Jews then had with foreign nations, that the great enemy of man should succeed in infecting Judea, as well as other parts of the world, with the atheistic spirit of the age. It may seem strange to some, that we should assert the existence of atheistic principles among the Jews at the time of the rise of the Maccabees; but we have good evidence of the fact, in the conduct of Jason and Menelaus, who became high priests at Jerusalem, by the supplanting of Onias a short time prior to the persecution of the Jews by Antiochus; and indeed if this evidence were wanting, the dreadful sufferings of the Jews under Antiochus Epiphanes, would lead any one who is acquainted with the ways of God's providence over the Jewish nation, to suspect that there existed amongst that nation such a sort of apostasy from the law of Moses, as might well bring down upon it the severity of God's avenging justice.

As soon as Antiochus Epiphanes was settled in his kingdom, Jason, the brother of Onias the high priest, being ambitious of the honour and power of that office, offered to Antiochus no less a sum than three hundred and sixty talents if he would dispossess his brother, and make him high priest in his stead. Antiochus could not resist so large a bribe, and by the advice of Jason, summoned Onias to attend him at Antioch, where he was kept in confinement till he was put to death. It was necessary to remove Onias from Jerusalem, for had he remained there, so great was the character of his virtues, and the affection of the people towards him, that Jason's power would have been of little avail against the influence of Onias. Jason having no hope of support from those who were attached to Onias on account of his care of religion, did all in his power to increase the strength and power of the opposite party of those who were already attached to the customs and superstitions of the Gentile nations. He purchased from Antiochus at the further price of one hundred and fifty talents, a license to erect at Jerusalem a Gymnasium, or place of exercise, and an Ephebeum, or place for training up youth in the usages of the Greeks, and at the same time procured authority to make as many of the inhabitants of Jerusalem as he pleased free men of Antioch. By these means he encouraged apostasy from the law of Moses, and induced the people to neglect the manners of their forefathers, and conform themselves to the customs of the heathens. The altar was neglected, and the priests themselves omitted the public worship of the temples, to partake the amusements of the Gymnasium. Not content with changing his religion, Jason changed his name also, for his name was at first Jesus, but when he inclined to the Greek superstitions, he assumed that of Jason, to shew how entirely he desired to be considered no longer a Jew, but a worshipper of foreign deities. The year after his appointment to the high priesthood, the Quinquennial games were celebrated at Tyre, in honour of Hercules the tutelary deity of the country. To them Jason sent some of his friends, whom he had made freemen of Antioch, to be spectators of the games, and to offer a donation to be expended in sacrifices to the heathen deity; but those who carried the offering

had so much fear of their God Jehovah remaining in them, as not to involve themselves in the guilt of this idolatry, and instead of giving the money to the use of the games, they presented it to the Tyrians towards the repair of their fleet.

But it would be wrong to consider Jason as the sole origin of this apostasy, there must have existed already a party at Jerusalem inclined to hethenism, or the propositions of Jason for the establishment of customs so contrary to the spirit of the law of Moses, would have been rejected by the people with indignation. The change from a pure worship of God to the impure services of Paganism is not made in an instant. Infidelity may advance with hasty steps, but yet its approach must be made by the successive destruction and removal of religious impressions; and we may be assured that whenever a public demonstration is made of its existence, it is in fact only the discovery of a fire which has been smothering for a length of time, and is at last blown into a vigorous flame by some sudden change of circumstances. But such iniquity as that of which Jason was guilty, could not remain long in prosperity; he that had so wickedly deposed his brother, in his turn was condemned to experience the ingratitude and treachery of a brother, for in the third year of his priesthood, Menelaus his brother being sent by him to Antioch, for the purpose of conveying tribute to the king, and treating with him upon other affairs, took advantage of the opportunity afforded him by this mission, to supplant his brother in the authority he had unjustly acquired.

An offer of three hundred talents more than Jason had given for the priesthood, easily persuaded Antiochus to depose Jason, and Menelaus returned to Jerusalem with the mandate of the king for his establishment in that office. But Jason's party was too powerful to submit at once to the authority of Menelaus, who returned to Antioch; and there declaring that he would only adhere to the religion of the king, and the worship of the Greeks, obtained from him a sufficient force to expel Jason, and put him in quiet possession of the supreme power. Menelaus kept his word faithfully, and proceeded to encourage the prevalence of apostasy to the very utmost of his power. His name was originally Onias; but following the example of his brother Jason, he had changed his name to Menelaus, in testimony of his reception of the religion of the Greeks.

We may here observe, that the object Jason and Menelaus had in view, was not the mere honor of the ecclesiastical authority, but the temporal power which had for some ages since the time of Nehemiah been united to the office of high priest. And the vast sums of money given by these two men as bribes to Antiochus, would plainly shew that the Jewish nation must have been at this time in the enjoyment of very considerable commercial prosperity, to allow of such large revenues being collected by the high priest, as might remunerate them for paying so great a price for the office. And the circumstance, that the freedom of the city of Antioch was valuable enough to tempt a Jew to apostasy, is also an evidence of much commercial intercourse between Jerusalem and Antioch; for to one resident at Jerusalem the freedom could only be valuable, by reason of the advantage those who possessed it obtained over their fellow-countrymen, in exemption from duties and taxes. Menelaus

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168.Infidelity
existed at
Jerusalem
prior to Ja-
son's priest-
hood.Menelaus
supplants
Jason.

History either neglected or was unable to pay the sum he had agreed to give to Antiochus, and was summoned to appear before the king at Antioch; but fortunate circumstances concurring to delay his appearance, in the meantime he contrived to raise the money, partly by selling the golden vessels which belonged to the temple at Jerusalem. So daring a sacrilege caused a great mutiny amongst the people, who fell upon Lysimachus, his brother, whom Menelaus had left in charge, and slew him in the temple. Onias, the high priest, was still in confinement at Antioch, and bearing of the sacrilege committed by the orders of Menelaus upon the vessels of the temple, sent and reproved him for his conduct; which so irritated Menelaus, that he could not rest until he had persuaded Andronicus, the governor of Antioch, to put Onias to death.

Onias put to death. But Antiochus, on his return, avenged the death of this good man upon Andronicus, commanding him to be carried as a malefactor to the spot where Onias was murdered, and there put to death as he deserved. The conduct of Menelaus continued so ungovernable, that the Jews, no longer able to endure his sacrilegious proceedings, sent delegates to Tyre, where the king then abode, to seek redress at his hands; but Menelaus, by means of bribes, procured a friend of the king's so far to interest himself in his favour, as to persuade the king entirely to acquit Menelaus of the charge, and to put to death the persons sent from Jerusalem to complain of his behaviour. So manifest an injustice excited the pity of the people of the city, who took up their bodies, and interred them honourably. Such was the condition of the Jewish nation under the high priesthood of Menelaus; such a man, who was a tyrant in conduct, and an infidel in principle, could never have maintained himself in his authority, without a party to support him of similarly depraved habits and dispositions. We might expect that the God of Moses would not long permit his people to continue in the practice of heathenish customs, and in apostasy, from the strict performance of the law delivered at Mount Sinai, without punishing them in so exemplary a manner, as to convince them of their error, and teach them the value of their religion, by being deprived of the means of continuing the public exercise of it, which took place in the persecution of the Jews by Antiochus, which we are now to describe, and which drew forth to action the valour and the constancy of the Maccabees.

a. c. 170 The times we are now describing were full of trouble and dismay to the Jewish church, and as ominous appearances in the heavens portended the final destruction of Jerusalem, so also a short time prior to the calamities which befell the city in the persecution of Antiochus, similar warnings were given of the approaching desolation. "About the same time (says the author of the second book of the Maccabees, in the second chapter,) Antiochus prepared for his second voyage into Egypt, and then it happened, that through all the city, for the space of almost forty days, there were seen horsemen running in the air in cloth of gold, and armed with lances like a band of soldiers, and troops of horsemen in array encountering and running one against another with shaking of shields, and multitude of pikes, and drawing of swords, and casting of darts, and glittering of golden ornaments, and harness of all sorts. Wherefore every

man prayed that that apparition might turn in good." **Of the Jews.** Antiochus being in Egypt, a false rumour arose of his death, whereupon Jason, thinking this a good opportunity to attempt the recovery of the priesthood, of which he had been deprived by his brother Menelaus, marched against Jerusalem with a force of a thousand men; and being assisted by his party within, succeeded in taking the city, and driving Menelaus for shelter into the castle. In his mad rejoicing at the capture of the city, he committed all kinds of cruelty upon his fellow citizens, and put to death without mercy all who fell into his power, whom he thought to be his adversaries.

Antiochus learned what had taken place; and supposing that all the Jewish nation were in a state of revolt, marched from Egypt into Judea to quell the rebellion; and his anger being further kindled, by hearing that the people of Jerusalem had made great rejoicings at the news of his death, in a rage he laid siege to Jerusalem, and taking it by force, he put to death, in the space of three days, as many as forty thousand of the inhabitants, and sold as many more as slaves. Jason had fled immediately on hearing of the march of Antiochus towards Jerusalem, and took refuge in the country of the Ammonites, but was not suffered to remain there; and being driven from place to place, first into Egypt, then into Lacedæmonia, he there died in exile and misery, without a single friend to provide him with the rites of burial. The fury of Antiochus could not be satisfied by slaughter; he had vented his rage upon the people, but he could not rest without polluting the temple, and thereby offering insult to their God; and in this impiety and sacrilege he found a ready guide in the wicked apostate Menelaus, who conducted him into the inmost courts of the temple, and even into the holy of holies. And still further, to affront the Majesty of the God of Israel, and to shew his contempt of that religion which He had enjoined, he sacrificed a sow upon the altar, and boiling some part of the flesh in water, with it sprinkled the temple, on purpose to pollute and defile it. He thus plundered it of all its valuable utensils, amongst which were the altar of incense, the table of the shewbread, the golden candlestick, and of all the offerings which had been made in it, to the value of eighteen hundred talents of gold; and spoiling the city in the same way, returned to Antioch loaded with the immense treasure which he had collected by plunder both in Egypt and in Judea. Menelaus was left by him in the office of high priest, but separate governors were appointed over Judea and Samaria. These, however, were but the beginnings of sorrows; for two years after, Antiochus returning unsuccessful from his campaign upon Egypt, and having suffered a defeat there from the Romans, visited the whole of his anger upon the Jews, who had given him no fresh cause of offence. In his way through Palestine, he detached twenty-two thousand men to destroy the city of Jerusalem. Apollonius entered the city peaceably; but on the following sabbath, at the time when all the people were assembled in the synagogues for the purpose of worshipping God, he let loose his soldiers upon them, and committed the most horrible massacre, sparing neither sex, nor age, and making the very streets flow with blood. He then plundered the city and set it on fire, and with the

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—
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B. C.
168.
Antiochus takes Jerusalem.
Pollutes the temple.

Attempts to destroy the city.

History

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168.

ruins built a castle on the top of an eminence which commanded the temple, establishing in it a strong garrison, and making it the storehouse for their arms and provisions. At such a season the devout Jew would fly to the temple to intercede with his God in behalf of his suffering people; but piety and devotion were no protection, for the soldiers attacked all who came up to worship and shed their blood even in the sanctuary. For the space of three years and a half, the time prophesied by Daniel, (in the 12th chapter, 7th verse,) in the words a time, times, and half a time, the temple lay desolate, the sacrifices ceased until the temple was recovered out of the hands of the heathens by the success of Judas Maccabeus, and dedicated anew to the worship of God, as will be hereafter related.

Persecution
of the Jews
by Antiochus.

The hostility of Antiochus was not confined to the inhabitants of Jerusalem or of Judæa. The religion of the Jews had become his abhorrence, as Daniel says of him, he had indignation against the holy covenant, and therefore, in order to put his wicked designs in execution against the Jews, wherever he might find them, he published a decree, enjoining all the nations subject to him, to worship his gods; thus putting the whole of Syria under the operation of the decree; for he sought nothing less than, by compelling the whole nation to renounce their religion, to extinguish together with it their name and nation. It must be afflicting to every religiously disposed person to consider how low must have been the state of true religion amongst the Samaritans at this time. As soon as they perceived what persecution had befallen the Jews on account of their adhering to the pure worship of God, they lost no time in making their peace with the king. In their petition to him, they excused themselves for their former observance of Jewish rites, on the ground that they had done so on account of some plagues which had infested their country, as was customary with them when the Jews were in affliction; they disclaimed all descent from the sons of Jacob, professing to belong to the Sidonian nation: they set forth their readiness to conform in all respects to the king's religion, and begged his permission to dedicate their temple on Mount Gerizim to the Grecian Jupiter. By these means they purchased their safety at the expense of their religion, and were not molested by the officers commissioned to put the king's decree into effect. Sad to relate, apostasy from the true God was not confined to the Samaritan nation. Many of the Jews sacrificed their principles of duty to motives of fear or of interest; seeking either to avoid the calamities of their country, or to secure to themselves the favour of the king. These apostate Jews proved the bitterest enemies of the faithful and persecuted Israelites, more cruel than even the Syrians themselves; a line of conduct which, if their wishes did not encourage them to pursue, necessity compelled them to adopt as a testimony to the king's officers, of the sincerity of their apostasy from the religion of their fathers.

Dreadful
state of the
Jewish
church.

As soon as the officers of Antiochus came to Jerusalem, every observance of the law of Moses ceased, the Sabbath was profaned, the children were forbidden to be circumcised. Search was made for copies of the law, and as many as were found were destroyed, and any sort of disobedience to the king's commands

met with no milder punishment than death. The light of the Jewish church was almost extinguished, the people were left without a Priest to instruct them, and they dared not read for themselves, or perform even what they knew to be commanded. The temple of the great God of heaven and earth, was polluted by the worship of that impure fiction of the Devil, the sensual God, the Olympian Jupiter. On that altar, from which had ascended for ages, daily incense of those sacrifices which were typical of the one great sacrifice for the sins of mankind, the statue of the pagan God was erected, and a lesser altar built, whereon they sacrificed before the image which they had set up. We may easily judge with what cruelty they strove to propagate the tolerant religion of paganism, when we read of their taking two women who had circumcised their male children, and tying the children to their necks, casting both mother and infant together, headlong from the deepest part of the walls of the city; at the same time, putting to death all who had taken part in the administration of the rite. During this persecution, altars, groves, and idols, were every where erected. The Jews were forced to eat the flesh of swine and unclean beasts; festivals were celebrated in honour of Bacchus, in which the Jews were compelled to take an active and conspicuous part. Thus did God, in the wonderful dispensations of his providence, punish the Jews, by making their crimes the source and instrument of punishment. They had erred in admitting the practice of heathen customs and rites, contrary to the severe injunctions of the law of Moses, and the revelation of God's displeasure which had been made to them by the prophets. They had patiently endured the commands of heathenish priests, and had allowed, without a murmur, the most sacred office in their church, to be bought and sold, and possessed by men who used the authority as the means of withdrawing the nation from the pure worship of Jehovah. They had willingly received the privilege of bringing up their youth in Grecian customs; they had left the services of the temple to witness the sports and games of the gymnasium; and, therefore, it pleased God to deprive them of that power of worshipping him, which they had so carelessly neglected; and to compel them to accept, by force, the practice of those heathenish and blasphemous services, which they had seemed so much to desire. At the time when the officers of Antiochus came to Jerusalem to enforce his decree, there dwelt there a priest, named Mattathias, of the house of Joab, an honourable man, and one who feared God. To avoid the impending persecution, he retired with his family to Modin, a city in the tribe of Dan; thinking to remain hidden there, until the storm of desolation should have passed over.

Mattathias had five sons, Johanan, Simon, Eleazar, Jonathan, and Judas, who was surnamed Maccabeus. But the severity of the persecution would not allow even so retired a town as Modin, to be a place of concealment for the family. One of the officers of Antiochus, named Apelles, soon arrived there, and immediately summoning the inhabitants together, informed them of the object of his mission. The example of Mattathias, he considered, would induce the people the more readily to comply with the king's commands; and, therefore, addressing himself first

Of the Jews.

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—
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409.
to
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Effects of
the divine
retribution.

Actions of
Mattathias.

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 From
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to him, he endeavoured to persuade him to submission, promising every honourable distinction that Antiochus could confer upon him and his family. Mattathias answered, with a loud voice, "Though all the nations that are under the king's dominion obey him, and fall away every one from the religion of their fathers, and give consent to his commandments, yet will I, and my sons, and my brethren, walk in the covenant of our fathers. God forbid that we should forsake the law and the ordinances; we will not hearken to the king's word to go from our religion to the right hand or the left."

When he had thus spoken, he saw one of the Jews presenting himself to do sacrifice at the heathen altar, as the king had commanded, and with a holy zeal, like that of Phinehas, he fell upon the apostate and slew him; and, together with him, the king's commissioner and his attendants. Afterwards collecting all his family, and exciting all to follow him who were zealous for the law, he fled from Modin, and retired to the mountains. His example was speedily followed by many, whereby the deserts of Judea be-

came filled with persons who sought refuge from the Of the Jews
 fury of the persecution. From this time began the
 war of the Maccabees. It was at first carried on by
 Mattathias, and after his death, which took place in
 a short time, by his son Judas, surnamed Maccabeus;
 the origin of a name derived from the abbreviation of
 the Hebrew sentence, in the fifteenth chapter of
 Exodus, eleventh verse—*Mi Cumoka Baelim Jehovah*
 —Who is like unto thee among the Gods, O Je-
 hovah; which he took for the motto on his standard,
 and not writing it in words at length, but only by the
 initial letters of each word, he formed the artificial
 word M.A.C.C.B.I. Hence, all who fought under
 that standard were called Maccabees, or Maccabeans;
 and as Judas and his brethren became distinguished
 as martyrs and confessors in the cause of religion,
 the name of Maccabees was in aftertimes applied, not
 only to those who assisted Judas, but also to others
 who in the time before these transactions, as well as
 subsequently, became conspicuous for their valiant
 resistance to persecution.

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 A. M.
 3595.
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 B. C.
 409.
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 3836.
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War of the
 Maccabees.

APPIUS CLAUDIUS.

a. c. 471-448.

Biography. APPIUS CLAUDIUS, the decemvir, was the son of that Appius Claudius whose hostility to the power of the tribunes, made him a favourite with the senate, and odious to the populace. His son, after having constantly maintained a firm attachment to the patrician interests, and a resistance to popular encroachment as severe and unbending, as that by which his father and grand-father were distinguished, seemed suddenly to abandon the principles of his family, and to court popularity by promoting a measure for which the popular party was then extremely urgent. This was the nomination of *ten magistrates* called, from their number, decemviri.

Nomination of the decemviri, About ten years before the period of which we are now speaking, Caius Terentius Arsa, one of the tribunes of the people, had proposed, after a vehement declamation, against the despotic power of the consuls, to commission five men of unexceptionable character, to draw up a code of laws by which the consuls should in future be obliged to regulate their decisions. This proposition, which seemed the more unobjectionable, as the tribunes only demanded that a portion of 'the legislative body' should be chosen from the plebeians, gave great umbrage to the patricians.

opposed by the patricians, The younger part of that body even proceeded to acts of violence, and led on by Cæso, son of Cinna, dispersed the assembly of the people, when, on the point of passing the law. A variety of favourable circumstances, however, concurred to strengthen the popular cause, and after many ineffectual attempts on the part of the plebeians to carry their point, and many struggles on the part of the patricians to frustrate the design, it was at length finally agreed, that commissioners, to be chosen by the senate, should be deputed to Athens, for the purpose of selecting such of the laws and institutions of that celebrated republic, as might appear fitted for the adoption of the Romans. Upon return of these commissioners, the people were naturally clamorous for the nomination of the magistrates who were to draw up the code that was to be compiled from the materials thus collected. The consuls, however, still resisted; and the tribunes in consequence appealed to the consuls elect, Appius Claudius, our present subject, and Titus Genucius. To their surprise, no less than to that of the patrician body, the former immediately stood forward, a strenuous advocate for the measure. Genucius likewise declared himself in its favour, though not so zealously as Appius, and by their joint entreaties they prevailed upon one of the consuls to assemble the senate for the purpose of nominating the decemviri.

promoted by the consuls elect, Notwithstanding a considerable opposition, the eloquence or intrigues of Appius prevailed, and the senate passed a decree for the appointment of ten magistrates who were to be invested, for one whole year, with the supreme power, and supersede

all the ordinary magistracies. During the reign of the decemvirs, the authority of the consuls, tribunes, ædiles, and quaestors was to cease; and an almost unlimited power was vested in these newly created legislators. But the senate, when the time fixed for the election of the decemvirs had arrived, successfully resisted a demand of the tribunes, for the admission of candidates from among the plebeians; and of the ten who were chosen in a full assembly of the people, the first was Appius himself, as might easily be conjectured from the active part which he had taken in promoting this measure, so great a favourite with the people.

Appius Claudius appointed, At the commencement of their reign, the decemvirs conciliated the affection of their fellow citizens, by the utmost moderation and courteousness; and none of them more than Appius, whose former severity and reserve were favourably contrasted with his present mildness and affability. Before the year had expired, the work for which these magistrates had been appointed was completed. Their laws were engraved on ten tables of oak, fixed up in the forum for the inspection of all, and ratified by the unanimous assent of the whole Roman people. But as it was thought by many leading men in the state, that laws sufficient to fill two more tables ought to be added; the government of the decemvirs was continued for another year, and senators ordinarily most hostile to the pretensions of the people, condescended on this occasion to court their favour by every artifice, in hopes of being chosen at the election of decemvirs for the ensuing year. Appius did this so openly, that he excited the jealousy of his colleagues; they appointed him in consequence president of the Comitia, or Assembly of the people, who were to elect the new magistrates, with the intention of excluding him from the number of candidates. But by boldly taking a step upon which they supposed he would not venture, he effected the purpose which they were anxious to frustrate.

Contrary to every rule of decency, according to the sentiments of the Romans, he named himself as the first candidate, and immediately obtained the suffrages of the people. He went, also, still further; and in contradiction to the known principles of his family, and almost of the whole body of patricians, named three candidates from among the plebeians. So far from being defeated by the scheme of his adversaries, it only served to increase his power and influence; for he artfully availed himself of his right as president to nominate the candidates, not only for the purpose of introducing his friends, but of excluding all those whom he could not controul. The consequences of his success were soon felt. The new decemvirs, as soon as they entered upon their office, assumed the authority and ensigns of royalty. Their

Biography. administration was now as unjust and oppressive as that of their immediate predecessors had been equitable and liberal; and the people, to whom these tyrants owed their power of doing mischief, were the marked objects of their contempt and hatred. When the period for which they had been elected had expired, instead of assembling the people, and proceeding to a new election, they produced the two additional tables, which, added to the others, completed the *twelve*, which were ever after held in such estimation by the Romans, as to be considered by them as the basis of all their jurisprudence. The *decemvirs* now threw off the mask, and boldly retained the power entrusted to them, in defiance both of the people and the senate.

Decemvirs complete the tables of the laws, and become unjust and oppressive.

The discontent prevailing in Rome raised the hopes of its enemies; the Sabines and the *Æqui* seized the opportunity to make an incursion upon the Roman territory. It was therefore necessary to assemble an army; but the more respectable members of the senate, when convened by the *decemvirs*, in order to decree a levy of the troops, refused to accede to their proposal, till the consular government should be restored. The arts and creatures of Claudius, however, succeeded in silencing his opponents. A levy was in little made, and this new triumph only increased the insolence and audacity of the *decemvirs*. Appius himself more especially denounced those who retired from the city, in order to be no longer witness of his tyranny, as enemies of the republic, and enriched his own partisans by the confiscation of their property.

Conduct of Claudius.

The war against the *Æqui* was carried on with no advantage; for the troops, who had been levied by the sole authority of the *decemvirs*, were so ill-disposed to their leaders, and to the persons in power, that they made no serious resistance to the enemy.

Appius, in the mean while, who remained with another of his colleagues to overawe the city, was at length hurried by his uncontrolled appetites into one of those excesses, which at length drew down upon him the vengeance which his tyranny had long merited. He conceived a violent passion for a very beautiful girl, whom he had casually seen. Her name was Virginia; her father Virginia had distinguished himself in the army on several occasions; and had promised his daughter to Icilius, who had been one of the tribunes of the people. Appius was unable to gratify his passion by a legitimate union, not merely because he was married, and had no sufficient plea for divorcing his wife; but also because Virginia was a plebeian, and he had himself passed a law prohibiting any alliance between noble and ignoble families.

Thwarted by these obstacles, he devised a scheme the most atrocious; he employed one of his clients, M. Claudius, to seize upon Virginia, and claim her as a daughter of one of his slaves, and therefore his property. The populace, roused by her shrieks, rescued her from the hands of M. Claudius and his abandoned followers; but when cited to appear before the tribunal of the *decemvir*, which she could not refuse, Appius, who was alone upon the bench, would have immediately adjudged her to the claimant, had not the people cried out with one voice, that her relations ought first to be heard. The *decemvir* dared not openly to resist compliance, but, by an artful evasion

of the acknowledged law, contrived to place her in the hands of his own creature till her reputed father could return from the camp to make his claims good. The object of this evasion was too manifest to escape observation. The women present surrounded Virginia, and seemed resolved to shield her from the *decemvir*, when Icilius, to whom she was promised, rushing forward, threw his arms round her and called upon the gods to protect her innocence. It was in vain that Appius ordered his lictors to seize upon Icilius. Finding it inexpedient to attempt force, he had recourse to artifice—resigned Virginia to the care of her friends and relations, and made Icilius give security for her appearance before the tribunal on the following day. It was then that Virginia, with all the dignity of conscious and injured innocence, appealed to his fellow citizens against the claim of his adversary. Icilius inveighed, with all the vehemence which a tumult of passion could inspire, against the tyrannical proceedings of the *decemvir*; add the silent tears of the women who accompanied Virginia, contributed more than even the powerful eloquence of her father and her lover, to move the compassion and rouse the indignant feelings of the multitude.

Appius on entering the forum, was astonished to find Virginia there, for he had spared no pains to prevent the possibility of his appearance at the appointed time. His project, however, was too well prepared to be easily disconcerted. The evidence of the false witnesses, suborned by Claudius, was completely parried by the unexceptionable testimony adduced by Virginia; but when the spectators were looking for a decree in his favour, the *decemvir* declared that, as guardian of Claudius, he had long known the facts alleged by him, but had suppressed the mention of them, as unnecessary, unless his ward should wish to put in his claim. He therefore, on that ground, set aside the evidence produced by Virginia, and adjudged his daughter to the other claimant. Her father again made an appeal to the multitude, whose cries and shouts shewed their willingness to serve him; but the imperious authoritative tone of the judge, and perhaps the number of his known adherents, overawed them. Virginia was left alone, abandoned, as it seemed, to the worst designs of her enemy.

Her father, as his last and only resource, assuming a milder tone, entreated the *decemvir* at least to allow him to question her nurse in presence of his supposed daughter, that he might be completely undeceived as to her birth. This request Appius readily granted, and the neighbourhood, seized a hutchin's knife, as he passed along, and plunging it into Virginia's bosom—"Receive," he said, "thy liberty, my daughter, by this the only method by which I can now ensure it to thee!" and turning towards the tribunal, he added—"By this blood, Appius, I devote thy head to the infernal deities!" He repelled the lictors, who endeavoured to seize him, with the weapon reeking with his daughter's blood, and rushing through the crowd, made his way to the camp. The other friends and relations of Virginia remained near her body, and excited the sympathy of the multitude.

This tragic event led shortly afterwards to the subversion of the *decemviral* usurpation; for the troops,

Claudius.
v. c.
305.
—
v. c.
449.

Virginia
defends his
claim,

and sacri-
fices his
daughter.

Biography.

U. c.
305.

Decemvirate abolished.

B. c.
449.

Consuls restored.

U. c.
306.

—
B. c.
448.

Claudius accused by
Virginus.

His death

And character.

animated by the heroism of Virginus, and already irritated against their oppressive rulers, seized their ensigns, and having marched back in a body to Rome, entrenched themselves on the Aventine hill, declaring that they would not lay down their arms till the decemvirate was abolished. They were soon joined by the remainder of the army, and elected out of their own body twenty *military tribunes*, under whose orders they placed themselves. The senators, unwilling to abolish the decemvirate, occupied themselves in useless debates. The army, in the mean time, retreated to its favourite post the *sacred hill*, and was joined by such numbers, that the decemvirs themselves at length offered to resign their authority as soon as consuls should have been elected. This offer enabled the senators who were departed to the army, to make a proposition which was soon accepted. The senate issued a decree abolishing the decemvirate. These magistrates formally laid down their authority, and, after an interval of three years, the consular government was restored.

The tribunate was revived on the re-election of consuls; and the father, uncle, and lover of Virginus were the first upon whom the choice of the people fell. It was not to be supposed that Virginus would fail to use the opportunity, which now presented itself of avenging the memory of his injured daughter. He lost no time in bringing Appius to trial for infringing upon the liberty of a free-born and guiltless woman. He threatened him with immediate imprisonment, if the charge were not directly repelled. "I appeal," said Appius, "to the Roman people, who will not forget the many services they have received from the Claudian family; the many which they owe to me; the zeal for the public good which I have invariably shewn, and most particularly the excellent laws of the Twelve Tables, in the compilation of which I had so great a share. I claim the protection of the laws; and appeal from the sentence of the tribune to the assembly of the people." Virginus could not resist this appeal, which was founded upon a law passed by the newly elected consuls, but he refused to admit him to bail, and caused him to be confined in a prison erected by his own orders. The friends and family of Appius left no means untied to appease the indignation of the people: but before the day appointed for his trial had arrived, Appius was no more. He was found dead in his prison, whether by his own hand, as asserted by the tribunes, or by secret orders from them, it is impossible to determine: though from the conduct and character of the man, the former is, on the whole, the most probable supposition.

Appius Claudius seems to have inherited the prejudices and vices of his family with some of their good

qualities; and though his crimes and atrocities cannot be recorded without exciting detestation and disgust, the more favourable parts of his character, and the real services which he did to the Roman state, should not be passed over unnoticed. In the first year of the decemvirate, before he was intoxicated by success, his conduct was temperate and popular. His talents, which were great and various, were diligently exerted in the performance of his official duties; and he might justly appeal to the laws of the Twelve Tables, as a lasting monument of the care and judgment with which he and his colleagues had used the materials brought to them from Greece.

That celebrated compilation, which is praised by Cicero as containing the substance of all legislative wisdom, was small in compass, but comprehended all the great objects for which laws ought to be instituted. 1. It provided the mode of bringing offenders to trial, and laid down the rules by which impartial justice should be alike administered, both to plaintiffs and defendants. 2. Regarded the law against thefts and robberies. 3. Limited the power of creditors over their debtors. 4. Of parents over their children. 5. Prescribed the rules for the regulation of inheritances and guardianships. 6. Defined the limits of property of every kind. 7. Guarded against the commission of damage and trespass. 8. Made regulations for the security of property beyond the walls of the city. 9. Secured the rights of the great body of the people. 10. Prescribed the legal mode of interment. 11. The rites and ceremonies of religion. And 12, secured the sanctity of marriage and the rights arising from the married state. The publication of these laws may justly be considered as an era in the Roman state. The mutual rights and relations of the different classes of society were from that time strictly defined: the weak and inferior citizens were not only more secure against encroachments from the higher and more powerful members of the commonwealth, but against arbitrary or unjust decisions of the magistrates themselves. The Tables throughout, insufficient when the territory and population, and with them the various relations of society, had increased, were an excellent foundation for that noble superstructure which has survived the wreck of ages; and is, with some modifications, to this day, the dispenser of justice and equity to a very large portion of the civilized world.* Hor. iiii. 11—58. Dion. Hal. x. p. 652-684. xi. p. 684-757. Flor. i. 24.

* The Roman law is more or less embodied in the codes at present used in Holland, Germany, Switzerland, Italy, Spain, Portugal, Denmark, Norway, and Poland. It is also the foundation of our own civil and ecclesiastical law.

Claudius.

U. c.
306.

B. c.
448.

Laws of the
Twelve Tables.

Their excellence.

CAMILLUS.

B. C. 447-365. A. M. 3557-3639.

Biography.

V. C.
367-369.

Suspension
of the con-
sular power.

V. C.
310.

B. C.
444.

V. C.
387.

B. C.
367.

MARCUS FURIUS CAMILLUS was born of a patrician family of Rome, about the middle of the fifth century before the Christian era; and soon after the commencement of the fourth after the building of the city, according to the calculation of Varro. None of his ancestors had ever distinguished themselves so as to render their house illustrious; but it was his fortune to give promise of his future greatness at a very early age. When serving under the dictator Posthumus Tubertus, in his celebrated defeat of the Æqui and Volsci, Camillus, who was not more than seventeen years old, though severely wounded in his thigh by a javelin, deliberately plucked it out and continued in the foremost ranks of the combatants. A youth of patrician rank, who could thus early give proof of such undaunted resolution, could not fail to be esteemed by his countrymen; and, accordingly we find that at a later period of his life, the highest honours of the state were not so much obtained by him as forced upon his acceptance, by the admiration and confidence of his fellow citizens. It may be remarked, however, that Camillus never enjoyed the honours of the consulate, because soon after the period of his birth, the functions of that magistracy had been transferred to the military tribunes. The causes which led to the suspension of the consular authority in Rome, at the period of which we are now speaking, were few and simple. As their numbers increased, the people of Rome gradually became more conscious of their own strength; and from resisting the unjust encroachments of the patricians, proceeded to trench upon their legitimate privileges. Concessions had been made to the plebeians from time to time, and as is always the case in concessions wrung by fear or necessity, from a party unwilling to grant them, they only led to further demands and bolder advances. The dispute between the adverse parties seemed, at last, to threaten a commotion; when one of the Claudian family proposed, in order to rescue the consular office from the indignity of being filled by plebeians, to substitute for the consuls three magistrates, chosen partly from either class of citizens, and called 'military tribunes, invested with consular authority.' This proposition was received with applause by both parties: it increased the power of the one, without requiring the sacrifice of any exclusive privilege from the other; and an important change in the form of the Roman government was thus effected without a struggle. Nearly a century elapsed before the office of consuls was again filled, and that is precisely the period in which Camillus flourished.

Of all the measures which tend to produce a gradual and silent revolution in the political condition of a nation emerging from a state of barbarism, none is more powerful than the commutation of personal service in the army for the performance of military

duties by a hired substitute. It at once releases a large portion of the population from an oppressive burden, promotes the discipline and efficiency of the army itself; and gives the executive government a power which it never before possessed. That measure was adopted by the senate and approved by the Roman people, when Camillus was in the vigour of his age, and contributed indirectly to prepare the way for some of his great exploits: for when the senate found that they had no longer reason to apprehend any difficulty, in continuing the war, from the want of new levies or an unwillingness in the troops to keep the field, they resolved at once to extend the dominion of the republic over some of the neighbouring states; and to commence operations by attacking the Veii, whom they justly regarded as their most dangerous rival.

The capital of this people, which bore the same name, was placed in a commanding situation on the summit of a rocky hill, extremely difficult of access. It was, as Plutarch informs us, considered as the bulwark of Tuscany, and was not inferior in power and resources to Rome itself. In the earlier periods of the republic, the Veientes had contended for supremacy with the Romans; but now, humbled by many severe defeats, they relied upon the natural strength of their position, and the fortifications by which that advantage had been greatly improved. They filled their magazines with an abundant supply of stores and ammunition, and fearlessly sustained the attacks of the Roman armies. As long, indeed, as their enemy was obliged to quit the field at the commencement of winter, the people of Veii were not liable to all the evils of a regular siege; but after the senate had acquired a more absolute command of their troops, by making them, in fact, stipendiaries, the Roman army was required to pass the winter as well as the summer in the enemy's country.

Towards the close of the seventh year of the war, so little progress had been made against the enemy, that the commanders were much censured, and the senate recalled them; and, with the concurrence of the people, required them to resign their offices of military tribunes before the usual time. Among those who were elected to succeed them was Camillus, who then the second* time received that distinguished honour. It was his lot during this year to command the expedition against the Capenates, whose principal town lay between Veii and the Tiber, and consequently enabled them to make powerful diversions in favour of the Veientes. Camillus attacked them with so much vigour, that they dared no longer stir beyond their walls. In the same year the lake of Alba, in the midst of a peculiarly dry season, rose above

Camillus.

V. C.
349.
—
B. C.
405.

War between
the Romans &
Veientes.

V. C.
356.
—
B. C.
398.

* The third according to Livy; who dates these events one year later than the Capitoline Tables, which we have followed.

Biography. the rising grounds by which it had been previously confined, and descended in a torrent towards the sea. This singular phenomenon appeared wholly unaccountable, and was universally spoken of; when an Etruscan soothsayer, who had formed an acquaintance with one of the soldiers encamped before Veii, intimated that, if properly understood, it might secure the success of the Roman arms. The soldier imperceptibly drew his friend beyond the reach of his towns-people, took him up in his arms and carried him into the Roman camp. He there made the same declaration; adding, that if the Romans should give a right course to the waters of the lake, it would be fatal to his native city. The senate not trusting entirely to this interpreter of the prodigy, sent a deputation to Delphi, who, after having consulted the oracle, returned the following year, bringing a highly encouraging answer, commanding them to prevent the waters of the lake from uniting with the sea; to continue the siege of Veii with the greatest resolution, and after the termination of the war, to present an ample offering at the shrine of Apollo. In obedience to this command of the god, the people immediately set about diverting the course of the waters from the lake, and formed that remarkable subterranean canal, which still attests their obedience to the injunction of the oracle.*

When the fall of Veii had been thus prepared by compliance with the prescribed condition, the senate determined to commit the completion of their great design to one upon whom they could place implicit reliance, and to invest him with such authority as should prevent any error that could arise from competition. They therefore appointed Camillus dictator. Before he left Rome, he offered up solemn vows to the gods, entreusting them to give prosperity to his arms, and engaging to celebrate games, and consecrate a temple in their honour, if he should return a victor. He then marched against Falerii, and routed the people of that place, together with their allies the Capenates. Having thus secured himself against the danger of a diversion, he turned his whole force against Veii, and finding it impracticable to take that city by assault, he commenced a blockade, opened his works, and caused a mine to be carried on under such a cover as completely concealed it from the enemy. It was a work of the greatest magnitude and labour; but by apportioning the time during which each man was employed, with rigid impartiality and exactness, Camillus was enabled to keep his men at work day and night, till they made their way into the citadel itself. When every thing was prepared, the army from without made a furious assault on the very time that the miners from within secretly made their way into the temple of Juno, which was in the citadel. The inhabitants thus unexpectedly assailed on all sides, and from a quarter where they least expected it, could not long or effectually resist; and the Romans, rushing from the citadel, were soon able to throw open the gates to their comrades. The

slaughter was necessarily great, but it was checked by the dictator as soon as all danger of resistance was past. The Etruscans were a more civilized and commercial people than the Romans, and far exceeded them in wealth. Camillus was so struck when he beheld from the citadel, the treasures which his troops were every where collecting, that he burst into tears; and, when congratulated by his friends on his success, lifting up his hands to heaven, uttered this prayer,—"Jove, most high! and ye gods who are the observers of our good and evil actions, ye can bear witness for us, that we have not attacked this city unjustly, but through necessity and in our own defence, against men who were our foes, and had broken their engagements. But if this success must be compensated by some reverse of fortune, let the severity of it, I beseech you, fall upon my head; but let the people and army of Rome be spared."

The conduct of Camillus soon afterwards was not worthy of the patriotic and disinterested spirit of this prayer. The splendour of his triumph gave offence to the people, his having driven through the city in a chariot drawn by four white horses, a distinction previously reserved for "the sovereign and father of the gods" alone, was considered as highly unbecoming. But probably the more immediate cause of the displeasure which he at that time incurred, was the part which he took in thwarting a proposal of the tribunes of the people to transfer one half of the inhabitants of Rome to Veii; a proposal strongly condemned by the senate, and checked by the delays and evasions of Camillus.

The real foundation of his unpopularity at this period, was, however, his conduct with regard to the division of the plunder. He had, on his march to Veii, made a vow that he would, if victorious, dedicate the tenths to Apollo; but, either forgetting this vow, or unwilling to disappoint his troops, he had, in the sequel, suffered them to carry off the whole. The senate, when the case was laid before them, decreed that each soldier should declare upon oath the value of what he had seized, and produce a tenth of the amount. This decree was warmly resented by the soldiery, who and dis- justly considered it as a peculiar hardship to be deprived of so large a portion of their prize, and that at a time when many of them had already spent the fruit of their hard earned toils. Camillus distressed by their complaints, had recourse to apology, declaring that he had forgotten his vow. The tenths were however collected; and it was decreed that a vase of massy gold should be sent as an offering at the shrine of Delphi. The Roman women gave up their golden ornaments, in order to enable the government to execute this decree, and were, in consequence, indulged with the privilege of using chariots on great and solemn festivals. A deputation of three from the first patrician families was sent to bear the sacred offering to Delphi.

The Falisci were still at war with the Romans, and the command of the army sent against that town was entrusted to Camillus, who had again been elected one of the military tribunes. He immediately marched his forces into the enemy's country, and laid siege to Falerii their capital, well aware that it was likely to occupy him for a considerable time. It was indeed the constant policy of the Roman government to

Camillus.
v. c.
359.
—
n. c.
395.

Camillus
breaks his
vow.

and dis-
pleases the
soldiers.

U. c.
360.
—
n. c.
394.

Falerii at-
tacked.

* It was called the *Emissarium*, and extends for nearly two miles. It is still perfectly entire. The bed of the lake itself appears to be the crater of an extinct volcano, and the collapse of some of its internal caverns, will readily account for the prodigy recorded by the ancient historians. See Ricci's *Memorie storiche di Alta Longa e dell' Albano Moderno*, Roma, 1737.

Biography. engage the people in long and arduous enterprises, in order to prevent them from caballing together, and raising those internal tu mults which had sometimes threatened the subversion of the commonwealth.

V. C.
360.

—
A. C.
394.

Treachery
of the
school-mas-
ter of Fa-
lerii.

The inhabitants of Falerii, who, like the rest of the Etruscans, were further advanced in civilization than the Romans, had therefore felt the importance of education, had adopted the Grecian custom of sending their children to one common school, where all might, from their earliest years, be accustomed to the same discipline, associate with the same companions, and form attachments and intimacies which would accompany them through life. The master to whose care these children had been confided, accustomed them to exercise, and amuse themselves outside the town, at no great distance from the Roman out-posts. By degrees he led them further and further, till at length he seized an opportunity of delivering them up in a body to the advanced guard, in order that they might be conducted to Camillus. When carried into his presence, he told the Roman general, that preferring his favour to the interest of these children, he had brought them to him, and, in them, delivered the city of Falerii into his hands. Camillus was astonished when he heard this declaration, and turning to those around him, observed that war is indeed cruel, and productive of much violence and injustice; but that men of honour acknowledge some laws even in war, and victory is not to be purchased at the expense of what is base or unprincipled; that a great general builds his hope of success upon his own courage, not upon the baseness of others. He then ordered his attendants to strip the traitor, tie his hands behind him; and then having furnished his boys with rods and scourges, leave them to inflict punishment on him by driving him back into the city. Its inhabitants had already discovered the treachery, and the walls and gates were crowded with men and women of rank, who were bewailing their loss, like persons distracted; when the boys were seen returning, flagging and driving their naked master before them, and calling Camillus their deliverer, their god, their father! This spectacle filled all the inhabitants of Falerii with admiration; and assembling together immediately, they sent a deputation to Camillus, offering to give up themselves and their city to his clemency and justice. He sent the deputies on to Rome, and, when presented to the senate, they declared that the Romans, by shewing that they esteemed justice more than victory, had taught them to consider subjection as preferable to independence: though they did not consider themselves so much their inferiors in power as in virtue. The arrangement of the terms on which the peace was to be concluded, was left by the senate entirely to Camillus, who withdrew from their territory, after having received an indemnification for the expenses of the war, and concluded a treaty of alliance with all the Falisci.

How pa-
nished by
Camillus.

The Falisci
capitulate.

The common soldiers were not inspired with the equity and magnanimity of their commander; they had calculated upon the plunder of Falerii, and were therefore disappointed at this returning empty-handed. They made no scruple to charge Camillus with designs hostile to the people, and a desire to prevent the poor from having their condition improved. Their feelings were exasperated by his strenuous op-

position to the proposal for transferring half of the inhabitants of Rome to Veil. That measure was soon renewed by the tribunes of the people, and when put to the vote in an assembly of the people, thrown out by a majority of one tribe only: a result as gratifying to the patricians, as it was displeasing to the leaders of the plebeian party; and considered by both as a great measure due to the vehement and persevering opposition of Camillus. So strong was the irritation of the people against him at this time, that a severe domestic affliction with which he was then visited, the loss of one of his sons by a natural death, did not at all mitigate their clamour and hostility. The mildness and goodness of his disposition also prevented him from hearing up against his affliction with Roman fortitude; and instead of appearing in public to counteract the designs of his enemies who had brought an impeachment against him, he shut himself up in his house with the women of his family, abandoning himself to his affliction.

Camillus.
V. C.
361.
—
A. C.
393.

Camillus
loses his
son.

V. C.
362.
—
A. C.
392.

The crime laid to his charge was the embezzlement of a part of the Tuscan spoils: particularly some brazen gates, a part of those spoils, which were said to have been found in his possession. The exasperation of the populace was such, that it was plain they would seize upon any pretext for his condemnation. He assembled his friends, and besought them to use all their exertions and influence to save him from becoming the victim of the false accusations and rancour of his enemies. After due deliberation they declared that they had no hope of succeeding, but promised to assist him in paying the fine to which he might be condemned. Indignant at the thoughts of such treatment, he resolved to withdraw and go into a voluntary exile. After embracing his wife and children, he went in silence from his house to the gate of the city; but stopping there and turning round, exclaimed, as he stretched forth his arms to the Capitol, "Grant, ye Gods! if I am driven out not by any misconduct on my part, but by the passion and jealousy of the Roman people, that they may soon repeat, and make it most to all the world that they have need of Camillus and are anxious for his return!"

V. C.
363.
—
A. C.
391.

Accused by
the Romans.

This prayer might well be considered by the Romans as having been favourably received by the Gods; for in less than two years they suffered the greatest calamity and disgrace which ever befel their country: the invasion and capture of the city by the Gauls. That nation, like the other free and hardy tribes who inhabited the northern parts of Europe, was well calculated by its warlike habits and overflowing population to prove more than a match for the more civilized, but less robust, and enduring people of the South: and as soon as they had once passed the barrier of the Alps, swarms from the Southern or Celtic Gauls, poured down like a resistless torrent, over the fertile plains of Italy: tribe after tribe coming to dispossess the Etruscans who had long been established in the country on each side of the Po, and from the Adriatic to the Tyrrhene sea. One of these tribes, the Senones, who at this time occupied the country upon the Adriatic between Ravenna and Ancona, laid siege to Clusium, one of the chief cities of Etruria, anciently the residence of Porseus, and barely 100 miles to the north of Rome. The appearance of the Gauls, remarkable for their size, light hair and

Rome taken
by the
Gauls.

Biography. fair complexions, so unlike the swarthy nations of Greece and Italy; the ferocity of their manners, and strangeness of the weapons with which they were armed; but more especially their vast numbers and the report of their successes against the Etruscan troops; all contributed to fill the people of Clusium with alarm. Though unconnected with Rome by any former tie of friendship or alliance, and having no claim upon the good will of the Romans, except from their perfect neutrality with respect to their countrymen the Veientes, the Clusini sent an embassy to Rome, entreating its aid against the Gauls. The Romans were willing to act as mediators, though they had no intention to send any men to the assistance of their new friends. The three sons of Marcus Fabius Ambustus, a man of one of the most distinguished families, were despatched to hold a communication with the Gauls, and put an end to the war if possible, by negotiation.

The strangers, when the Roman envoys had delivered their message, replied that all they desired was a portion of the waste lands belonging to Clusium, upon which they might settle; if that were granted, they would immediately make peace; but if it were refused, they would endeavour to shew by their exploits how much the Gauls surpassed all other nations in valour. The Etrurians were highly displeased with this request, and the conference served only to exasperate each party. An engagement immediately ensued; and the Roman envoys, in violation of the common law of nations, took arms in favour of the Etrurians. A principal chieftain among the Gauls was killed by the hand of one of them; and when ambassadors were sent by the barbarians to Rome to demand satisfaction for this unprovoked attack, the intrigue and influence of the Fabian family, together with the perverseness of the people, completely prevented any concession from being made: the Gauls therefore returned to their camp breathing nothing but vengeance and extermination.

The councils of Rome might well seem to the ancients to be influenced by an unhappy fatality at this momentous period; for corruption in the different classes of citizens; ambition and family interest in the higher; turbulence and faction in the lower ranks, had driven able and deserving men from the posts of trust and distinction: and the management of the impending war was left to those very persons, whose rashness had drawn this new and formidable enemy on their country. The three envoys to Clusium were elected military tribunes, before the Gallic messengers returned to their camp; and still no extraordinary preparation was made for a war, with one to any who were not blinded by their passions, must have appeared to threaten no ordinary degree of danger. They had often, on former occasions, when engaged with a much less formidable enemy, appointed a dictator, to give that vigour and efficiency in the conducting of the war which cannot be obtained under a divided command. On this, the guidance and direction of the troops were on the contrary entrusted to a greater number of generals than usual; and unanimity in their councils was therefore rendered highly improbable. But the greatest evil of all, was the absence and disgrace of that very man who, alone, perhaps, was able to save the city from the impending ruin.

The honours lavished upon those of whose conduct

the Gauls thought they had so much reason to complain, turned their arms immediately against Rome itself. They advanced with a rapidity which hardly allowed the Romans time to prepare for their own defence; and it was only with a very hasty and irregular levy that they could meet them near the eleventh mile-stone, at a short distance above the confluence of the Allia and the Tiber. The numbers of the enemy greatly surpassed those of the Romans; their wild songs, discordant shouts, and savage appearance, contributed not a little to spread dismay through the army, ill-qualified by experience and discipline, or the prudence of its leaders, to make up for the disadvantages under which it then laboured. The defeat was so complete, that the left wing was entirely destroyed; the centre, which fled under cover of the night to Veii, suffered severely; and the right wing, which retired to the hills, at the beginning of the contest, was the only part of the Roman army which escaped without very great loss. The day of the Allia was ever afterwards marked by the Romans in their calendars, as one of the most unfortunate days in the whole year.

The consternation of the Romans was such as would have made Rome an easy prey to the Gauls, had they immediately followed up their success; but with the improvidence natural to savages, they stopped to revel in the plunder of the Roman camp, and allowed their enemy time to fortify his strong-holds, and prepare for a steady resistance. The city was not in a condition to be defended against the invaders; the army therefore retired to the Capitol, fortifying it as strongly, and replenishing its stores and ammunition, as much as was possible. Almost all the other inhabitants fled for safety to the surrounding country; but the oldest and most distinguished among those of senatorial and consular rank resolved, if we may believe Plutarch, rather to die than quit the sacred city. Clothed in their official robes, and seated in their ivory curule chairs in the forum, they waited calmly the arrival of the enemy. On the day after the battle the barbarians reached the city, and finding the Collina Gate open and unguarded, entered without any resistance. Every thing was silent and deserted; the very solitude of the place terrified them; and when they came into the forum, and saw so many men, sitting each in the vestibule of his house, and bearing, from his age, his aspect, and his dress, the impression of more than human majesty, they took these venerable men for statues of the gods; nor were they undeceived, till Marcus Papirius, by striking of one of the Gauls with his ivory sceptre, provoked the anger of the savage, and immediately, with his colleagues, fell a sacrifice to their fury. The slaughter of the senators was the signal for universal pillage, murder, and devastation.

The conflagration of their houses, the cries and shrieks of the wounded and dying, the desolation of their temples, of every thing which they held dear or sacred, took place immediately, under the eyes of the Roman army and its commanders, who were shut up in the Capitol: their position was so strong by nature, and so well fortified by art, that the Gauls had no means of biddng them, as long as their stock of provisions held out. The numbers of the invading army, and the small space occupied by the Capitol,

Camillus.

U. C.

364.

—

a. c.

390.

U. C.

364.

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a. c.

390.

Biography. enabled Brennus, the Gallic chief, to keep up a rigorous blockade; and had his followers been more provident, they would perhaps have for ever extinguished the Roman name; but, elated by their success, and unused to provide for future contingencies, they trusted to their foraging parties for supplies, and diminished their strength by sending out detachments in many different directions. One of these happened to go towards Ardea, a town of Latium, in alliance with Rome, about twenty miles to the south. There it was that Camillus was living in great retirement, "more afflicted," as the historian says, "by the calamities of his country than by his own;" and only anxious to seize some opportunity of raising it again from its fallen condition. When he found that the inhabitants had called an assembly to deliberate upon the best mode of repelling the Gauls, whose approach had created the greatest alarm, he went thither, and entreating them not to give way to their fears, proposed to attack the enemy by night, when they would be overcome by sleep and wine, the fruits of their plunder, and would fall an easy prey to a resolute and vigilant foe. The reasonableness of this plan, as well as the character of him who proposed it, caused its immediate adoption. As soon as night came on, they silently marched out, under the command of Camillus, and found the camp of the Gauls, exactly as he had predicted, entirely open and unprotected; no sentinels at their posts—all drowned in sleep and intoxication. The slaughter was unbounded; and a large portion of the few who escaped, fled into the territory of Antium, and were cut in pieces by the people of that town.

Camillus attacks the camp of the Gauls.

U. C.
365.
—
A. C.
389.

The Romans had now more than ever reason to exult in their conquest of the city of Veii. The Gauls, in their eagerness to attack Rome itself, left the Tuscan cities on their way unattacked; this therefore, now afforded a refuge and a place of rendezvous to most of the Romans who had retired before the arrival of the enemy. Their numbers were recruited by volunteers continually coming in from the neighbouring states, whose lands were plundered by the foraging parties from Rome. All were eager to make a diversion in favour of the party blockaded in the Capitol, and endeavour at least to dialogue the enemy; but they had no leader on whose judgment and authority they could rely. The very place in which they were, was calculated to remind them of Camillus; and they resolved to send a deputation to him, to entreat him to take them under his command, and lead them, as they were confident he would, to victory. He refused, unless recalled by the members of the senate, shut up in the Capitol, for he considered them as the legal representatives of the government, and did not think himself justified in resuming his rights as a citizen without their sanction.

This answer to their request threw them into the greatest perplexity, till Pontius Cominius, a youth of humble rank, but of an enterprising spirit, offered to make his way into the Capitol, and communicate their wishes to the senators who occupied it. Supporting himself on a piece of cork, he was carried down the Tiber by the stream, to the foot of the Capitoline Hill; and landing at a place where the rock was almost perpendicular, and therefore not watched by the enemy, he succeeded in clambering up to the summit;

was recognized by the sentinels, admitted into the fortress, and carried to the magistrates, to whom he declared the object of his mission. The senate immediately issued a decree, authorising an assembly of the people, for the purpose of recalling Camillus from banishment, and appointing him dictator. Cominius had the good fortune to return, as he had approached, unobserved: messengers were instantly dispatched to Camillus, at Ardea, and he returned with them to resume the command of those, who had so lately treated him with such base ingratitude.

The Gauls, in the mean time, were gaining possession of the last strong-hold of Rome, the Capitol itself; for having discovered a path not before tried; perhaps that near the Carmental Gate, by which Cominius had ascended: they scaled it in the dead of a dark night, without alarming the dogs, usually so vigilant, or being discovered by the centinels, who were buried in sleep; and had nearly got a firm footing on the summit of the rock, when the geese, consecrated to Juno, whose hunger had increased their vigilance, heard their steps, and taking alarm, began to cackle and clap their wings. This fortunately waked Marcus Manlius, who had been consul three years before, and was distinguished by his military prowess. He seized his arms, roused his companions, and just reached the rampart in time to thrust a Gaul, who had mounted it, head-long down. This man carried those immediately behind along with himself in his fall; and before the rest of his party could recover, the whole garrison of the Capitol was assailing them with missiles from above, so that the Gauls had much difficulty in making good their retreat.

This was but the beginning of their disasters: the putrid effluvia from heaps of dead bodies, the exhalations from the marshes near Rome, the heat of the climate, to which the Gauls were unused, and their indulgence in the luxuries of Italy, all contributed to bring on a pestilential disease, which swept away great numbers: while the activity and vigilance of Camillus cut off their supplies, and reduced them to great scarcity of provisions. But the besieged were not in a better condition: threatened with absolute famine from within, and ignorant of the success of their friends without, their spirit was at length broken down, and they began to think of capitulation. The siege had already been continued more than six months, and the besiegers were not unwilling to come to terms; so that a convention was soon made between the two parties, by which the Gauls engaged to evacuate the city on receiving solid gold to the weight of a thousand pounds. This was not the only humiliation which the Romans had to suffer; for when they complained that the weights used by the Gauls had been purposely falsified, in order to give their scale the preponderance, Brennus insultingly threw in his sword, adding, when asked what it meant—"What can it mean, but woe to the conquered!" The Romans were so indignant at this fresh insult that, distressed as they were, they felt inclined to break off all further intercourse with their enemies; and were debating the point among themselves, when Camillus most opportunely appeared at the gate of Rome; ordered the conference to be immediately closed, and declared, that a convention made without his authority was illegal, and that, as

Camillus.

U. C.
365.

—
A. C.
389.
Camillus recalled by the Senate.

The Capitol recovered by the cackling of geese

From Ides of July
U. C.
364.
to Ides of Feb.
U. C.
365.

Distress of the besiegers and besieged.

Biography. dictator he now annulled it. Brennus resented this interference on the part of the Roman general in the warmest manner; a skirmish ensued on the spot; but as streets encumbered with ruins were ill adapted to the movements of an army, Brennus withdrew his forces to the ensuing night, and encamped about eight miles to the east of Rome on the road to Gaihi. Camillus came up with him early on the following morning, and routed his troops after a short conflict. Many of the fugitives were killed in the pursuit, and many who escaped the swords of the victors were slain by the inhabitants of the towns and villages in the neighbourhood. Camillus returned to the city in triumph, amid the shouts of his soldiers, hailing him, not without reason, as the saviour of his country and second founder of Rome.*

After offering up costly sacrifices to the gods, in gratitude for their assistance, and the restoration of their temples, Camillus urged the people to commence the rebuilding of the city. The vastness of the undertaking, the recollection of what they had suffered from the Gauls, which was recalled by the very sight of Rome, the despondence which so complete a humiliation would naturally occasion, all combined to make the people disinclined to begin that great work, and willing to listen to their factious leaders, who took this opportunity of again persuading them to insist upon being removed to Veii. But that measure was thought so fatal by the senate, that they would not allow the dictator to lay down his office, at the termination of the half year, as all his predecessors had done: and while they secured themselves against the intrigues of demagogues by extending the period of his absolute authority, they left nothing undone to reconcile the populace to the laborious task which they had now to perform, and to offer every possible alleviation of their sufferings. Camillus, finding the people so extremely averse from the undertaking, assembled the senate in order to have the question deliberately put to the vote; and entreated his countrymen by every thing that was sacred not to desert the spot where the ashes of their forefathers reposed, the favorite abode of their gods, the site which had been marked by prodigies as the head of their dominions. Just as they were about to give their votes on the question, while it was yet extremely dubious which opinion would preponderate, a centurion marching a body of soldiers by the house where the senate was assembled, called out to his ensign—"Fix your colours here; this is the best place for us to remain in." The omen was instantly hailed by the senate, and the people willingly assented to a decision sanctioned, as their superstition taught them, by an authority from heaven. The senate granted permission to cut wood and work the quarries without paying the usual charges, to all who would engage to finish their houses in the course of the

year; but they neglected to prescribe any rules for the place of the buildings, so that the new city bore lasting marks of the haste and precipitation with which it was built.

The tribunes of the people, probably in this year, commenced an impeachment which was far more deserving of praise than were most of their suits against the agents of government; it was a charge against Q. Fabius for his breach of the law of nations in taking up arms against the Gauls, who were not at war with the republic. The crime was too notorious to be denied, and the consequences of it had been too serious to leave any hope of an indulgent sentence from the people: it may therefore be reasonably supposed, that the criminal preferred a private and voluntary, to a public and ignominious, death; for before the day fixed for his trial had come, his friends announced that he had been carried off by a short and sudden illness. To the Romans, who looked upon suicide as no crime, and especially to a member of a haughty patrician family like the Fabii, such a termination of life appeared far preferable to the disgrace of a condemnation by the people.

Soon after these events, the nations, who lived on the confines of the Roman territory, seemed as if actuated by one common spirit of hostility, and resolved to crush the republic while rising from her ashes. The Æqui, Volsci, and Latini invaded them from the east and south; almost at the same time that the Tuscans laid siege to Sutrium, a town in alliance with Rome, on the north-west. The Roman camp, near Lanuvium, was surrounded by the Latins; and the military tribunes who had the command there, sent to Rome for immediate succours, to extricate them from the imminent peril in which they were placed. Camillus was, on this occasion, a third time, appointed dictator. He immediately raised a new levy; and divided his army into three parts; one of which, under Manlius Capitolinus, was encamped before the city; another, under the command of Æmilius Mamercinus, was sent against the Etruscans; and the third, led by Camillus himself, marched against the Volsci. They had flattered themselves that all the youth of Rome had perished under the swords of the Gauls, but the very name of Camillus filled them with terror; they therefore barricaded their entrenchments with trunks of trees heaped up, to prevent the passage of the enemy. Camillus, perceiving this, ordered burning torches to be thrown upon their works, and as there was fortunately a very high wind at the time, blowing directly on the enemy's quarters, and the Volsci were so alarmed and overcome by the flames, and smoke, and crackling of the green timber, that the Romans had less difficulty in scaling the rampart and entering the camp, than they had previously experienced in crossing the enclosure already consumed by the fire. The Volsci were completely routed, their camp taken, their fugitives pursued, their country laid waste, and Volsci, their capital town, given up. The Æqui, their neighbours, immediately afterwards experienced a similar fate; they were defeated by Camillus at Bola, and their town, as well as their camp, taken at the first onset.

The successes of the republic in the south and east, Sutrium were counterbalanced for a time by the misfortunes of their allies at Sutrium. They had been compelled

Camillus.
v. c.
365.
—
R. C.
389.

Impeachment of Fabius.

His death

Romans attacked by the neighbouring nations.

who are defeated by Camillus.

* The appearance of Camillus precisely at the moment when his presence might save the honour of Rome, to any notion of the improbability of his risking the salvation of his country upon a mere point of form—a decree of the senate—which there was so little prospect of obtaining—has so much the appearance of romance, that the truth of this part of the Roman history might justly be suspected, even if we had not something very like an express testimony on the part of Polybius that the Gauls retired un molested, with the ransom of Rome in their hands. Polyb. Proem.

Geography. by the superior numbers of their enemy, the fatigues and losses sustained in a close siege, and the failure of their resources, to evacuate their town on capitulation, and the hard condition of retiring in search of another place of abode with nothing more than the clothes upon their backs. Camillus met them, on his march to Sutrium, going in this wretched condition towards Rome. The whole multitude threw themselves at his feet, bathed in tears, and representing to him in the most moving language the misery to which they were reduced. He desired them not to despair; but to return with him, and they should be avenged upon their enemies. He marched onwards with such expedition, that he took the Etruscans, as he expected, completely by surprise. The gates of

And recap- Sutrium were open, there were no sentinels at the out- tured by Ca- posts, every one was intent upon rifling the houses of the inhabitants, who had just been expelled. The victors had no time to rally, they every where fell into the hands of their unexpected foes, and had scarcely leisure to seize their arms, much less to unite and form themselves into a body which could have made some resistance. Thus was Sutrium taken and retaken in the same day: and Camillus, by a wise precaution, having ordered his men to close the gates as soon as they had entered, completely cut off the retreat of the Etruscans, while by guaranteeing the lives of all who should lay down their arms, he humanely prevented the bloodshed which a contest within the town must have occasioned. The town was restored before the sight to its former possessors.

Insurrection at Antium. The valour, promptitude, and judgment of Camillus were so decidedly the chief causes of the success which attended his arms in these three expeditions, that the malevolence of his enemies was for once silenced, and never was a triumph more unanimously hailed with acclamations than this, the third which he had the honour of celebrating. He seems to have enjoyed his well earned honours with less interruption from the jealousy and envy of his detractors, at this than at any previous period. But his quiet was soon disturbed by an insurrection among the people of Antium, a city of the Volsci, the old and obstinate enemies of Rome. He happened to be then one of the military tribunes, and such was the confidence inspired by his character and exploits, that his colleagues voluntarily resigned the supreme power to him, giving him the authority though not the title of dictator. When the army had reached Satricum, a colony of the Antiates, they found a much larger force prepared to receive them than they had expected. It was not merely the youth of Antium, but a vast body of Latins and Hernici, whose numbers had been recruited by a long period of peace, and who were encouraged by that circumstance to throw off their allegiance to Rome. The soldiers were much discouraged on perceiving the strength of the enemy, but Camillus, seizing the nearest standard-bearer by the hood, rushed with him upon the enemy: when his men saw this, they instantly followed him, ashamed of showing less vigour and alertness than their general, whose age might have excused him from taking so active a part in the contest. The Antiates, who were in the foremost rank, were unable to stand the shock, and the panic was rapidly communicated to their allies. The very name and presence of Camillus struck the

Volsci with terror: and when they had nearly turned his left wing, his coming suddenly up, though ill mounted and insufficiently armed, gave his own men courage to rally, and turned the fortune of the day against the enemy. The battle or rather the carnage was at length stopped in the evening by a heavy storm; and the next day the Latins and Hernici returned home, leaving the Volsci to bring the war to a close, in the best manner they could, without their aid. They therefore shut themselves up within the walls of Satricum; and as they made no effort to interrupt the works carried on by Camillus in order to establish an effectual blockade, he judged that they would not have spirit enough to repel a more direct attack. He therefore ordered his men to scale the walls on all sides, and took the city by storm, without any extraordinary loss.

On his return to Rome, immediately after the capture of Satricum, he proposed to the senate to lay siege to Antium itself, the capital of the Volsci; but when they were on the point of acceding to his proposal, intelligence was received from Sutrium and Nepete of their having been attacked by the Etruscans, and in immediate want of a powerful succour from Rome. He was therefore obliged to abandon his plan for the present, and repair immediately to the towns on the confines of Etruria, which had made such a pressing application for aid. Those towns were considered as the gates and keys of Etruria, and were therefore the first objects of both the Romans and Etruscans, whenever they had designs of invading each other's territories. The latter had already got possession of Nepete and a part of Sutrium, before Camillus and his colleague Valerius came to the assistance of their inhabitants. By a judicious distribution of his troops, Camillus soon drove the Etruscans out of Sutrium, and pursued them till night with great slaughter. Nepete, which was entirely in the power of the Etruscans, was taken by assault; and the tribunes led back their victorious army to Rome, with the glory of having recovered from the enemy two cities in alliance with the republic.

That turbulence and ambition were vices not confined to one class of the Roman people, was clearly proved by a conspiracy against the state soon afterwards discovered. It originated from a quarter whence it was least expected—a man of patrician family and distinguished patriotism, M. Manlius Capitolinus; who, while he held the other leading stations in contempt, was envious of one who, like Camillus, was rendered illustrious by his virtues as well as by his honours. Manlius, by estimating his own merits too highly, was led to depreciate those of Camillus; and not finding the senate willing to favour his pretensions, began to pay court to the multitude, and ingratiated himself with them by arts unworthy of his rank and character. The expenses in which the destruction of the city had involved the poorer citizens, had increased the burden of their debts to an extraordinary degree; and the oppressive power with which the Roman laws invested the creditor, was consequently more than ever felt by the great body of the people. Manlius, therefore, by defending the cause of plebeians, who had been seized for their debts, and taking an active part in all the popular assemblies, promoting, by his vehement harangues,

Camillus.

v. c.

368.

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B. C.

386.

Camillus
recovers
Sutrium.

v. c.

369.

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B. C.

385.

Manlius Ca-
pitolinus.

Biography. the factious measures of the demagogues, obtained an almost unparalleled share of popularity, and gave such umbrage to the senate, that they thought it expedient to create a dictator. Aulus Cornelius Cosus was the person chosen for that high office, and he appointed T. Quinctius Capitolinus, his master of the horse.

A. Dictator created. The Volsci who, though checked by the victories of Camillus, were far from subdued, were again in arms; the first act of the new dictator, therefore was an engagement with them, in which they were completely defeated and their camp taken; most of the many captives taken on this occasion were Latins and Hernici, and it appeared from the rank of the prisoners, and the confessions extorted from them, that their countrymen had certainly entered into a secret alliance with the enemies of Rome. Cosus therefore reminded in the field, expecting instructions from the senate, directing him to make war on those states; but a danger nearer home soon called him back to the capital. Manlius had proceeded so far as to excite a tumult, and encourage the populace in releasing a debtor from the officers of justice, who were carrying him to prison; and he was continually settling on foot reports of the senate's having embezzled the gold recovered from the Gauls. The passions of the multitude had been so inflamed by the violence of his harangues; and their leaders so emboldened by his daring attack on the ministers of justice, that every thing seemed ripe for an open insurrection.

Manlius excites the popular discontent. In this emergency, the senate recalled the dictator, and the next day, in the place where the popular assemblies were held, the senate being assembled, he cited Manlius to appear before him. He came, accompanied by a crowd of his adherents, to whom he had given a clear intimation that they ought to prepare for a contest. The dictator told him, in a few words, that it was currently reported, that he charged some of the senators with having embezzled a sum sufficient to release the Roman people from the burden of their debts. "So far from wishing to throw obstacles in your way, M. Manlius," continued the dictator, "if you can make such a charge good, I earnestly exhort you to produce your proofs immediately. But if you fail to produce them, or it appear that you were yourself an accomplice, I shall immediately commit you to prison, and not suffer the Roman people to be any longer deluded by your fallacious promises." Manlius, instead of directly producing his evidence, or even engaging to do so, evaded the main point, and dwelt upon all those circumstances which gave the appearance of truth to his assertion; that the war against the Volsci was merely a specious pretence, and that the dictator had been, in reality, appointed solely to keep the people in subjection. Cosus again called upon him to come directly to the point, and prove the charge which he had made; to which he replied, that he should not enter into any proofs where his enemies were to be the judges of their validity. On this, the dictator ordered his officer to carry him immediately to prison; and such was the awe in which that magistrate was held, that not a murmur was heard or so angry look seen. Yet so completely was Manlius become the idol of the people, that a very large number assumed the garb of mourning, and crowded round his prison with every

demonstration of grief. The popular irritation was now too violent to be calmed even by concessions; little effect was produced by a division of some of the public lands among them, and the establishment of a colony of two thousand citizens at Sutrium; but soon after the dictatorship of Cornelius Cosus had terminated, Manlius was liberated by order of the senate, and again became, as might be expected, the leader of the disaffected.

At the close of that year, Camillus was again, for the sixth time, chosen one of the military tribunes, invested with consular authority. The liberation of Manlius had so increased his audacity, that he now openly exhorted the people to vindicate their invaded rights, to level the different magistracies with the ground, and establish the supremacy of the people beyond the possibility of its being violated. He would be their adviser and leader, and the more dignified the title with which they should honour him, the more effectually should he be able to obtain what they desired. This language was too plain to leave any doubt of the intentions of Manlius, and justly alarmed all those who had any regard for the constitution of the Republic; so much so, that even the tribunes of the people felt the necessity of checking such seditious proceedings, and two of them entered a charge of sedition against him, appointing a day for hearing his defence. His guilt was so apparent, that even his own family and nearest relations, did not assume the habit of mourning, or make any effort to obtain a favourable sentence. When brought to trial, he made such a powerful appeal to the great actions by which his life had been distinguished; the many most essential services for which his country was indebted to him; and most especially the salvation of the Capitol, which was solely due to his courage and vigilance, that the tribunes felt it would be impossible for any judges to pronounce sentence against him, while that fortress was in sight. They therefore adjourned his trial to a future day, and fixed on a grove near the Nomentane gate, from whence the Capitol was out visible, where the people, unable to doubt a crime proved by incontrovertible evidence, gave a tardy and reluctant vote for his condemnation. He was thrown by the tribunes from the Tarpeian rock; and the same place became an eternal monument both of his glory and his disgrace. His house was razed with the ground, and a decree was passed that no patrician should in future inhabit the Capitol. The Manlii were likewise forbidden to give the name of Marcus to any of their children. The people soon began to regret the sentence which a sense of justice had wrong from them; and ascribed a pestilence, which raged some time afterwards, to the wrath of the gods, who were indignant at seeing his blood shed, who had saved the Capitol and snatched their temples out of the hands of the enemy.

The fidelity of the Latian States had long been suspected by the Roman government, and in the years immediately following the events just related, even some of their colonies in that quarter showed a manifest inclination to join their enemies; particularly Velitæ, whose inhabitants made head against a Roman army, and were supported by their neighbours, the people of Præneste. The Roman generals abstained from storming a town which was a Roman

Camillus.

u. c.

369.

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u. c.

385.

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u. c.

370.

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u. c.

384.

Manlius impeached

and condemned.

Biography. colony, but declared war against the Prænestini, who next year, in conjunction with the Volsci, took Satricum, another colony, by storm, and treated the captives with great barbarity. This demanded a prompt and severe chastisement; and Camillus was for that reason not only chosen a military tribune, for the seventh time, but appointed, out of the regular order, commander of the troops sent against the Volsci. He had already reached the age which exempted him from the necessity of undertaking such services, and would have availed himself of that circumstance, had not the people strongly pressed him to take the command. His colleague was Lucius Furius, a member of the same family, but very inferior in character and ability, as soon afterwards appeared. They marched on the following day to Satricum, where the enemy awaited with a considerably larger force, so confident of success from superiority of numbers, that they used every stratagem to draw the Romans into an immediate engagement. The soldiers became extremely impatient of delay; and Furius, who was deficient in judgment and self command, at the same time that he was rash and daring, increased the discontent of his men, by blaming the dilatoriness of his colleague. At length he urged him to consent to their attacking the enemy, and not to oppose his single will to the united wishes of all the others. Camillus replied with the firmness and dignity which became his years, and a gentleness and modesty, which reflect the brightest light upon the great qualities by which he was so peculiarly distinguished. He said, that "he had never had reason to repent of his councils, or complain of his fortune; but his colleague had an equal authority with himself, and the advantage of youth and vigour; with respect to the army he was more used to command than to be commanded; that he would not prevent his colleague from taking the lead, and hoped the gods would be propitious; he only requested that, from indulgence for his age, he might be excused from placing himself in the front rank; and he would not fail in those duties which might justly be required from a man of his advanced years." Furius willingly assented to this proposal, he led on the van, while Camillus in the rear took charge of the reserve, placing it in a strong post in front of their camp, and taking a station for himself on a rising ground, whence he could be an attentive observer of the engagement. The enemy scarcely made a stand at all, but retreated precipitately to their own camp; the Romans, elated with their success, pushed on heedlessly up a rising ground, when a strong reinforcement marched out of the enemy's camp, and joined by those who appeared to be flying, charged the troops of Furius with all the advantage of fresh men and a higher ground. The latter had been completely entrapped by the feint of the Volsci; and were so confounded by their unexpected return to the charge, that they were soon put to flight themselves, and endeavoured to regain their camp in the greatest haste and confusion. Camillus desired his attendants to place him on his horse, the moment he saw the turn in the fortune of the day, and, advancing with the reserve, hastened to meet the vanguard, and encourage them to rally. The sight of this venerable commander, rendered illustrious by so many triumphs,

exposing himself in the foremost ranks, shunning neither labour nor peril, recalled the spirit and resolution of the soldiers, and filled them with shame for their disgraceful flight. Furius, who now gladly submitted to the superior judgment of his colleague—hastened, by his desire, to recover the cavalry from their panic, while Camillus, at the head of the infantry, sustained the charge of the enemy. The dismounted cavalry soon came to their assistance, and it was not long before the Volsci felt what the Romans were capable of effecting under such a general as Camillus. The troops and their commanders seemed all resolved never to be surpassed in energy and valour; and the Volsci, who had fled as a mere feint at the beginning of the contest, were completely routed at the close of it. Their loss was immense, their camp was stormed and taken by the Romans, and great as was the number of the slain, it was exceeded by the number of the captives.*

Among them, there were found some natives of Tusculum, and on inquiry, it appeared that the Tusculans had maintained a secret correspondence with the Volsci, and meditated a war with Rome. The danger from a foe thus near at hand, appeared to Camillus so imminent, that he determined to return to Rome immediately with the captives, leaving his colleague in charge of the army. The senate were of opinion that war ought immediately to be commenced against Tusculum, and entrusted the conducting of it entirely to Camillus; he only asked to have one coadjutor in that service, and was allowed to choose one of his colleagues; when, by naming, contrary to the expectation of all, Lucius Furius; he gave at once the most convincing proof of his own extreme moderation and candour; and, by thus palliating the disgrace of his colleague, added a brighter lustre to his own glory.

When he entered the territory of Tusculum, he found every thing wearing the appearance of profound peace; the fields were full of husbandmen and shepherds, occupied in their ordinary labours; the gates of the town were open, and many inhabitants of the higher classes came to shew their respect to the generals; supplies were sent very readily into the camp, both from the town and country. Camillus encamped his men before the gates of the town, and on entering it, found every thing in a similar state; doors open, shops well filled with goods, tradesmen hard at work, children calling out their lessons in the schools, women and lads going to and fro wherever their business called them; not the slightest indication of fear, or any thing that intimated a thought of war. Though not convinced of the sincerity of the Tusculans, Camillus was so well pleased with the care which they had taken to remove the impression produced by their correspondence with the enemies of Rome, that he encouraged them to go in a body to deprecate the wrath of the senate. They lost no time in complying with his suggestion, and their appearance as suppliants, together with the humble strain in which they acknowledged their offence, had so powerful an effect in appeasing the displeasure of the senate, that they were not only left unmolested

* Flutarch's account of this affair differs considerably from that of Livy, which we have followed as the more probable one.

Biography. for the present, but soon afterwards admitted to the privileges of Roman citizens. The legions were then recalled from Tusculum; and with the year the magistracy of Camillus terminated; a magistracy in which his skill and valour in the war against the Volsci, his happy success in the expedition against Tusculum, and his forbearance and moderation towards his colleague on all occasions, rendered him more than ever remarkable.

After the close of this war against the Tusculans, a very turbulent period ensued. The tribunes, who were ever stirring up the people to make some claim which they were sure the senate would refuse to grant, availed themselves of the distress occasioned by the pressure of the debts owing to the wealthy Patricians, and exhorted the people not to serve in the army till some remedy had been found for the evils under which they laboured. The inhabitants of Præeste, at the same meditated an invasion of the Roman state, and, when they learned that the people refused to enlist, that Rome was almost in a state of insurrection, they expedited their own levies, entered the Roman territory, and carried their devastations to the very gates of Rome. A dictator, as was usual in such emergencies, was appointed, the populace did not dare to resist his authority; the levies were completed; the Prænestini defeated near the river Allia, eight of their towns taken, and their city given up. Titus Quinctius Cincinnatus, the dictator, returned in triumph. These successes served but for a short time to silence the factious and disaffected. The old grievances, real or imaginary, were revived; but a temporary expedient, exemption from the claims of the creditor while the debtor was in actual service, quieted the apprehensions of the poorer citizens for the present, gave then a motive for entering willingly into the service, and enabled the tribunes to lead a considerable force against the Volsci and Latins, again in arms against the Republic. The Romans were successful in this, as in the preceding, wars, and continued gradually, though slowly, to enlarge the bounds of their territory. But, though successful abroad, they were still disturbed by intestine tumults at home.

Rome in a state of dissension.

A daughter of Marcus Fabius Ambustus, who was married to a plebeian, happened to be visiting at the house of one of her sisters, whose husband was a military tribune, and a patrician, when, on his return from the forum, his licitor struck the door of his house with his rod, to announce his master's return. The noise alarmed the plebeian sister, unused to such thundering knocks, and ignorant of their meaning. The other laughed at her for being so ignorant; but "great events" it has been said often arise "from trifling causes;" and that laughter threw Rome almost into a state of anarchy for several years. Her sister's ridicule sunk so deeply into the mind of the one who had thus betrayed her plebeian habits, that, when she saw her father, she could not conceal her chagrin from him. He consoled her by saying, that "she should soon have the satisfaction of enjoying all the honours which her sister could claim." Her husband, Cains Licinius Stolo, was next year elected one of the tribunes of the people; and, urged on by his father-in-law, he, in conjunction with an ambitious colleague, Lucius Sextus, proposed three laws, of

which the sole object was the depression of the higher and elevation of the lower classes. These laws would, in fact, if once established, have completely subverted the constitution of the republic. The first was, that the capital of every debt should be paid off by instalments in three years, the interest already paid having been first deducted from the original capital; the second, that five hundred acres (jugera) should be the largest quantity of land which it should be lawful for any individual to possess; and the last, that no military tribunes should be in future created, but that one of the consuls should always be a plebeian.

These three laws, in the opinion of the senators, struck at the very vitals of the constitution: they therefore persuaded the colleagues of Licinius and Sextus to put a veto on their proposition whenever it was brought forward. The latter, in their turn, threatened to use the same expedient for preventing the election of the magistrates; and for the next five years they realized their threats, by allowing none to be elected, except the aediles and the tribunes of the people. The impediment which this resistance offered to the forming of the military levies was a very serious evil, which the military tribunes elected under an officer called interrex, were not able to stem; and it seemed to demand the interposition of a dictator, whose power was so absolute, as to enable him instantly to check any symptoms of disobedience to his orders. Camillus was again fixed upon to fill that important office.

This was contrary to his own wish, as well as opposed to the inclinations of the people. He felt that he was considered as created merely to silence their demands; and that those who had often followed him to conquest, could with truth affirm, that he was more indebted to their confidence and obedience in war, than to the support and concurrence of the patricians in peace. The jealousy of his enemies might also be secretly at work, endeavouring the more surely to effect his ruin, by placing him in so conspicuous and difficult a station, that it was scarcely possible for him to succeed in repressing the claims of the people without being guilty of great oppression; and if he failed, he would plainly have no friends to save him in either party. In order to disconcert the plans of the tribunes, he summoned all the people to a general muster in the field, at the day and hour fixed for their assembling in the forum to vote upon these laws, threatening to punish disobedience to his orders with a heavy fine. But before that time had arrived, Camillus resigned his office, in consequence of an unfavourable appearance in the auspices*. Publius Manlius, the succeeding dictator, appointed Licinius Stolo his master of the horse; and the second of the three objectionable laws, that which restricted the estate of each individual to five hundred acres, was carried soon afterwards. It is remarkable that Stolo himself was afterwards convicted of transgressing his own law.

Camillus.

U. C.

377.

—

N. C.

379.

Laws in favour of the plebeians proposed.

U. C.

386.

—

N. C.

369.

Camillus appointed dictator.

He resigns.

which is increased by a very trifling circumstance.

* It was said by some historians, that this was a mere pretence, and that his real motive was the dread of a fine of 500,000 asces, with which the tribunes threatened him, in case he proceeded to prevent their bill from being put to the vote. Plutarch seems inclined to embrace this latter opinion; but Livy argues in favour of the former, both from the known character of Camillus, his having been immediately replaced by another dictator, and the illegality of the supposed threat of the tribunes. Liv. xi. 38.

Biography.

But the great question respecting the election of consuls still remained undecided; and the apprehensions of the senate had not been removed, when intelligence was received that the Gauls were again advancing, from the coasts of the Adriatic, with an immense force. They were desolating the country through which they passed, and many of the terrified inhabitants sought for refuge within the walls of the city. The alarm created by this unforeseen danger arrested the progress of internal dissensions, and some of the more popular senators having proposed Camillus as dictator, he was immediately created as it were by acclamation. Notwithstanding his great age, for he was now nearly eighty years old, he did not hesitate to undertake the office conferred upon him. He would not suffer any personal consideration to interfere with the claims of his country; and, without claiming any indulgence for the infirmities of age, immediately made his levies, and entered upon his official duties. By helmets of polished iron, which would break a sword, or make it glance aside, and by a rim of brass round the shield, which would resist the cut of a sabre, by which the wood unarméd would have been cleaved, Camillus equipped his men with arms peculiarly adapted for warfare with the Gauls, who depended chiefly on their swords and the fury of the onset. He also armed his men with long pikes, which were calculated to check the effect of the enemy's swords, and prevent them from coming into such close quarters.

The Gauls had reached the river Anio, and were only a few miles from Rome, when they first came in sight of the Roman army. Camillus had formed an encampment on a broken and rising ground, where there were many ravines and recesses among the hills, which enabled him to conceal the greater part of his men; while the remainder was posted at the top of an easy ascent, as if afraid to descend into the lower ground and encounter the enemy. In this position the Romans could watch the motions of the enemy, and, by the dictator's command, remained quiet spectators of the depredations and carousals of the Gauls: and when he had observed that part of them were dispersed through the country in foraging-parties, he sent out a body of light-armed infantry, before the day had dawned, to harass the enemy, and prevent them from forming in a line; and as soon as daylight appeared, led his heavy-armed troops into the plain, and drew them up in battle-array upon the plain.

The calculations of Camillus, as might be expected, from so cautious and experienced a commander, all proved correct. The desultory skirmishing of his light-armed troops continually harassed the Gauls in different quarters, and compelled them to advance in great confusion; and when they rushed tumultuously upon the heavy-armed men, in the main body of the army, their swords were bent or broken by the resistance of the Roman shields and helmets, and their targets pierced by the pikes. Finding their own weapons of so little service, they endeavoured to seize those of the enemy; but their naked bodies had no protection against the swords of the Romans, who therefore soon made great havoc. The contest was not long continued: the Gauls fled precipitately over the plain, (for the heights had been secured by Camillus)

and left their camp, open and unguarded, a prey to their enemies. This victory was of importance to the Romans, not merely on account of its immediate consequences, in removing their apprehension of being again overwhelmed by the barbarians; but in as much as it taught them no longer to fear those dreaded hordes, and to rely more upon their own superior skill and coolness. Till after this battle, they had considered the Gauls as almost invincible, and had ascribed their former successes to the prevailing sickness, or other accidental circumstances injurious to the Gauls, rather than any superiority of their own.

A triumph for this victory was decreed to Camillus by the mutual consent both of the senate and people; but a contest awaited him at home which he was less prepared to engage in, than that which he had so happily brought to a termination abroad. The people, presuming upon their late services in the field, insisted more urgently than ever upon having one of the consuls chosen from among the plebeians. The senate were as obstinately resolved not to concede what they considered as a violation of a fundamental principle in the constitution of the republic; and, considering the authority of the dictator as useful in repressing the turbulence of the people, they refused to permit Camillus to lay down his office. At length, as he was sitting at his tribunal in the forum, determining causes brought before him, an officer, sent by the tribunes of the people, summoned him to attend them, and laid his hand upon him as if about to carry him by force. This was resented by the patricians present, as a most bare-faced insult: the populace vociferated against their driving away the tribunes' officer; and the dictator, to allay the tumult, led the patricians away to the senate. On entering it, he turned towards the Capitol, and made a vow he would dedicate a temple to Concord, if the Gods should bring the prevailing dissensions to a happy conclusion.

After a long and warm debate, the patricians at length yielded to the wishes of the people; and, in return, required their consent to the appointment of a supreme magistrate within the walls of the city, the prætor, who was always to be chosen from among the noble families. The people, when these decrees of the senate were communicated to them, received them with great satisfaction, and accompanied the dictator to his house with great acclamations.

Thus was concord at length re-established, after so long a period of endless contests; and the prayers of Concord seemed to have been favourably heard. The people passed a vote, fixing upon a spot opposite to the forum, where they held their assemblies, for the site of the temple to Concord, which the dictator had vowed to consecrate: and the Senate decreed the celebration of most magnificent games in honour of the gods, who had, at length, granted internal, as well as external, peace to the republic.

Camillus, in obedience to the decree of the Senate, called an assembly of the people, for the election of consuls, after the long suspension of that office under the military tribunes invested with consular authority. The latter office was now finally laid aside; two consuls were chosen, one of whom, Lucius Sextius, who had so long persevered in endeavouring to obtain a decree, by which persons of his rank should be rendered admissible to that honour, was the first ple-

Camillus.

U. C.
386.
—
A. C.
368.

U. C.
387.
—
A. C.
367.

U. C.
388.
—
A. C.
366.

One of the consuls chosen from the plebeians.

He defeats the Gauls.

Not in again elected on the approach of danger.

Biography. beian by whom it was enjoyed. This was the last public act of Camillus; for, in the following year, Rome being visited with a dreadful pestilence, which carried off most of the magistrates, and multitudes of the people, he also fell a victim to the malady, not the less sincerely regretted, though his death was so far from premature. His loss was justly considered as irreparable: for he was indeed unrivalled, whether in prosperous or adverse fortune. Before his banishment, he had deserved the highest distinctions; but after his exile, he became still more illustrious, as well by the earnestness with which his countrymen besought him to return, as by the peculiar happiness of being, when returned, the restorer of his country. He not only attained higher honours, and a larger share of glory than almost any one before or since: but, what more rarely happens to those whose eminence and occupations peculiarly expose them to the casualties incident to men, enjoyed the esteem and admiration he so justly merited, through a long course of years; and to the last period of his life was enabled to exert his talents, his virtues, and his influence, in the service of the state of which, even during his life time, he had the glory of being named the second founder.

His character. We have hitherto considered rather the public than the private character of Camillus; but the latter was such as has seldom been rivalled, and never surpassed. His boldness and intrepidity were not alloyed by obstinacy or rashness; his magnanimity made him humble in prosperity, and patient under adverse fortune; his patriotism remained unshaken by the ingratitude of his countrymen; his generosity led him

to conceal the failings of his opponents; and his piety, though strongly marked, does not appear to have been tainted by superstition. Often placed in a trying position, where his own prejudices, and those of his friends and relations, were likely to give a bias to his judgment, he seems always to have kept the middle path, and secured the rights of the patricians without ever oppressing the plebeians, whose intemperate conduct seemed almost to call for severity. His unbroken equanimity, moderation, and candour, added a brighter lustre to all his other great qualities, and commanded a degree of veneration from his contemporaries, which it has rarely been the lot even of the most virtuous statesmen to enjoy.

During the whole of the long period throughout which Camillus had so large a part in the administration of the Roman government, the public peace was disturbed, either by external wars or internal tumults. He had the happiness before the close of his life to usher in the commencement of a brighter era; when mutual concessions allayed for a while the ferment of party spirit, and the republic, already recovered from the severe shock sustained by the Gallic invasion, was secure against the hostile schemes of the petty states around her. In the short period of two and twenty years after the death of Camillus, so much had the fame and power of the Romans been augmented, that their alliance was courted by the Carthaginians; and the people of Campania, placing themselves under their protection, became in fact the subjects of the republic.—*Liv. v. vii. l. Plutarch in vita Camill. Anc. Græc. Hist. x. 176-224.*

Camillus.
v. c.
389.
—
n. c.
363.

PYRRHUS.

—
FLOURISHED FROM 390 TO 373 B. C., 115TH—127TH OLYMPIAD.

Biography. This country which gave birth to this celebrated warrior, is formed by nature to be the land of heroes, though few of its natives have found a place in the page of history; for the same physical causes, which rendered the inhabitants of Epirus hardy and enterprising, made them turbulent and ferocious; little disposed by position or habits to peaceful arts and institutions. In such a country, civilization can only advance by slow degrees; and, though it may produce many an Achilles, will be long before it has a Homer to immortalize his exploits. The whole of Epirus, which stretched from the mountains of Illyricum to the Ambracian gulph, and from the Ionian sea to the borders of Thessaly, is intersected by chains of lofty mountains and insurmountable mountain streams, some of which are considerable rivers, and all present barriers, that, even in modern days, would prove an almost insurmountable obstacle to an invading army. It was principally occupied by two Pelagian tribes, the Thesprotians and the Molossi. The former occupied the northern, the latter the southern, part of the country. Among the latter, according to ancient traditions, Neoptolemus or Pyrrhus, the son of Achilles, established himself, and the sovereigns of Epirus pretended to trace their genea-

logy up to him. Whatever might be their real origin, they appear to have been sunk in the deepest barbarism till Arybas, the grandfather of him whose history we are now relating, introduced among his subjects the more polished customs, together with the laws and learning, of Greece. Arybas was succeeded by his son Æacidas, but, the Molossi, it seems, gave the preference to the cousins of that prince, son of his paternal uncle Neoptolemus. They dispossessed Æacidas, placed his nephews on the throne, and endeavoured to extirpate his branch of the royal family. They did not, however, succeed; for some faithful adherents conveyed his infant son, Pyrrhus, with imminent peril and difficulty, to Megara, a town of Macedonia; and thence to the court of Glaucias, the king of Illyria, whose queen was of the family of the Æacidae. The child, by kneeling in a suppliant posture before the king, and throwing its little arms round the altar dedicated to the household gods, as if imploring their protection, softened the heart of that prince, and made him abandon the thought of giving up the fugitive to his enemies. On the contrary, he rejected an offer of two hundred talents from Cassander, one of the successors of Alexander, and a foe to the Æacidae; for the surrender of the child, ordered

Pyrrhus.
v. c.
374.
—
n. c.
380.

Design against the life of Pyrrhus.
v. c.
438.
—
n. c.
316.

Biography. him to be brought up with his own children, and when he was twelve years old, replaced him on the throne of his ancestors.

u. c. 436. But the life of Pyrrhus was a series of vicissitudes. Scarcely five years had elapsed after his restoration to the throne, when his turbulent subjects taking advantage of his absence to Illyria, pillaged his treasury, and proclaimed his former rival king.

n. c. 316. Having again to seek his fortune, Pyrrhus placed himself under the protection of his brother-in-law, Demetrius, the son of Antigonus, and fighting under his banners at the battle of Ipsus, showed proofs of courage and strength beyond his years. He remained faithful to Demetrius in his adverse fortune, and, in compliance with the treaty between that chief and Ptolemy, went as a hostage to Egypt.

u. c. 453. Thus his many good qualities and powers, both of body and mind, recommended him so strongly to Ptolemy and Berenice his queen, that they gave their daughter Antigone in marriage to him, in preference to many other suitors.

u. c. 301. This marriage enabled him to recover his throne. Through the interest and exertions of Antigone, he obtained resources, together with a force sufficient for a descent upon the coast of Epirus; and when he had reached it, found his subjects ready to receive him with open arms; for the tyrannical conduct of his rival had made them desirous of changing masters.

u. c. 457. Pyrrhus, who well knew the unsteady character of his countrymen, had too much prudence to trust entirely to their present zeal in his favour; instead of endeavouring to expel Neoptolemus he made a treaty with him, by which he associated him with himself in the kingdom.

u. c. 459. Their friendship, however, did not last long.—Pyrrhus discovered that Neoptolemus was secretly plotting his assassination, and being assured that the chief people in Epirus wished to see him sole regent, did not hesitate to despatch his rival at an entertainment to which he had innocently come.

n. c. 295. The removal of his colleague left Pyrrhus entire master of the power and resources of his kingdom, and a wider field soon presented itself for the development of his ambitious views. At the division of the empire among his generals, after the death of Alexander, (see ALEXANDER) Macedonia was assigned to Antipater, and his son Cassander succeeded to the sovereignty about ten years after the death of his father by vanquishing Polyperchon whom Antipater had appointed his successor. His son Antipater who succeeded him, put to death his mother Thessalonica, sister of Alexander the Great, on account of her attachment to the interests of his brother Alexander, and drove that prince out of his kingdom.

u. c. 457. Alexander applied for assistance to Demetrius, the son of Antigonus, who was then sovereign of the greater part of Asia Minor. Demetrius could not immediately give him the aid he wanted: he therefore turned to Pyrrhus, who bargained for all the sea-coast of Macedonia together with Ambracia, Acarnania and Amphibolia; the latter countries not originally belonging to Macedonia. Pyrrhus first secured those places, for the cession of which he had bargained, and then continued to drive Antipater before him, and put Alexander in possession of the conquered places.

u. c. 458. Lysimachus, to whom Thrace had been allotted in the division of the empire among the generals of Alexander, would willingly have aided Antipater, had his

other engagements allowed it. He, however, forged letters from Ptolemy to Pyrrhus, urging him to receive 300 talents and evacuate Macedonia. The latter immediately detected the forgery, but listened to the proposal. The princes met together to ratify the peace by a sacrifice; but Pyrrhus refused to take the oath required, in consequence of the sudden death of one of the victims, which was interpreted by his diviners as foretelling the death of the three sovereigns.

u. c. 458. This prediction was soon verified; for Demetrius, who had now leisure to attend to Alexander's request, came to offer the assistance no longer needed. His presence therefore created suspicion, instead of gratitude; and after a few days had passed, the two chiefs began to devise schemes for the destruction of each other: Demetrius was the most vigilant, or the most fortunate, of the two, and anticipated the blow prepared for him, by putting Alexander to death and proclaiming himself king of Macedonia.

u. c. 459. This was an unpropitious event for Pyrrhus, as he had claims on the gratitude of Alexander, but cooe on that of Demetrius, who was in other respects a formidable opponent, already provoked by his inroads into Thessaly. He was, indeed, the brother-in-law of Demetrius, and had in early life been his faithful adherent, but after the death of Deidamia, the sister of Pyrrhus, the former bond of amity was broken, and Macedonia of which each claimed a part, was the source of unceasing contention. They both set out with the intention of attacking each other, but each inadvertently mistook his adversary's route; and Pyrrhus, falling in with Pantauchus, a general left by Demetrius in command of his forces to Attolia, defeated him after a severe battle, in which the two commanders engaged in single combat, and Pyrrhus gained extraordinary applause for his strength, skill, and resolution.

u. c. 463. Pantauchus, who was the most celebrated of all the officers of Demetrius would have fallen, had he not been rescued by his friends before Pyrrhus could strike the last blow. The subjects of the latter, or rather his soldiers, for they were the only subjects which such princes as Pyrrhus and most of his contemporaries took into account, were delighted by the spirit and enterprise of their sovereign; and called him 'an Eagle' in consequence of his victory over Pantauchus. He modestly, answered; "If I am an eagle it is you who have made me one; for it is on your wings that I have soared."

u. c. 463. A report of Demetrius being dangerously ill, soon afterwards led Pyrrhus to overrun a great part of Macedonia, but it was only a predatory incursion, and did not give him an opportunity of augmenting his territories. Demetrius, almost as soon as his enemy had retired within his own limits, concluded a peace with him, being anxious to turn his whole attention to the recovery of his hereditary dominions. But that unexpected measure, together with the vast preparations made by Demetrius, alarmed the princes whom he meant to attack, and they prevailed upon Pyrrhus to join them in the invasion of his territory.

u. c. 464. Ptolemy, by a powerful naval armament, made a diversion in the maritime states of Greece; Lysimachus invaded the northern part of Macedonia, from Thessaly; and Pyrrhus having marched across the country to Berra, took it and established his head-quarters there. When intelligence of these movements reached Demetrius,

u. c. 464. — n. c. 290. —

u. c. 464. — n. c. 290. —

u. c. 464. — n. c. 290. —

u. c. 464. — n. c. 290. —

u. c. 464. — n. c. 290. —

u. c. 464. — n. c. 290. —

u. c. 464. — n. c. 290. —

u. c. 464. — n. c. 290. —

u. c. 464. — n. c. 290. —

u. c. 464. — n. c. 290. —

Biography.

v. c.
464.
—
s. c.
290.
v. c.
465.
—
s. c.
289.

he found that a spirit of disaffection had crept into his army, and fearing to oppose a Macedonian chief, of high reputation, such as Lysimachus was, he changed his course and marching back to the south, prepared to attack the Epirotes: but the emissaries of Pyrrhus were already at work, and the Macedonian army shewed a strong disposition to place itself under his orders. Demetrius, in short, after receiving some intelligible hints of the fate which awaited him, thought it prudent to retire from his camp, concealed in a very humble disguise. His whole army immediately submitted to Pyrrhus without striking a single blow.

But he did not long continue sole possessor of the kingdom of Macedonia. Lysimachus whose claims to the attachment of the Macedonians, had been considered by Demetrius himself as stronger than those of Pyrrhus, was not disposed to waive them, merely because that prince had fled before he came up; and Pyrrhus, who felt the very insecure tenure by which he held his newly acquired dominions, did not venture to provoke the rivalry of such an opponent. They, therefore, by mutual agreement, divided the kingdom of Macedonia between them; and by that measure, for the present, avoided any rupture. Though, as Plutarch justly observes, it was but a temporary expedient; and it was instituted for two men of such ungovernable and unrestrained ambition to remain long, when near neighbours, without cause for mutual complaint and jealousy.

Shortly after the division of Macedonia with Lysimachus, we find Pyrrhus opposing the reviving power of Demetrius, and then soon afterwards concluding a peace with him; when he had regained possession of a part of Macedonia. But no sooner had he returned into Asia, than Pyrrhus, at the persuasion of Lysimachus, again seduced the Macedonians from their allegiance; and continued in possession of Thessaly till the final overthrow of Demetrius in Syria enabled Lysimachus to turn his forces against the ally, who had assisted him in depressing his rival. He found Pyrrhus encamped near Edessa; distressed him by cutting off his supplies; and soon prevailed on the Macedonians to transfer their allegiance from a prince, who was a foreigner, to himself who had been the friend and companion of Alexander. Pyrrhus, having himself experienced the willingness with which the Macedonians listened to such suggestions, withdrew in time with his Epirotes and auxiliaries, and lost Macedonia exactly in the same manner as he had gained it not very long before.

v. c.
469.
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s. c.
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He might now have cultivated the arts of peace; but from those arts, fortune, habit, and disposition, had alike estranged him: and it must be acknowledged that the nature of the country as well as the character of the people whom he was born to govern, were not such as could be expected to suggest pacific views, and circumstances soon opened to him a sphere for the exercise of his warlike talents and inclinations, admirably suited to his enterprising character. In order to understand the events which we are now about to relate, it will be necessary to turn our eyes to Italy, and advert to the transactions which had intervened between the death of Camillus and the time upon which we are now entering. The Roman republic, which a little more than a century before, had been nearly overwhelmed by the Gauls (see CAMILLUS), and had several times appeared to be on the point of

sinking under intestine discord, had now become one of the most powerful of the Italian governments; engaged as a neighbour or an ally, in war or amity, with the remotest of the numerous states which occupied the peninsula. This sudden rise of the republic from the narrow limits and contracted sphere to which her power and influence had been hitherto restricted, was owing, in a great measure to the prudent concessions of the patricians; which strengthened the bonds by which the different orders in the state were united, recoiled the Roman people to their magistrates, and by securing them against internal enemies, enabled them to turn all their energies against their foes from without, who soon yielded one after another to their victorious armies. But it was particularly towards the South that the territories and dominion of the republic were enlarged. Some of the towns in that quarter voluntarily submitted to her authority; and the Samnites sought her alliance. But eleven years afterwards, the people of Campania, having been defeated by the Samnites their immediate neighbours, threw themselves on the protection of Rome: this dissolved the former alliance between the Romans and the Samnites, and involved them in a war which was carried on at intervals for more than sixty years. It was at length terminated by the submission of the Samnites after the loss of Pontius, their able general, and repeated defeats. The terms upon which the Romans granted the peace, which the Samnites solicited, are not known; but the character and condition of the parties, as well as the subsequent events in the south of Italy, clearly show that they were such as secured the preponderance of Rome.

The country to the east of Samnium was occupied by colonies from Greece; and Tarentum, a city in Iapygia, on the coast of what has been called the heel of Italy, was at that time in a very flourishing state. Its inhabitants were originally Spartans; but they had not adopted the rigorous laws of the mother country, they were attached to the arts and luxuries of the more polished states of Greece, and if the accounts of the Roman writers are to be trusted, were immersed in the most wanton voluptuousness. The mountains of Apulia might have long been a sufficient protection to a state separated by them from Campania and the other countries to the west; but the progress of the Roman arms, and probably the severe character of the Roman people, awakened the jealousy and hostility of the Tarentines. Before any direct cause of hostility had arisen, the people of Tarentum endeavoured, by secret intrigues, to involve the Romans in a state of warfare with all their immediate neighbours; and when the Roman admiral accidentally appeared with a fleet before the entrance of their harbour, they attacked him without any provocation, took several of his ships, and made a great slaughter, the admiral himself being among those who fell. The Romans immediately sent a deputation to demand satisfaction for this unprovoked injury; but the Tarentines received them, or rather dismissed them, unheard, with the grossest insults. Posthumus, the head of the Roman deputation, withdrew, uttering these indignant words, "Laugh on now, inhabitants of Tarentum, the time will soon come when your laughter will be changed into tears. It is not a few drops of blood which will suffice to wash away these insults." Conscious of their own inability to avert

Pyrrhus.
v. c.
464.
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s. c.
290.

v. c.
400.
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s. c.
354.
v. c.
411.
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s. c.
343.
v. c.
464.
—
s. c.
290.

v. c.
473.
—
s. c.
281.

Biography.—the vengeance of Rome, the Tarentines sent an embassy to ask the assistance of Pyrrhus, and finding him disengaged by no war at home, they readily obtained what they hardly dared to expect.

v. c.
473.

a. c.
281.

Cineas, the Thessalian orator, a disciple of Demosthenes, not unworthy of his master, was despatched by Pyrrhus to Tarentum with three thousand infantry under his command; and twenty thousand more, together with three thousand cavalry, two thousand archers, five hundred slingers, and twenty elephants, were soon afterwards embarked on board a large fleet of transports sent by the Tarentines to receive them. This vast armament was dispersed in the mid-channel by a violent gale of wind from the north. The vessel which carried Pyrrhus himself, with great difficulty made the Italian shores; but was met by an adverse breeze from the land, as she stood in, and was in imminent danger of being again driven out to sea. Pyrrhus, impatient of being thus thwarted, boldly threw himself overboard, and very narrowly escaped, in a stormy sea, on a dark tempestuous night. By break of day, however, he and his friends reached the shore, where they were assisted by the Messapians, inhabitants of that coast, and joined by the crews of a few of his ships, so that he was enabled to march on to Tarentum at the head of a small force, about two thousand foot, some cavalry, and a couple of elephants.

v. c.
474.

a. c.
280.

Cineas, who had not been idle while waiting for his master, but had prevailed upon the Tarentines to give him possession of their citadel and the supreme command of their troops, marched out, as soon as he heard of the approach of Pyrrhus, to meet him. The Tarentines, though rejoiced to receive their great ally, were little inclined to make any considerable sacrifice, in order to insure success in the war; and instead of troubling themselves more about it, were contented with declaiming against the enemy in their popular assemblies or their public walks, leaving the whole management and labour of the campaign to Pyrrhus and his generals. As soon as his scattered ships were pretty well re-assembled, and most of his troops had been safely landed, he began to assume a severer tone with his new friends, whose good will he had hitherto cultivated by an entire acquiescence in their wishes; and finding that they would never be brought to a serious attention to the state of their affairs, so long as they could indulge in the luxurious pleasures to which they were devoted, he caused the public places of amusement to be closed, and even abridged their hours of private relaxation. Musters and reviews were substituted for spectacles and banquets; and the Tarentines found that the orders of the king must be implicitly obeyed. So little were they accustomed to such a rigorous system, that many of them abandoned the place, considering such an abridgement of their habitual indulgences, as a most intolerable slavery.

The Romans, in the mean time, were preparing to punish the insolence and temerity of these Grecian colonists. The consul Lavinus marched at the head of a large army, into Lucania, desolating the country through which he passed. The Tarentines had promised, when they asked for the assistance of Pyrrhus, to collect an army of more than three hundred thousand men; but they seemed little likely to realize these splendid promises. Few, if any, of their confederates appeared; nevertheless, he determined to take

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the field with the small force he had, rather than suffer the Romans to advance nearer. But before he commenced hostilities, he sent a herald with a letter to the consul offering, in haughty terms, to act as mediator between the citizens of Rome and Tarentum. Lavinus answered, that the Romans neither accepted his mediation nor feared his hostility. Pyrrhus therefore advanced immediately, and cantoned his army on the plains which extend obliquely across the peninsula, from Heraclea on the eastern to Pandrosia on the western sea. The Romans were not far off, stationed on the other side of the river Siris; and when Pyrrhus reconnoitred their camp, he expressed his surprise to Megacles, one of his generals who accompanied him, observing, that "the order of these barbarians was far from barbarous; but," he added, "we shall soon know what they are in deed." He now perceived that it would be necessary to wait for his allies, and stationed outposts on the river, to prevent the Romans from effecting a passage. This, however they succeeded in doing, and the outposts of the army were obliged to retreat upon their main body in order to avoid being cut off. Pyrrhus, when informed of this, advanced with his cavalry, in number about three thousand, hoping to surprise the Romans before they had recovered from the disorder occasioned by their passage over the river: but when he beheld their shields glittering in the sun above the surface of the water, and their cavalry passing the stream in regular order, as if on land, he discovered his error, and immediately commenced the attack. His cavalry was probably inferior in numbers to that of the Romans, and though he himself was in the heat of the engagement, encouraging his men by extraordinary acts of valour and presence of mind, yet his troops began at length to give way. On this he sent orders for his infantry to advance; and after a very long and dubious struggle, having been victorious and repulsed seven times, they turned the fortune of the day against the Romans. They were indebted, in all probability, more to the confusion and alarm occasioned by their elephants, which the horses of the Roman cavalry could not be brought to face, than to any superiority of valour, skill, or numbers. With respect to the latter, Pyrrhus had probably, as was before observed, the disadvantage; and that supposition is corroborated by the accounts of the numbers who fell in this action, where the excess on the side of the Romans, according to all accounts, is very great, and such as could scarcely have arisen, in so hard a fought battle, had not their forces been much the most numerous at the onset.

Pyrrhus, on this occasion, gave abundant proofs of that coolness and intrepidity for which he has been so much celebrated. Though constantly in the hottest of the engagement, he never lost his presence of mind, but gave his orders and changed his station as deliberately as if he were merely a spectator of the action. The splendour and peculiar beauty of his armour rendered him extremely conspicuous, and in the earlier part of the battle he had many narrow escapes. Leonatus, the Macedonian, having observed one of the Italians very intent upon his master, always watching his movements, following him wherever he went, and letting every one else pass unnoticed;—came up to Pyrrhus, and entreated him to be on his guard against this man: and while he

Pyrrhus.

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was cautioning the king, the Roman spurring his horse, and coming towards them at full speed, threw a spear, which missed Pyrrhus, but struck his horse: Leonatus, at that very instant struck the horse of the Roman, and both horses fell at the same time. Pyrrhus was immediately removed by his friends, and his opponent hewn in pieces. This imminent peril rendered Pyrrhus somewhat more cautious, and he exchanged his armour and accoutrements with Megacles, one of his favourite generals. The latter now became the great object at which most of the Romans aimed, and it was not long before he was brought to the ground. His robe and helmet were immediately carried to the consul, who had them passed along the ranks, as in triumph. The Roman army was filled with exultation, the Epirotes with consternation and grief, till Pyrrhus, informed of their alarm, rode about uncovered, and calling out to his soldiers, encouraging them by the well-known sound of his voice.

The Romans were obliged to abandon their camp, and make an immediate retreat; many of their confederates went over to the enemy or were plundered by his victorious army; and he advanced to Preneste, within forty miles of Rome; but it was a dear-bought victory, for he lost many of his best troops and most able generals, a loss which he could never replace. Besides this irreparable injury, he was now removed to a distance from the coast, and surrounded by allies on whom little dependence could be placed. The Roman government, on the other hand, was not at all dismayed by this reverse of fortune, but made fresh levies with renewed alacrity, and assumed even a more menacing tone. Pyrrhus therefore was more inclined to terminate the war by a peace, creditable to himself, such as it was likely the Romans would, at the present conjuncture, grant, than to attempt their subjugation, for which his army and actual resources were not adequate. In consequence of these views, he commissioned Cines to proceed, as his ambassador to Rome, and empowered him to enter into a negotiation with the Senate. The terms he offered were extremely favourable: the release of all his prisoners without ransom, and his assistance to the Romans in the conquest of Italy, on condition of obtaining their friendship for himself, and security for the Tarentines. The speciousness of these terms inclined many of the senators to listen to them favourably; the more so, as several of the southern states of Italy had already joined Pyrrhus, and his success was likely to increase the number of his adherents: but the question was decided by the firmness and energy of one man, Appius Claudius. His family and character placed him high in the estimation of his fellow citizens; but his great age and loss of sight had caused him to withdraw from attendance on public business: his appearance therefore in the Senate, into which he was led by the members of his family, raised anxious expectation in the whole body, who listened with eager attention to the sentiments which he uttered. He told them that "he should rejoice, were he now as deaf as he was blind, and unable to hear the shameful reports of their intended measures, so destructive of the glory of Rome. That it was now in vain for them to boast that, had Alexander invaded Italy instead of Asia, his career would have terminated in disgrace, since they were

panic-struck by Chæonians and Molossians, who had always been vanquished by the Macedonians. That it was equally vain to hope for advantage from an alliance with this man, who could not keep even a part of Macedonia by the aid of that force, with which he now talked of conquering Italy.—Nothing therefore could be expected from an alliance with Pyrrhus except insult and contempt; for who would not despise him if she suffered him to escape unpunished for his insolence, and gave up to him the Samnites and Tarentines as a compensation for his audacity!"

This spirited appeal had an instantaneous effect, and produced an unanimous vote for the continuance of the war; Cines was desired to tell his master "that if he wished to obtain the friendship of the Romans, he must first quit Italy; but that he would be opposed with all their force, as long as he continued there in arms, though he should defeat ten thousand Lavinius's." Soon after the dismissal of Cines, they sent Fabricius to treat with Pyrrhus for the ransom and exchange of prisoners: such was his confidence in the honour of his enemies, that he allowed his captives to accompany the envoy back to Rome, on condition that they should return after having celebrated the Saturnalia, if the Senate still refused to enter into terms with him. They proved themselves worthy of his confidence, and subsequently owed their final liberation to that generous disdain of a secret and treacherous warfare, which distinguished the Romans of those days so advantageously from their more polished neighbours the Greeks. Fabricius, soon after, returning from his mission to Pyrrhus, was made consul, and, while in office, sent a letter to that prince, enclosing one from his physician, offering to rid them of their enemy by administering a dose of poison to him, if a suitable compensation should be made. Pyrrhus, who was not wanting either in generosity or gratitude, was now, more than ever, desirous of making peace with the Romans; and again despatched Cines to make a fresh proposition to the Senate. He also delivered up all his prisoners without requiring any ransom. The Senate still refused to listen to any terms till the Greek troops had been withdrawn from Italy, and Pyrrhus had returned to Epirus; but to shew their unwillingness to receive a reward for a mere act of integrity, sent back an equal number of Samnites and Tarentines in exchange for the Romans whom he had liberated.

There is no period, perhaps, in the whole of their history, when the excellencies of the Roman character were more strikingly exemplified than that in which these events took place; and to a prince like Pyrrhus, who was animated by a courageous spirit, those admirable qualities must have shone with a still brighter lustre, when contrasted with the vices which almost universally disgraced the Grecian courts established on the ruins of the Macedonian empire. Policy, as well as curiosity, prompted him to wish for so intimate acquaintance with the government and manners of the Romans; his envoy, Cines, was commissioned to seize every opportunity of obtaining information on those points, and his report only increased the surprise and admiration of his master. "The Senate," said Cines, "appears like an assemblage of kings; and the men capable of military service are so numerous, that the consul has already on foot an army twice as large as that which you defeated, and

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leaves multitudes behind him capable of making up for any loss." But the fearlessness and disinterestedness of Fabricius, still further increased the esteem which Pyrrhus felt for the national character of his adversaries. He had been told by Cineas, that this illustrious Roman was as poor as he was intrepid and upright. The king, therefore, hoped to gratify him by the offer of large sums, "as a pledge," he said, "of his regard, not with any sinister design." But Fabricius, proud of his poverty, rejected the offer. On the following day, Pyrrhus, at a conference held with the Roman envoy, caused his largest elephant, concealed behind a curtain, to be suddenly disclosed completely armed, and caused by its keeper to roar, as it waved its trunk over the head of Fabricius. Though he had never before seen one of those huge animals, neither the suddenness nor the novelty of the sight occasioned any emotion, but turning to Pyrrhus, who was aware of the predicament in which he was placed, said, with a smile, "Your gold could not move me yesterday, nor can your heat to-day!" Pyrrhus was so much struck with the judgment and integrity of his guest, that he privately urged him to come, after having concluded the treaty, and settle in Epirus, promising to give him the first command in his army, and make him his most confidential friend. To this Fabricius very calmly replied, "But this would be of no advantage to you, O king; for when they, who now honour and admire you, had known me by experience, they would rather have me than you to reign over them." Pyrrhus received this answer as became a man of a great mind, without the paltry resentment or mortification which a tyrant would have felt, and related it to his friends as a fresh proof of the exalted sentiments of Fabricius. When it is considered in what courts Pyrrhus received his education, and what examples he had continually before his eyes, his own temper and magnanimity in listening (without impatience) to such truths, are hardly less worthy of our admiration than the sublimer virtues of Fabricius himself.

The consuls, to whose lot it fell to carry on the war against Pyrrhus, found him encamped near a small town in Apulia, called Asculum. As each party was equally willing to try their fortune, it was not long before an engagement took place; but historians differ so much in their accounts of this battle, that nothing respecting it can be ascertained with certainty, except its having been nearly a drawn battle, fought with great obstinacy on both sides, but terminated rather in favour of Pyrrhus than of the Romans. His final success in this as well as the former engagement, has been ascribed to the terrors with which his elephants struck the horses of the Roman cavalry. He had not however much cause for exultation, and, when congratulated by his officers on his success, exclaimed, "Another such victory and we are undone!" He had, indeed, a far less cheering prospect before him, than that which consoled the Romans for their defeat. His confederates were cold and heartless; his faithful soldiers and adherents, with the exception of a small number, had fallen; and he was far from his own kingdom, which alone could replace his losses: while the Romans were backed by all the vast resources of the republic, and seemed only to gather fresh strength and ardour from every disaster.

A little so doubtful in its result afforded no encouragement to either party, and both seemed inclined, for a time at least, to suspend hostilities. At that conjuncture, Pyrrhus received an invitation from Sicily to assist in driving the Carthaginians out of that island: a proposal flattering to him in every respect, and the more gratifying, as it would give him a plea for attacking the Carthaginians, whose subjugation, on the first favourable opportunity, he had long projected. He received, at the same time, accounts of the death of Ptolemy Ceraunus, who fell in a battle against the Gauls, and of the defenceless state of Macedonia under the successors of that prince. Sound policy would certainly have prompted Pyrrhus to return immediately to Epirus, where he might have indulged his thirst for glory and power, by adding Macedonia to his hereditary dominions: he could thus have obtained a territory of considerable extent, not far more capable of being preserved entire, than any conquests at a distance from Greece. But his ambition was of too vast and enterprising a character to be checked by the considerations of prudence and expedience; he therefore, not without hesitation, and much regret at being unable to engage in both enterprises at once, gave the preference to Sicily; despatched Cineas to prepare the Sicilians for his reception, and set sail after placing a strong garrison in Tarentum, much against the will of the citizens, who had now discovered their folly in calling in the assistance of a prince perpetually engaged in schemes of conquest and ambition.

Syracuse, the capital of the island, Agrigotum, midway between its southern and western extremities, and the city of the Leontines, a little to the north of Syracuse, had been offered to Pyrrhus by the ambassadors sent to invite him over from Italy. The remaining places, not possessed by Carthage, submitted to him with little difficulty, and he was soon at the head of an armament consisting of thirty thousand infantry, two thousand five hundred cavalry, and a fleet of two hundred sail. With this powerful force he was enabled to drive the enemy before him, and resolved to storm Eryx, the strongest fortress which the Carthaginians possessed in the island. When the scaling ladders were fixed, he was the first who mounted, and, what appears incredible, received no injury, though in the hottest of the assault. The numbers who fell by his hand are said to have been so great as to form a complete rampart around him. The city was taken, and magnificent games in honour of Hercules were celebrated in fulfilment of a vow made by Pyrrhus at the commencement of this enterprise.

This was not the only signal success which attended the arms of Pyrrhus in Sicily. Of all the inhabitants of that island, there were none who opposed a more formidable barrier to the advancement of the Grecian colonies, than the Mamertines established near Messena. The name of this tribe, which was derived from *Mamers* or *Mucors*, indicated their warlike character. After having taken Eryx, Pyrrhus turned his principal force against this people; seized and put to death the agents appointed to collect their revenues; defeated their troops in a pitched battle, and shut them up within the walls of Messena.

The Carthaginians had now only one fortress left in the island Lilybæum, near the western promon-

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tory; they were therefore anxious to secure what yet remained by a timely sacrifice; and made no offer of peace on very advantageous terms; but Pyrrhus, who was better fitted for conquest than negotiation, spurned their offers, and answered that no terms would be received short of their entire evacuation of Sicily. His favourite plan of invading the territory of Carthage seemed now on the point of being renounced, and instead ofenders owing to complete the liberation of Sicily from their foreign and domestic enemies,—the object for which he had been invited into the island;—he turned his whole attention to the equipment of a fleet for the invasion of Africa. He had a sufficient number of ships, both wanted seamen; and proceeded to levy mariners from all the maritime towns with extreme rigor, inflicting a severe punishment on those who did not comply with his demands. At his first arrival in the island, he had pursued the same line of policy in Sicily, as he had previously done at Tarentum: charming every one by his pliancy and affability, and earnest desire to second all their views and projects. This produced the effect he intended, and obtained for him an unbounded confidence: but as soon as he thought his power sufficiently established, he threw off the mask, and began to govern according to those principles of military despotism, which may secure the obedience, but can never conciliate the affection of the subject. The Sicilians were little disposed to submit, without murmuring, to such tyrannical conduct. They perceived that he was now pursuing his own measures, not theirs; that their troops were going to fight his battles, and that in case of any reverse, they should be still liable to the evil of being hemmed in between two enemies, as neither the Carthaginians nor Mamertines had been completely expelled. But his conduct towards Theron (or Tanion) and Sosistrates, the two popular leaders at whose suggestion he had been invited into the island, was that which justly raised the suspicion and indignation of the Sicilians to the highest pitch. To the friendship and influence of those two men, Pyrrhus owed all his power in Sicily; but that very influence excited his suspicion, he determined therefore to compel them to accompany him in his expedition against Carthage. Sosistrates withdrew before these intensions could be executed; but Theron, who had been still more servicable, was seized by Pyrrhus as an accomplice in a conspiracy with Sosistrates, and condemned to death. These iniquitous proceedings completely changed the face of his affairs; some of the Sicilian towns joined the Carthaginians; others united with the Mamertines; he was deserted by all but his Epirote troops, and instead of being able to attempt the subversion of Carthage, was glad to avail himself of an application from his allies in Italy for assistance, as a creditable excuse for retiring from Sicily. He is said, when looking back, as he sailed away from the island, to have exclaimed, “what a field are we leaving for the Romans and Carthaginians!”

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His passage to Italy was disastrous: the Carthaginians took several of his ships; and ten thousand Mamertines, posted in the defiles of the mountains through which he had to march, in his way to Tarentum, harassed his rear, cutting off two of his elephants. He hastened back to their assistance, and exposed himself in the most daring manner, though aware of the experience and rancour of the enemy.

Having received a sabre-wound on his head, he was obliged to withdraw from the action for a short time, when one of the Mamertines, remarkable for his bulk and the splendour of his arms, advanced considerably beyond his own party, and dared Pyrrhus, if alive, to engage with him in single combat. The king, incensed in the highest degree, instantly returned with his guards, and with his face crimsoned with blood, and a terrific expression of countenance, rushing through the midst of his men, before the barbarian could raise his arm, aimed a blow at his head with such strength of arm and so excellent a blade, that he severed his enemy's body at one blow, the two halves falling on opposite sides at the same instant. This achievement filled the barbarians with astonishment and terror; Pyrrhus appeared to them like some superior being, and they did not dare to advance a step further. He was, therefore, enabled to pursue his march without molestation. He reached Tarentum at the head of twenty thousand infantry and three thousand cavalry; and having taken the best of the Tarentine troops, marched, without halting, into the country of the Samnites where the Romans were encamped.

During his absence the consuls had several times defeated the Samnites, so that their spirit was almost broken; they likewise resented the treatment they had experienced from Pyrrhus, who left them a prey to their enemies while he was pursuing his schemes of conquest in Sicily: few therefore joined his standard when he returned into their country. One of the consuls was at this time encamped near Beneventum, in the country of the Hirpini; the other was further to the south, in Lucania. Pyrrhus, therefore, sent a detachment from his army in that direction to occupy the attention of the one, while he marched with the main body to attack the other, who was stationed in Samnium.

As the Epirotes and Tarentines could have no chance of final success, unless they made an attack before the consul was joined by his colleague; that was the first and great object which they had to effect. Pyrrhus, therefore, having selected the bravest of his men and his best elephants, and marched forward under cover of the night, in hope of taking the enemy by surprise. But the circuitousness of the rout and closeness of the woods through which it lay, together with the darkness of the night, after the lights were extinguished, so impeded his progress, that the dawn had appeared before he reached the heights surrounding the Roman camp. The sudden appearance of the enemy threw the Romans at first into a considerable alarm, but, as the auguries were favourable, the consul, (Manlius Curios), sallied forth to meet the enemy without delay, attacked his vanguard, and put it to flight. dismay and confusion spread rapidly through the army of Pyrrhus: some of his elephants were taken, and he lost a considerable number of his men. Manlius was encouraged by his success to hazard a regular engagement, and drew up his men in the plain. One of his wings defeated the enemy, but the other was borne down by the elephants; and driven back to the entrenchment before the camp. The consul, in this emergency, called forth his reserve, who, from the heights where they were stationed, pouring a shower of javelins upon the enemy's elephants, in the plain below, compelled them to fly. The retreat of those

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Biography. vast animals was as fatal to the force upon which they retreated, as their advance had previously been to the Romans. The victorious troops of Pyrrhus were driven back and thrown into disorder; while the Romans, taking advantage of their confusion, pressed onwards till they remained complete masters of the field. The valour and struggle of that day, as Flutarch justly remarks, not only secured to the Romans present victory, but subsequently the empire of the world; for they thenceforward learned to consider themselves, and were considered by others, as invincible.

v. c. By this defeat, the flattering hopes of conquest and
490. dominion with which Pyrrhus had entered Italy, were for ever cut off. His army, after all his losses, was still considerable; and he is said to have returned to Epirus at the head of more than eight thousand men. But the resources of his hereditary states were not equal to the expense of maintaining such an army; he was, therefore, driven to the expedient of engaging in another war, for the purpose of replenishing his treasury. And the circumstances in which the northern parts of Greece and Asia were at this time placed, also afforded him an opportunity of executing his wishes. These fine countries were, at the period which we are now engaged in describing, in a state of much confusion, from large, but scattered tribes of Gauls, who had migrated in that and the preceding age, and while Pyrrhus was employed in Italy, had committed extensive ravages in Greece. He now associated with his troops, one of the largest of these barbarian herds, and placing himself at their head, marched into Macedonia, at that time under the government of Antigonus.

His views, as had often been the case, were altered by the circumstances in which he found himself placed. The conquest of several towns, and the unexpected increase of his army by two thousand men, who deserted from Antigonus, encouraged him to attack the king of Macedonia. He found him in a narrow defile in the mountains; succeeded, after a severe conflict, with a body of Gauls in the Macedonian service, in getting possession of his elephants; engaged the phalanx, the flower of the Macedonian army, to come over to him, by calling upon them as friends and companions in arms, and reduced his adversary to the necessity of flying with the wreck of his army. Thus was Pyrrhus, who had entered Macedonia, solely with the intention of making a predatory incursion, and retiring with his booty, once more unexpectedly master of that kingdom. A few of the maritime towns, which still preserved their allegiance to Antigonus, were soon afterwards taken by Pyrrhus; and he was now more entirely sovereign of Macedonia than he had ever been before. Such were the continual vicissitudes of his fortune, and so frequently were those unhappy countries then exposed to the evil of a change of masters, with all its concomitant train of new favourites to be gratified, new contributions to be raised, new levies to be furnished, and new armies to be maintained.

v. c. The uncertain tenure by which Macedonia was
491. held, and the advantages which its proximity to Epirus afforded, were circumstances which would have led a more cautious prince to turn all his attention to the consideration of his newly acquired dominions, by conciliating his subjects, and repairing the injuries

which they had sustained in so long a period of warfare. But prudent and prospective measures seldom formed a part of the system of Pyrrhus. His expedients were usually such as the exigency of the moment suggested. Thus he draughted some of his Gaulic auxiliaries upon the tow of *Ægæ*, the herial place of the kings of Macedonia—and those barbarians stimulated by their love of gold, plundered the royal sepulchres, and disturbed the remains of the dead. Pyrrhus however, either did not dare or was not able to punish the sacrilege. This apparent disregard of an outrage, peculiarly painful to the Macedonians, was deeply resented; and yet was their new sovereign so elated by his success, so little apprehensive of a reverse of fortune, that he called Antigonus, whom he had dispossessed of the throne, “a shameless fellow for daring still to wear the purple.”

War was to Pyrrhus a game in which he was always eager to take a part; he therefore willingly assented to a proposal from Cleonymus, the Spartan, who, came to ask for his assistance against the people of Lacedæmon. His principal cause of complaint against his fellow-citizens was the preference to which they had given to Areus, whom he considered as not having so good a claim to the throne as himself; but it does not appear that the laws of Sparta had been violated by the rejection of Cleonymus;—and still less is it easy to justify Pyrrhus for taking a part in this quarrel. His real intentions were sufficiently manifested by the magnitude of the army with which he commenced his campaign; 25,000 infantry, 2,000 cavalry, and twenty-four elephants. To the ambassadors from Sparta, who met him at Megalopolis, he gave assurances, that his object was merely to liberate the cities which had been subdued by Antigonus, while he expressed the greatest esteem for the character and customs of the Lacedæmonians; but he spoke and acted in a very different manner as soon as he had entered the Spartan territory. He began by ravaging and plundering the country in every direction; and, when remonstrated by the ambassadors that he was commencing hostilities before he had made any declaration of war, he tauntingly replied, “did we ever know you Spartans to tell any one before hand what you intend to do?”

Sparta, to which Pyrrhus now advanced, was at this time in his most defenceless state. Areus, the king, was with all his best men in Crete, assisting the Gortynians; and the approach of the Epirates had been so rapid, that the Spartans, who remained in the city, were taken quite unprepared. Had Pyrrhus listened to the advice of Cleonymus, and attacked the city immediately upon his arrival, it probably would have fallen into his hands; but his contempt for an feeble resistance as the Spartans could present—made him defer his attack till the following day. He encamped quietly before the city, and the friends of Cleonymus were so sanguine in their expectations of his success, that they prepared an entertainment at his house in honour of his great protector. The other Spartans were not, in the mean time, inactive; and their women, whom they had proposed to remove to Crete, took a most active and effectual part in the arduous work which was immediately commenced. That was to cut a wide and deep trench parallel with the enemy's line, and at each extremity of it, to sink wagons up to the axle-tree, so as to impede the pro-

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But, when the fortune of Sparta seemed at its last ebb, the hope and spirit of her brave citizens were revived by the unexpected arrival of Aminias the Phocian, one of Antigonus's generals, with a body of foreign auxiliaries from Corinth; and almost at the same time by the return of Areus, their king, from Crete, at the head of two hundred soldiers. Pyrrhus, who delighted in struggling with difficulties, and was rather spurred on, than repelled by increasing perils, was now more than ever ambitious to make himself master of Sparta. But a continued series of losses at length compelled him to abandon the siege, and content himself with ravaging the country. It was his intention to pass the winter in Laconia, and resume his siege of the city in the following spring; but events, which he could not foresee, produced an alteration in his plans, and delivered the Spartans from the scourge of his predatory bands. The people of Argos, were then divided, as was usually the case with the Grecian states, by opposite and intemperate factions. Antigonus, who was in possession of Corinth and other places on the borders of Argolis, was suspected by Aristæus, head of one of the parties secretly in correspondence with Aristippus, the leader of the opposite faction. In order therefore to strike a blow before the plans of his rival had been matured, Aristæus solicited the assistance of Pyrrhus, to whom such a proposal must then have been peculiarly acceptable; as it liberated him at once from his unsuccessful warfare in Laconia, and opened a new career for his ambition, in a quarter where he was almost certain of success. He therefore immediately commenced his march towards Argos. But the Spartans did not suffer him to withdraw unpunished. His rear was

harassed by parties posted in the narrow defiles; and he incautiously ordered his son Ptolemy to go with a detachment of his guards to their relief, while he pressed forward to disengage the main body of his army from those dangerous passes. The young prince was encountered by a chosen body of Spartans under the command of Eualcas, and while closely engaged was laid dead by one blow from a Cretan, named Orestus, famed for his strength and swiftness. The death of their leader damped the courage of his party; they fled, and the Spartans in the ardour of exultation, heedlessly pursued them into the plain, where they were met by Pyrrhus himself and the whole body of his army. He had already learned the fate of his son, and stimulated by grief, dreadful and invincible as he always appeared in battle, he now out did his former exploits. He rode at full speed towards Eualcas, who moving aside as he came up, aimed a blow which just missing his bridle hand, cut the reins asunder: but Pyrrhus at the same time that he ran him through with his spear, leaping from his horse, and fighting on foot, spread destruction and slaughter among the hands who surrounded Eualcas.

Pyrrhus having thus avenged the death of his son, marched on to Argos. He there found the heights, commanding the plain, occupied by Antigonus; and for that reason posted his own army near the town of Nauplia. He challenged that prince to a single combat, in allusive terms, to which Antigonus calmly replied, that it was not so much upon his own arms as the seasonable use of them he relied; but that if Pyrrhus was tired of life, there were plenty of roads to death open to him. The Argives sent an embassy to each of these chiefs, entreating them to retire and not to suffer the city to be taken possession of by either, as a measure for which there was no ground, since it was equally well inclined to both. Antigonus yielded to their solicitations, and sent one of his sons, as an hostage. Pyrrhus promised to retire, but as he gave no security for the performance of his promise, was suspected of entreating no honourable intentions.

When it was extremely dark, he drew close to the walls, and finding the gate called Diampere opened for him by Aristæus, advanced with his Gauls, as far as the forum before he was perceived. But as the gate was not high enough to admit his elephants, it was necessary to have them removed, and replaced when the gate had been passed. This occasioned a delay and could not be done in the dark without making a noise and confusion; in consequence of which the citizens discovered their danger; an alarm was given, and some ran to the citadel, called Aspis, and other places of safety, while others sent to call Antigonus to their aid. He hastened into the immediate neighbourhood of the town, and remained there, watching his opportunity, but sent in his son and some of his generals with a considerable body of troops to oppose Pyrrhus. Areus with a thousand Cretans and the most active of the Spartans, arrived just at the same time, and joining the troops of Antigonus, attacked the Gauls and threw them into great disorder. Pyrrhus himself entered by Cyllanibus, a plain outside the city, used for gymnastic exercises: but the shouts by which the Gauls answered those which his men made on entering, appeared to him indicative of alarm and discouragement. He therefore advanced as rapidly

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At the break of dawn, Pyrrhus perceived that the Aspis was full of armed men. This sight gave him considerable alarm, but he was struck with consternation, when, on looking over the forum, he observed, among many other sculptures, the figures of a wolf and a bull fighting together; for it immediately recalled to his memory, an ancient oracle, which declared, that he was destined to die, whenever he should see a wolf and a bull fighting together. Under this impression, and not seeing any thing in the present position of his men to encourage a hope of success, he determined to retire and sent orders to his son Helenus, who had been left with the main body of his army outside the walls to make a breach in them, as the narrowness of the gates might present an obstacle to their progress. These orders were imperfectly heard and erroneously delivered, in consequence of the hurry and confusion of the moment; so that Helenus entered the town, instead of taking measures to facilitate his father's retreat. Pyrrhus in the mean time was coming in an opposite direction through the same narrow street, which led from the forum to the gate. It was in vain that he called out to his men to retire; those who were near enough to hear and obey his orders, were carried forwards by the throng behind them. The largest of the elephants had fallen in passing the gate, and hlocked up the passage; and one of those already within the walls, while endeavouring to recover his driver, who had been wounded and fallen off, turned round upon the retreating party, and drove them back among their adversaries; and, having found the body, he took it up with his proboscis and supporting it on his tasks, carried it away, treading down every thing he met, as if raving with madness. In so great a pressure, heaped as they were upon each other, they moved like a closely compacted body, unable to use their weapons without wounding each other, and falling almost without the power of resistance before the enemy in their rear.

Pyrrhus, to check the progress of the assailants, rode in amongst them, after having removed the ornament by which his helmet was distinguished: and having received a slight wound in his breast from the spear of an Argive, turned to cut down the man who had wounded him. The mother of his adversary, a poor and aged woman, was standing with other women on the roofs of the houses, a spectator of the combat. She was watching her son and terrified at his peril, lifted up a tile with both her hands, and let it fall upon the head of his adversary, Pyrrhus. It struck him just below his helmet, and bruised the vertebra at the bottom of his neck. His sight instantly failed, his hands lost the reins, and he fell from his horse, he was not known by any of the surrounding multitude: but one Zopyrus who served under Antigonus, and two or three other persons running up, recognized him and dragged him into a gateway hard by, just as he was recovering from the blow by which he had been stunned, and there severed his head from his body.

The fact in the interim had become generally known; and Alcioneus, the son of Antigonus, hastening to the spot, asked for the head, as if he wished to look at it, but seizing it, rode off to his father, who was sitting among his friends, and threw it at his feet. Antigonus, when he had looked at the head and recognized it, and reproving his son for his barbarity, drove him from his presence, then covering his eyes with his robe, shed tears, recollecting the fate of his father Demetrius, and his grandfather Antigonus, domestic examples of the mutability of fortune! The remains of Pyrrhus he caused to be consumed, with the honours due to his rank; and when Alcioneus with a kind attention presented to him Helenus, the son of Pyrrhus, whom he had found deeply humiliated, and clothed in mean attire; "This is better, my son," said Antigonus, "than the beginning was, but you have not yet done enough; for you have not removed that garment, which is more disgraceful to us who consider ourselves as victors, than to him who assumes the habit of the vanquished." He afterwards kindly entertained Helenus, and sent him to Epirus in a style suitable to his birth.

Such was the end of Pyrrhus; his person was athletic and commanding; and when the Macedonians compared him to Alexander, it was more in allusion to his mental qualities than any resemblance which he bore to the features or person of that prince. His strength and power of bearing the severest fatigue were such as called forth the admiration of those who knew him. Those qualities contributed to raise him in the estimation of Ptolemy, while he was a hostage with him in Egypt, and often had a large share in securing the success which usually attended his arms. The turn and character of his mind corresponded with such powers of body; and he seemed to be formed for war as much by his spirit of enterprise and resolution, as by his skill in the use of arms, and power of bearing privations. His patience was not merely the endurance of physical evils; it was a moral quality of a much higher value; which showed that he had not naturally an arbitrary or tyrannical disposition; and it was admirably exemplified in the calmness with which he bore the reproaches of Cincas, and the pleasure he took in listening to the rough and homely truths uttered by Fabricius. His admiration of the Romans arose as much from his veneration for their probity, as from astonishment at their resoluteness; and though his policy sometimes partook of the tortuous character of the Greek and Asiatic courts, in action he was always magnanimous. This great quality showed itself even in his domestic intercourse with his friends, and checked that ardent and quickness which, without it, would have made him a tyrant as well as a conqueror. Fierce as he was in battle, he was mild and gentle to his subjects and adherents; not allowing himself to be easily provoked, and more eager to requite a kindness than resent a wrong. "A pecuniary debt," he observed, "may be repaid to the heirs of the creditor; but as a return of kindnesses can only be made while our friends are yet living, a good and upright man will severely regret his having lost the opportunity of requiting them." The whole of his history shows, that he was misled by passions not sufficiently controlled, but that his understanding was powerful, quick, and acute. His rapidity indeed in projecting and executing, hurried him into an

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- Biography. excess; and he seldom allowed himself time enough for deliberation and judgment: hence it was, that he might be said to deserve the sarcastic remark of Antigonus, who compared him to a gambler, "who makes many good throws, but never seems to know when he has the best of the game." If his religion was sometimes tainted with superstition, it must be ascribed to the circumstances in which he was placed, the age in which he lived, and the art or credulity of the priests by whom he was attended; for his reply to his friends, who had pronounced a dream which he related to them, to be ominous, plainly shewed how little he was himself the slave of such fears: "Such things as these," he said, "are only fit to guide the idle multitude, and are full of uncertainty: let it be your business to say within yourselves, (parodizing a verse of Homer,) when your arms are in your hands, that,
- Pyrrhus.
- "To fight for Pyrrhus is the best of omens."
- That this confidence in his own power was not ill-founded, is evident from the opinions of his rival Antigonus, and Hannibal himself; the former of whom said, that "if he lived to be old, he would be the greatest general in the world;" and the latter, that "he was in skill and genius the first whom the world had ever beheld."
- See Plutarch in *vita Pyrrhi*. Dionys. Halicarn. *de Legat.* Livy, vii. 29. *Epist.* xii.—xiv. Flor. l. 18. Justin, xvi.—xviii. xxiv. xxv. *Mod. Unse. Hist.* vi. 472—475. ix. 70—97. x. 338.
- U. C. 482.
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B. C. 272.
- U. C. 482.
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B. C. 272.

SOCRATES.

FROM A. M. 3535. B. C. 469. TO A. M. 3608. B. C. 396.

Biography.

From
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B. C.
469.
to
A. M.
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THE biography of this remarkable person, who occupies so conspicuous a station in the history of the human mind, affords us a convenient opportunity of reverting to a subject, upon which we have already touched, viz. the state of philosophy in Greece, previously to the commencement of the Peloponnesian war; that great political convulsion which unsettled the language and the principles of Greece, which brought nlike to a crisis all that was bad and all that was good, in the civil and moral constitutions of the various states which were engaged in the conflict, and especially in that of Athens.

The earliest philosophy of the Greeks, which was derived to them through Ionia, from Asia, consisted in devising both names and attributes for the various deities, who were supposed to preside over the different departments of the universe; and in conveying to a simple people a system of theology and ethics, in allegorical poems. Many fragments of these were incorporated into the works of Homer and Hesiod; and some are to be found in the more ancient oracular verses which are quoted by the Greek historians. The *Theogonia* of Hesiod was no doubt taken, as to its principal features, from the cosmogony of some more ancient philosophical poet; and it is to be remarked, that this philosophy, such as it was, and from whatever source derived, was coeval with the language in which it was taught; for the names of the deities are not borrowed from the oriental mythology, which probably supplied many of the deities themselves; but are Greek names, significant of the attributes which they were intended to personify. Thus, void space is termed *Xáos*, from the verb *Xáō*, 'to yawn,' *Αἰθήρ*, 'the sky,' is from *αἰδω*, 'to be bright.'

Certain of these poets or philosophers, for the professions were not then distinct, were employed professionally by some of the Grecian states, to compose useful mythological poems and hymns, appropriate to the worship of various deities; in particular we may mention Pausanias, and Orpheus, an imitation of whose hymns was in after ages forged by some falsary.*

These were the masters of wisdom to the earliest Greeks, who for many ages had no philosophical writings in prose. Theognis consigned his moral and political precepts to elegiac verse; and the same kind of composition afforded even to Solon a vehicle for instruction of the most important kind to his fellow

* It is amusing to see so grave a writer as Brucker seriously deducing a summary of the Orphic philosophy from these spurious fragments, many of which are of a date but little, if at all, anterior to the Christian era. An attempt was made in the fifth century before Christ, to revive what was pretended to be the philosophy of Orpheus; and certain mystagogues seem to have made the initiation of votaries a gainful trade. But it appears, from some expressions in Euripides, that the credit of this sect was, even in his time, at a very low ebb.

citizens. It was not till history had descended from the car of poetry, that didactic philosophy submitted to deliver her doctrines in the sober language of common life; and it is very uncertain to what extent those philosophers, who first bore the name, committed the results of their speculations to writing. The verses of Orpheus, and Linus, and Musæus, were undoubtedly preserved by oral tradition. The persons who are commonly known by the name of the Seven Wise Men of Greece, seem with the exception of Thales to have been indebted for that honourable distinction, either to their political sagacity, or to their talent of expressing, with an oracular brevity, the most important maxims of morality. They are known to us chiefly by a few of their sayings; and even of these the individual property is not very clearly ascertained. It may perhaps be contended, that a wise legislator is the greatest of all practical philosophers: and on this account Solon occupies the very highest station amongst those illustrious men, who have applied their wisdom and experience to the great ends of promoting public virtue and happiness. But, in the common acceptance of the term, Thales is the only one of the seven sages, who can be considered as one of the real fathers of Grecian philosophy. And it does not appear that he left any writings behind him. Even *Æsop*, the celebrated inventor of moral apologues, probably committed some of his fables to writing. Many of them were traditionally preserved, and mentioned by later writers; and furnished a basis for various superstructures, which were afterwards raised, and dignified with his name.

Since neither Thales, nor any of the earlier teachers of wisdom in Greece, left any works to posterity, it is obviously very difficult to form any thing like an accurate notion of the state of philosophy in Greece in the period during which they flourished. As from the time of Thales there was a continued succession of philosophers, it would of course happen in after times, that what the scholar had said, was attributed to the master; sometimes perhaps even by the scholar himself, when he was desirous of conciliating respect to his dogmas, by stamping them with the authority of a greater name than his own. The *σπέρμα λόγου* of the Greek philosophical schools, especially of the Pythagorean, was a compendious form of citation, which gave to the founder of a sect the credit of many opinions of which he had never dreamed.

But for the whole account of the earlier philosophers, and for any knowledge whatever of their doctrines, we are of course obliged to trust to writers of a more recent date, who were probably not very careful to discriminate between the claims of different individuals, nor to separate the primitive philosophy of their earliest teachers from the refinements of a later age. Indeed the principal sources from which our knowledge of these subjects is derived, must be con-

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essed to be very corrupt. As far as we can collect our notions of the earlier systems from the writings of Plato, we may feel ourselves tolerably secure, although it is more than probable that the outlines are occasionally distorted, or the features too strongly marked, by the brilliant and inventive genius of that wonderful man. Even upon the testimony of Aristotle we cannot depend with certainty; for he was notorious for his misrepresentations of the tenets of his predecessors. It is only in the deficiency of more authentic sources of information, that we can trust ourselves to the accuracy of such a writer as Plutarch; and we can never rely with satisfaction upon the relation of Diogenes Laertius, unless his accounts be either corroborated by less doubtful writers, or bear in themselves the marks of consistency and credibility. Amongst the later authors, Cicero is the most trustworthy source of information concerning the Greek philosophers; yet even he lived at so great a distance of time from the earlier masters of wisdom, that it is more than probable, that their doctrines descended to him much altered and corrupted, through the channels of the more modern philosophy.

It is commonly said of Socrates, that he was the first person who brought down philosophy from the skies, and introduced her into the commerce of civil life. But although in his time the title of philosopher was almost entirely confined to those, who busied themselves in physical researches, or speculated upon abstract notions; yet at an earlier period the wise men of Greece (for the name of philosopher was not then invented) seem to have directed their attention to the laudable objects of improving the science of legislation and government; in pursuit of which, they travelled into the more ancient and flourishing kingdoms of Egypt and the East. It is related by Herodotus (l. 29) that the court of Croesus was visited by all the Sophists,* at that time living in Greece.

Thales, however, appears to have merited the appellation chiefly by his skill in astronomy and geometry, and by his theories upon the formation of the universe. They are the real foundations of his fame; for as to his speculations upon the divine nature and government, it is extremely difficult, from the causes above-mentioned, to ascertain what were really the doctrines of Thales.

One instance will serve to illustrate this difficulty. We read in Aristotle (*de An.* l. 1. §. 5.) that Thales thought the universe to be full of gods. Diogenes Laertius says, Thales taught that the universe was animated, and full of demons. But now comes Cicero, and tells us, that Thales admonished mankind to bear in mind that the gods perceived all things, for that all things were full of them. Valerius Maximus goes one step further, and asserts that Thales, being asked whether the actions of men escaped the notice of the gods, replied, Not even their thoughts; "*nec cogitata*, inquit. *Ut non solum manus, sed etiam mentes puras habere vellemus; cum secretis cogitationibus nostris caeleste numen adesse credidissimus.*" It is obviously very probable, that Thales broached simply the absurd notion, that the universe was filled with gods in every

* *Ἰσοφύται*, 'a contriver.' The Scholiast on Homer *Il.* O. 410. (where it is said of a ship carpenter, *ἡ δὲ τε νόστος ἐκ τοῦ ἰσοφύτου*) that the ancients called all artificers *isophrates*. Herodotus gives this appellation to the mythological philosophers before spoken of, and to Pythagoras. Theophrastus applies it to the teachers of rhetoric and logic.

part, by way of accounting for the various operations of nature; and that the moral deductions were afterwards appended to it by later philosophers. And what renders this still more probable is, that the answer of Thales, recorded by Valerius Maximus, is by Plutarch attributed to Pittacus. We may remark by the way, that a strong instance of the uncertainty, under which we labour generally, as to the tenets of the earlier philosophers, is the confusion which prevails, as to the real authors of many sayings recorded by ancient authors. For example, the celebrated apophthegm, *ᾧ πάντα εὐχόμεθα*, is by some attributed to Chilon of Lacedæmon, by others to Thales, and by some to Apollo himself. *Μυθεῖν ἄγαν* is assigned by Aristotle to Chilon, but by many to Pittacus. This last mentioned philosopher is also recorded to have said to a person, who inquired of him whether he had better marry a rich wife, or one suited to his own condition, *Τὴν κατὰ νοῦν ἄνδρα*; which reply is by others attributed to Solon, and by some to Chilon. Tertullian relates, that Thales, when asked by Cræsus, what he thought of the Gods, after much deliberation could return no answer. Now older and more trustworthy authors relate the same story of Simonides. From these, and from many similar instances which might be adduced, appears the difficulty of ascertaining and marking out the precise property, which belongs to each of the ancient philosophers, in the wide range of physical and moral speculation, which is spread through the writings of many ages.

It is, however, agreed upon all hands, that the leading doctrine of Thales was this, that water was the origin of all things; which some persons have considered to refer to the re-appearance of all things from the deluge. Whether he taught that water was the material, and that the Deity formed the universe out of it, seems to admit of doubt. It is certain that he was not an atheist, and that he believed in the existence of an incorporeal Deity; but as it is justly observed by Bayle, (*Art. Thales*) the opinions of the heathen philosophers were so little connected, that it did not follow as a necessary consequence, from the hypothesis of the existence of a God, that he was the creator of the universe; but many of them believed the gods to be the governors of the world, having been themselves produced from chaos.

It is far from improbable, that both Thales and Pythagoras may have obtained a great part of their mathematical knowledge, and some of their notions respecting the Deity and his operations, from the Chaldean philosophers. It is going too far to suppose, as some have done, that they were acquainted with the Mosiac writings; but they were probably not ignorant of that traditional knowledge, which had descended from the earliest ages of the world, and was preserved amongst the inhabitants of Egypt, Phœnicia, and Assyria. It is observed by Diodorus Siculus (who perhaps had not much better means of knowing the fact, than we have,) that Lycurgus and Solon, as well as the poets Orpheus, Musæus, Melampus, and Homer, and the philosophers, Pythagoras and others, had drawn most of their knowledge from Egypt. And Diogenes asserts, upon the authority, as he says, of Hecæatus and Aristagoras, that the Egyptians had taught, from the remotest antiquity, that the world had a beginning; that the earth was spherical, and the stars of the nature of fire; and that the soul was immortal.

Socrates.

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Whoever will take the trouble of considering the passages which Ep. Stillingfleet has collected in his *Origines Sævæ*, h. iii. c. 3. will readily recognise, in the physics of Thales, some traces of the Mosaic cosmogony. The water, which according to Thales was the primitive form of matter, corresponds to the chaotic mass which "was without form and void."

To return to the theology of Thales; amidst the conflicting accounts which later writers have given of his opinions, as to the formation of the world, it seems not unreasonable to conclude, that he delivered no express dogma on the subject; but tacitly supposed the existence of a God.

With regard to his notions on the subject of natural history, we may remark, that he held the moon to be a solid body, like the earth; and to receive its light from the sun, that the earth is spherical, in the centre of the universe; that eclipses of the sun are caused by the intervention of the moon between the sun and the earth. His knowledge of astronomy was sufficient to enable him to predict eclipses of the sun; this we know, upon the testimony of Herodotus: but with what degree of precision, whether to the assigning of the exact hour, we cannot determine.* Ptolemy tells us, and most probably his assertion is true, that Thales derived his mathematical knowledge from Egypt; and that amongst other geometrical problems he discovered the following, which were afterwards inserted in the *Elements of Euclid*: 1. That a circle is bisected by its diameter. 2. That the angles at the base of an isosceles triangle are equal to each other. 3. That two straight lines intersecting one another, make the vertical angles, at the point of intersection, equal. Thales also introduced into Greece an improved distribution of the year, which he divided into 365 days.

Anaximander, who taught publicly the opinions which Thales had breathed in private, was born about the 42d Olympiad. He has been frequently confounded with Anaximenes, and sometimes with Anaxagoras. He was the first person that constructed a geographical map. We find Aristagoras, not many years afterwards in possession of a map of the world, engraved on brass. (*Herod.* v. 49.) He is said to have invented the gnomon, not the sun-dial used to distinguish the hours of the day, but an instrument for determining the times of the equinoxes, and the meridian line. It seems doubtful whether the division of the day into hours was known in Greece till two centuries after the time of Anaximander (See *Ernesti Opusc. Philol.* p. 23.)

Anaximander held that the origin and element of all things was *τὸ ἀείρον, infinity*. What this *ἀείρον* was, he did not determine; whether any thing material, or an infinite intelligence: later philosophers explained it of the former; and in consequence Anaximander has been classed amongst the atheists. According to Cudworth, Thales was a theist; but Anaxi-

mander, Anaximenes, Hippo, and others, were atheistical, who held that matter devoid of life and understanding, was the first principle. But in point of fact so little is really known of the doctrines of these philosophers, that it is not easy to say, whether they were believers in the existence of a God or not. One thing should be remembered, that many of them in all likelihood may have broached opinions concerning the formation of the world, which ultimately conducted their followers to atheism, without being sensible, at the time, of their tendency.

The successor of Anaximander was Anaximenes, who taught that the *ἀείρον* of his master was *αἶρ*; which was in some degree recurring to the mythology of the poets, who identified the supreme Deity with *Æther*, the atmosphere. Anaximenes, however, maintained that the gods had their origin from this eternal and infinite air. We may here remark, that these philosophers, when they spoke of the existence of gods, or rather deities, *θεοί*, did not refer to them as the creators, or original causes of things, but merely as a kind of beings greatly superior to man, and possessing authority over them. So that a belief in their existence was perfectly compatible with a real and philosophical atheism. The grand doctrine of atheism is this: that the substance of matter, or extended body, is the only real entity; and therefore the only unmade thing, which is neither generable nor to be created, but self-existent from all eternity. But it does not follow that every philosopher, who asserted the eternity of matter, thereby intended to deny the eternity of God. On the contrary, some appear to have thought that an eternal cause must have had an eternal effect; as for instance Aristotle, who maintained the eternal existence of the world, says, "If there were nothing but matter in the world, there would be no original cause, but an infinite succession of causes." Others again entertain the contradictory hypothesis, that matter was eternal and self-existent, and that the Deity was co-existent with it; in short, that the artificer of the universe, and his materials, were both self-existent. So that it remains very doubtful, whether the philosophers of the Ionic school, did really intend to exclude a supreme intelligence from their theories of the formation of the universe. "It plainly appears," says Dr. S. Clarke, "how little reason modern atheists have to boast either of the authority or reasons of those ancient philosophers, who held the eternity of the world. For since these men neither proved, nor attempted to prove, that the material world was original to itself, independent, or self-existing; but only that it was an eternal effect of an eternal cause, which is God; it is evident, that this their opinion, even supposing it could by no means be refuted, could afford no manner of advantage to the cause of atheists in our days; who, excluding supreme mind and intelligence out of the universe, would make mere matter and necessity the original and eternal cause of all things."

The great difference between the theists and atheists before the time of Aristotle was, that the former affirmed the world to have been made by God, the latter, by the fortuitous motion of eternally existent matter; and this theory was not the doctrine of the Ionic school.

The Atomic theory is attributed by Plato to Prota-

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* It is impossible to reconcile this fact with the account which is given of the notions of Anaximander, that eclipses were caused by the stopping up of the orifices, through which the fire of the sun and moon exhaled. If Thales did really predict an eclipse, he must either have known the obliquity of the ecliptic, and possessed a far more accurate knowledge of astronomy than his scholar, or he must have obtained some information of an expected eclipse from the Egyptian or Babylonian astronomers, which perhaps is not an improbable conjecture.

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goras : but its real authors (as applied to the purposes of atheism) were Leucippus and Democritus, who lived about 460 a.c. They made the two great principles of nature to be the *Pneuma* and the *Atomum*, the one *ἀήρ*, the other *ἄτομος*. They taught that every thing was made by the fortuitous concourse of atoms, or indivisible corpuses, some of which were round, some angular, some curved and hooked. These were called by Xenocrates *περίχθονες*, "indivisible magnitudes," by Pythagoras *μονάδες*, "units." Fire and the soul, according to these philosophers, consist of spherical corpuses, which Democritus compared to the notes in the sunbeams. According to this hypothesis, all things are materially and mechanically necessary. But the older atomists, (i. e. those who believed in the formation of the world from atoms, but did not exclude spiritual essence, or rather incorporeal substance) were generally theists; as for instance, Pythagoras and Parmenides.

A determined opponent of Democritus was Anaxagoras, the successor of Anaximenes, and the most remarkable of the Ionic school, whose philosophy is a subject of more immediate interest to us, inasmuch as he took up his abode in Athens, and became the instructor of Pericles and Euripides, and the source from which Socrates derived his knowledge of natural philosophy. Anaxagoras discovered that there were inequalities in the moon's surface; and asserted that the sun was a mass of burning matter. He maintained that snow was black; and that the eyes were not capable of discovering the true colours of objects. Of the reasons which induced him to maintain these opinions, the ancient writers give but an indifferent account. It would appear that Anaxagoras had adopted a leading notion of the old materialists, which has been revived by modern philosophers; that the qualities of bodies, which strike our senses, have no real existence without us, but are images and appearances within us. With regard to the opinions of Anaxagoras, we fortunately possess some unexceptionable documents, in the poetry of his disciple Euripides, who, it is well known, was called, the philosopher of the stage; and who introduced into many of his dramas the leading tenets of his master; particularly into his *Chryseis*.

The founder of the Ionic school had taught, that the Deity was the mind of the universe; a notion very nearly if not exactly coinciding with that of the Hylæozoic philosophers, who said that matter was endowed with a kind of reason. But Anaxagoras was the first who taught in express terms a *θεὸς ἐγκosmικός*, a divine creator of the world. According to him, all things were a shapeless and inert mass, which the divine intelligence endued with motion, form, and beauty. Euripides calls the Deity *ἀνθρώπινος*, "self-existent," and says that he "intervene nature with the ethereal circle, or orb." In other passages he represents the Anaxagorean doctrine of the divine mind informing matter, by the poetical union of *Æther*, with the Earth.

*Ὀὐδὲ τὸ ἴδιον εἶναι ἀνθρώπινον
Καὶ γὰρ τριπλὴν ἔχει τὸ ἴδιον ἐκ θεῶν ἄλλων
Τῶν τε κινεῖται τῶν τε, καὶ τῶν ἴστων ἄλλων.*

So't thou on high this vast expanse of air,
Encircling in its liquid arms the earth?
This, this is Jove, reverse the present God.

Hence we find, in the surviving plays of Euripides, frequent invocations to Jove and the earth. This part of the poetical mythology of the Greek drama is fully illustrated by Valckenner in his *Diatrise on the Fragments of Euripides*, who conjectures that Anaxagoras derived his notion of the two principles of animal life from Egypt, the great nursery of Greek philosophy; since Procopius (a very late writer it must be confessed) mentions Anaxagoras of Clazomenæ as one of those, who travelled into Egypt for the sake of acquiring a more exact knowledge of physics and theology.

Another dogma of Anaxagoras was, that nature consisted in the repeated union and dissolution of the same particles; agreeably to what Lucretius says (ii. 1001.)

*Nec sic intermisit mores res, ut material
Corpora conflictat, sed coetum diuopat ollis.*

And Ovid,

*Nec perit in tanto quicquam (michi credite) mundo;
Sed variat, faciemque novat.*

It was upon the strength of this doctrine, that Socrates afterwards asserted, that the souls of men, when freed from their temporary union with the body, returned to their native heaven.

The most curious and abstruse of his notions was that of the *ὑπομικροσκοπία*, or similar particles. He maintained that every body consisted of particles similar to itself; for instance, gold consists of atoms of gold; a house of minute houses, and so on. (This doctrine is detailed and refuted by Lucretius, l. 530.) He considered that every thing was of a mixed nature except mind, which animated and moved the universe. Anaxagoras himself was called *Νῆψ*, "Mind," probably from this dogma. It appears, however, that he supposed certain revolutions (*κύματα*) of the world, or of parts of the universe, which were quite independent of this mind. Moreover he attributed mind to animals of every kind, which he designated by the same appellation as that which he applied to the supreme intelligence.

It being agreed on all hands, that Anaxagoras supposed the chaotic mass of particles to have been reduced into order by the divine intelligence, it may appear strange, that Irenæus should have branded him with the imputation of Atheism. The following passage of that father is quoted by Bayle (Art. ANAXAGORAS, p. 212.) *Anaxagoras autem, qui et Atheus cognominatus est, dogmatizavit facta nimulius decedentibus ex coelo in terram aminibus, quod et hi ipsi in matris sue transulerant semina, et esse hoc semen seipsum statim conflantes apud eos qui senum habent, et ipsos esse quæ sunt Anaxagoræ irreligiosi semina.*

The fact seems to be, that Irenæus confounded Anaxagoras the Clazomenian with Diagoras the Melian, who was called, by way of distinction, the Atheist.

Anaxagoras was sensible of the difficulties which embarrass all the speculations of human reason upon the final causes of things; he complained that all things were surrounded with darkness. In the mathematical sciences he found a greater degree of certainty; and even in this department of knowledge he seems to have indulged in speculations upon abstruse points. He is said to have treated of the quadrature of the circle, of the nature of comets, of the milky way, earthquakes, winds, thunder, eclipses, and the annual overflowing of the Nile: a constant source of perplexity

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Amongst the opinions of Anaxagoras on points of natural history, the most remarkable are these:

1. That sleep is an affection merely of the body, not of the mind.

3. That the cause of winds is the rarefaction of the air by the sun's rays. His successors not contented with this simple and true account of the matter, had recourse to much more complicated and improbable causes.

3. That earthquakes are caused by air confined in subterraneous caverns.

4. That the rainbow is occasioned by the reflection of the sun's rays in a dense cloud, opposite the sun. (Brucker says, "by the refraction," but the word in Plutarch is *ἀντανάκλασις*, which Aristotle uses of the reflexion of light.) The philosophers of that age knew nothing of refraction; and when Ptolemy speaks of the rainbow, although he uses the word *refringi*, he seems to mean reflexion.)

Anaxagoras committed to writing some of his lectures; Socrates is represented by Plato as expressing the dissatisfaction which he experienced, upon the perusal of a work of Anaxagoras, at finding that he proceeded no further, to accounting for the actual state of things, than mechanical causes; instead of assigning moral causes, such as the fitness of things, the principles of order, &c. Bayle defends Anaxagoras, upon the ground, that, having once admitted a first moving cause, he had no occasion to recur to it in his explanation of the separate phenomena of nature. It appears from this account, that Socrates was not a scholar of Anaxagoras.

The principles of Anaxagoras were taken up by Diogenes Apolloniates, the next philosopher of the Ionic school, who made, however, this important change, that he supposed the air not only to be the first principle of all things, but also the efficient and moving principle.

Diogenes was succeeded by Archelaus, both of them having been hearers of Anaxagoras. Archelaus was called, by way of eminence *ῥητορικός*, "the natural philosopher." Some writers have attributed to him the honour, which is most commonly assigned to Anaxagoras, of having been the first to import philosophy from Ionia into Athens. It is not unlikely that

Archelaus might have been the first who established a regular school of philosophy in that city; for Anaxagoras perhaps only taught some occasional disciples. But the method by which Bayle endeavours to reconcile the two accounts, is this: The ancient writers say nothing more, than that Archelaus first transported the Ionic school of philosophy from Ionia to Athens; which is strictly true: for during the temporary residence of Anaxagoras in Attica, the chair of philosophy in Ionia was not vacant; whereas, when Archelaus came to Athens, he left no successor behind him in Ionia.

Where Archelaus altered the dogmas of Anaxagoras in physics, it seems to have been for the worse: and the same may be said of his moral philosophy; since he maintained the dangerous position, that there is no such thing as natural right: that all actions are in themselves, indifferent; and that their moral quality depends solely on the decrees of human laws; *τὸ δίκαιον εἶναι καὶ τὸ ἀδίκαιον ἀφ' ἑστέρας, ἀλλὰ νόμῳ*, 'that justice and torpidity are not such by nature, but by law.' This sentiment is nearly the same as that which was put by Euripides into the mouth of one of the characters in his *Æolus*.

οὐκ ἔστι δίκαιον, εἰ μὴ τοῖσι χρηστοῖσι βούλῃ;

'What is base, which does not seem so to those who do it?'

For there is nothing either good, or bad,

But thinking makes it so.

Shakespeare. Hamlet.

In opposition to this sentiment, Diogenes the Cynic is related to have said,

ἀδίκαιον οὐδ' ἂν ἀδίκαιον, ἀλλὰ καὶ καὶ καὶ καὶ καὶ.

'What is base, is base, whether it be thought so or not.'

Possibly, however, Archelaus intended merely to deny the existence of a moral sense; and consequently of any distinction between right and wrong, independently of the will of the legislation: we cannot pronounce him guilty of impiety, till it can be determined whether by *νόμος*, he meant human laws, or the declared will of the Deity.

In closing this brief account of the Ionic school, we have one remark to make, which will throw light upon some transactions in the life of Socrates. It was a leading principle of the received mythology of those times, that all the different operations of nature were performed by the agency of genii, so inferior class of deities, at whose will the lightning flashed, the earth quaked, the stars withdrew their light. Earth, air, and sea were peopled with these imaginary agents, who were subject to the order and control of the superior gods. All the phenomena of the heavens were referred to their respective powers; and when any portent alarmed an ignorant people, it was attributed to the anger of some offended deity.

Now the new philosophy, which pretended to assign natural and material causes for these various phenomena, went to pluck up by the roots this superstition (emphatically termed by the Greeks, *ἑρμηνεία*, 'a fear of the genii'). The attributing of a solar eclipse to the periodical interposition of the moon between the sun and the earth, instead of considering it as a portent sent by some superior power, for the purpose of announcing some approaching calamity, was, in the eyes of the vulgar, nothing less than depriving their deities of a legitimate privilege. And besides, there

* We ought perhaps to except the *ῥητορικός* *ῥητορικός* of the Tauric Diana, and the *ῥητορικός* *ῥητορικός* or *ῥητορικός* of Naxos; both of which were probably aerolites.

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Bioḡraphy. was a numerous tribe of people in Greece, called *ἑγγυροί*, or expounders, whose trade it was to explain portents, omens, and presages of every kind; and it was an art productive of no inconsiderable gains to its professors. He, therefore, who undertook to show that these phenomena, which resulted from the established and unerring laws of nature, could never be the prognostics of contingent events, (inasmuch as they will certainly happen, whether the events themselves happen or not,) aimed a deadly blow at the lucrative calling of the whole tribe of *εἰρηγῆται* and soothsayers.

The example of Nicias, as represented by Thucydides in his account of the Athenian expedition against Sicily, affords a striking proof of the hold, which this superstition had obtained, upon the minds even of the higher classes in Greece: while, on the other hand, Pericles was a remarkable instance of the advantage which a man of powerful mind acquires over his contemporaries, by divesting himself of the superstitious notions of the age in which he lives. The following is the observation of Plutarch. "Pericles not only derived this benefit from his intercourse with Anaxagoras; but he seems to have been rendered superior to that kind of superstitious fear, which astonishment at the phenomena of the heavens excites in those who are ignorant of the causes of them, and by reason of their inexperience, are disturbed, and like persons possessed, in religious matters: from which superstition natural philosophy emancipates a man, and inspires him with a firm piety, accompanied by pleasing hopes, in the room of this terrifying and feverish superstition." The same author, speaking of the eclipse of the moon, which induced Nicias to defer his retreat, says, that eclipses of the sun were then pretty well understood by the common people to be occasioned by the moon; but an eclipse of the moon itself was much more incomprehensible, and a subject of great alarm. For Anaxagoras, the first philosopher who had written clearly on the subject, had not publicly divulged his opinions; but his scholars kept them close amongst themselves, through fear of the people, who could not endure those philosophers who treated of natural causes, but called them in contempt *ἀστρονομῆες*, or "persons who prate about things in the sky;" being jealous of their attributing to natural causes, that which belonged to the gods alone; for which reason Protagoras was banished from Athens, and Anaxagoras put into prison; from which he was with great difficulty liberated by Pericles.

It was obviously the interest of all the expounders and soothsayers abovementioned, to foment the popular jealousy of these studies, and to raise the cry of atheism against the new philosophy. Anaxagoras was accused of impiety, because he asserted that the sun was a mass of ignited stone, thereby degrading that luminary from the order of gods; and when Aristophanes, some years afterwards, endeavoured to fix the popular odium on Socrates, he represented him as a minute philosopher, prying into the secrets of nature. It was well observed by Justin Martyr, "Those persons before the Christian era, who endeavoured, by the strength of human understanding, to investigate and ascertain the nature of things, were brought into the courts of justice as impious, and overcurious."

We have before observed, that the name which was applied to these persons who inquired into the secrets

of nature, or studied political economy, was *Σοφιστῆς*, "sophist." It is said by Isocrates, that Soion was the first who assumed this title; that is, probably, the first Athenian. About the time of Socrates this appellation began to be applied to those professors of wisdom, who dogmatized with confidence upon every subject, and taught philosophy, as a perfect science, for pay; while the modest inquirers after truth contented themselves with the title of *φύσιολογοί*, "lovers of wisdom," after the example of Pythagoras. By degrees, these two classes of men became distinct from, and opposed to, each other, chiefly through the influence of Socrates; but, in his time, the distinction was not established. About that period, however, the sophists began to assume a tone of greater confidence, and professed to teach the principles of natural and moral philosophy as matters, not of investigation, but of certainty; and, seeing the success which had attended the lectures of Anaxagoras, by whose advice Pericles had been enabled to obtain the control and direction of the Athenian republic, they joined the arts of logic and eloquence to the study of morality and natural history, and pretended to be masters and teachers of the whole circle of human knowledge. In reading the history of those times, as it regards the progress of philosophy, we must be careful not to confound the sophists of the Socratic age with those of a later period, who confined themselves to the art of rhetoric: such were the sophists whose lives were written by Philostratus. That the sophists at Athens combined natural philosophy with eloquence and politics, appears from the following sentiments of Socrates, as reported by Xenophon. "No person ever saw or heard an irreligious or impious action, or word, of Socrates: for he was not accustomed to discourse concerning the nature of all things, as most of his contemporaries did, considering how that, which the sophists call the universe (*κόσμος*), is constituted, and by what necessity each of the heavenly phenomena happens; but he used to prove the folly of those who busied themselves about such things; and he used to inquire, in the first place, whether they applied themselves to these pursuits, having previously obtained a complete knowledge of every thing relating to man; or whether they could reconcile it to their notions of propriety and duty, to omit all consideration of human affairs, and study only divine things. And he expressed his surprise at their not clearly perceiving, that these things are not discoverable by the human intellect; since even those who most prided themselves upon discoursing on these subjects, did not think alike, but differed with one another like so many crazy people; for some crazy persons are not afraid, even of things which are really formidable; while others see fear where there is none: some again make no scruple of saying or doing any thing, even in a crowd, while others cannot bear even to appear in public: some respect neither temple nor altar, nor any thing pertaining to the gods, while others worship sticks and stones, and beasts. So amongst natural philosophers; some think that there is only one entity, others an infinite multitude; some hold that all things are continually in motion, others that nothing can be moved; some assert that all things are generated and destroyed, others that nothing can be generated or destroyed."—"The older sophists," says Philostratus (i. e. those of the age of Socrates), "discoursed largely

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wards was, of corrupting the youth of Athens by inculcating irreligious opinions, and was condemned to drink "the cold Socratic draught."*

Another celebrated sophist was Hippias of Elis, who boasted at the Olympic games, that there was nothing, in the whole range of the arts and sciences, which he did not know; and that he was not only a perfect master of the liberal arts, geometry, music, poetry, &c. but that the ring which he then wore, his robe, and his huskins, were all manufactured by his own hand. Plato has introduced him as a speaker in the two dialogues which are entitled *Hippias Major*, and *Hippias Minor*; the first of which throws so much light upon the character and practices of the sophists, that we shall here present our readers with such parts of it as may serve to place in the clearest point of view the mode of philosophising, against which Socrates waged unceasing war. The two persons of the dialogue are Socrates and Hippias.

So. Why Hippias, worthy† and wise Sir, what a long time is it since you visited us at Athens!

Hi. Very true; for I have had no leisure, Socrates. For the state of Elis, when it wants to negotiate any thing with another city, always comes first to me, to choose me for its ambassador, thinking me to be the most competent judge and interpreter of the proposals made on the part of the respective cities. I have therefore frequently gone as ambassador to other cities, but most frequently, and upon affairs of the greatest moment, to Lacedæmon; for which reason, that I may answer your inquiry, I don't come very often into these parts.

So. Such a fine thing it is, Hippias, to be a truly wise and perfectly accomplished man. You, for instance, are able, in your private capacity, while you receive large sums from the young men, to give them in return more than their money's worth; and in your public character, to benefit your country, as every man must, who would not be despised, but thought highly of by people in general. But pray tell me, Hippias, what can be the reason, why those ancient worthies, who are so celebrated for wisdom, Pittacus, and Bias, and Thales of Miletus, and his successors down to Anaxagoras, all, or most of them, appear to have kept aloof from political transactions?

Hi. What other reason, d'y'e think, Socrates, than their inability, and incompetency to master, by the force of their understanding, the arts, both of public and private life.

So. Do you mean to say then, that as the other arts have advanced, and the ancient professors of them have been far surpassed by those of our days; so the art which you sophists profess, has improved, and that the old philosophers are nothing compared to you?

tutor has understood the precise meaning of this parenthesis. See the preceding note. Philostratus says, that Gorgias ridiculed Prodicus for repeating the same discourse, or lecture, over and over again, and professed himself to speak extemporaneously.

* *Σωκράτης ψυχὴν πόρην.* Tassus Philonian ap. Sert. Emp. p. 319.

† To make us all capable. Heinendorf has shown that *καλὸς* does not refer to the personal appearance of Hippias, as Sydenham, the translator of Plato, supposes. It answers perhaps most nearly to the *belles* of the Latins, and to our *fine*.

‡ Socrates says this in compliance with the common opinion of the sophists of his time, who laid claim, or the invention of managing the state by philosophy; and said that Pittacus, and others of the same stamp, interfered in politics not as philosophers, but as tyrants and intriguers.

Hi. You have exactly hit upon the truth.

So. I am ready to testify with you, that what you say is true; and that in fact your art has so far improved, as to combine the management of public with that of private affairs. For Gorgias, the sophist of Leontium, came hither, on a public embassy from his native country, as being the best qualified of the Leontines to manage the affairs of the commonwealth; and he had the credit of being an excellent speaker in the assemblies of the people; and in private gave lectures, and associated with young men, and by that means made a great deal of money out of this city. Again, if you prefer this instance, our old companion Prodicus, has often come hither in a public character upon other occasions, and upon his last visit, which was very lately, having come from Ceos, he acquired great credit by a speech in the council; and giving lectures in his private capacity, he got a prodigious sum of money. But not one of those ancient gentlemen ever thought of exacting money as a price, nor of making a display of his wisdom to all sorts of people, so simple were they, and ignorant of the great value of money. Whereas, each of those moderns makes more money by his wisdom, than the professors of any other art whatever; and the same was done by Protagoras before them.

Hi. The fact is, Socrates, that you know nothing of the fine things I could tell you on this subject. If you knew how much money I have made, you would indeed be surprised. To mention no other instances: having arrived in Sicily upon a certain occasion, Protagoras being at that time residing there, in high reputation, and somewhat advanced in years; I, being much younger, made in a very short time more than 150 minæ; and more than 20 out of one very small town, named Iapyxum. This I carried home and gave to my father, to the great surprise and astonishment of himself and his fellow citizens. And I rather think I have made more money, than any two whatever of the other sophists.

He then goes on to tell Socrates, that in Lacedæmon, where he had been most frequently, he had made no money at all; and when pressed for a reason of this, he says, "It is not the custom of that country to disturb the existing laws, nor to introduce any novel practice in the education of their sons." He confesses that the Lacedæmonians would not listen to any discourses on astronomy, geometry, nor arithmetic; nor upon grammatical questions; but "concerning the genealogies of heroes and men, and the original foundation and colonisation of towns, and upon antiquarian subjects. And I got great credit by discoursing upon the different pursuits which a young man ought to follow. For I have a very charming little work on this subject, well drawn up in all respects, but particularly in point of language. The subject is this. Troy being taken, I suppose Neoptolemus to ask of Nestor, what are the most becoming pursuits for a young man who wishes to gain credit by them? Then Nestor speaks and suggests to him a great many very orderly and honourable precepts. This discourse I delivered there, and intend to do the same here the day after to-morrow, in the school of Phædrastus, and to add to it a great deal more worth hearing.

These extracts afford a fair specimen of the vanity and ostentation of the sophists, and of the effect which they produced upon the tone of society at Athens,

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with respect both to literature and morality. Multitudes of young men attended these peripatetic teachers; and paid them every kind of honour, struck with astonishment at the facility and splendour of their eloquence, as well as at the dialectic subtlety of their reasoning; and what was far worse, captivated by the easy morality which confounded all the limits of right and wrong, and placed the *summum bonum* in the attainment of political distinction. We have given an account, somewhat minute, of these misnamed philosophers, because it is impossible to understand the character of Socrates, or to appreciate his excellencies, without being previously acquainted with the state of society in which he found himself upon his entrance into life. The example of Pericles had inflamed the ambition of the youth of Athens; and to obtain, like him, an unlimited influence over the people, was the one great object of their desires. To the pursuit of this, all other studies were made subservient. The sophists saw this ruling passion, and took advantage of it; and in the course of their instruction, having run through a certain system of natural philosophy, founded upon the principle of materialism, they directed their chief attention to those arts of reasoning, or rather to that abuse of reason, which they called by the name of dialectics. By the help of this instrument, the youthful catechumen was enabled readily to perplex the understandings and judgments of a popular auditory; to argue plausibly on either side of a question, as might be most agreeable to his hearers, and therefore most conducive to his own purposes; in the accomplishment of which, he would be restrained by no feelings of honour or moral delicacy, having been taught that there was no inherent nor essential difference between right and wrong.

"That might made right," says Mr. Mitford, the able historian of Greece, "especially in public transactions, was a tenet very generally avowed; the incalculable mischiefs of which were checked only by the salutary superstition, which taught to respect the sanction of oaths, in the fear that immediate vengeance from the gods would follow the violation of it as a personal affront to themselves. It appears, however, in the remaining works of the great comic poet of the day, that this salutary superstition was fast wearing away. It is evident from the writings of Xenophon and Plato, that, in their age, the boundaries of right and wrong, justice and injustice, honesty and dishonesty, were little determined by any generally received principle. There were those who contended that, in private as in public affairs, whatever was clearly for a man's advantage, he might reasonably do: and even sacrifice was performed, and prayer offered to the gods for success in wrong."

Such was the state of things at Athens, when Socrates appeared upon the stage of public life. Before we proceed to detail his biography, a few words must be said concerning the sources from which we derive our information respecting him. It is well known that the two authors from whom this information is principally drawn, were his scholars and admirers. Of these, Plato has rather been studious to raise an immortal monument to his own wisdom and eloquence, than to give a faithful delineation and portraiture of his illustrious master. He has made Socrates the principal personage in his truly dramatic dialogues; but he has rather employed him as the organ of his own philoso-

phical opinions, than represented, in their native simplicity, the doctrines of the great teacher himself. We are assured by Aristotle, that Plato was addicted, in his earlier years, to the notions of Heraclitus; and Socrates complained that even during his lifetime, Plato corrupted his doctrines by mixing with them the tenets of other philosophers. This conduct gave great offence to the other disciples of Socrates, and especially to Xenophon, between whom and Plato there appears to have subsisted a considerable dislike. It is very plain, from the style of Plato's dialogues, that they are not to be depended upon as faithful records of the life or sayings of Socrates. Athenæus relates, that Gorgias, upon reading the dialogue inscribed with his name, exclaimed, "How well does Plato understand the art of lampooning!" He added, that he had never heard Socrates utter a syllable of what Plato puts in his mouth. Timon of Philus, the writer of *Silli*, who lashed all the philosophers, had a verse to the following effect; "How skillfully did Plato invent his admirable fictions!"

Some of the persons, whom Plato introduces as conversing with Socrates, could never have seen him; and Xenophon says, that as it was perfectly well known that Socrates confined himself wholly to moral philosophy, those writers who put into his mouth long discussions upon subjects relating to physics, were guilty of a palpable imposture. This remark was evidently aimed at Plato. The Abbé Garnier has endeavoured to exonerate Plato from these charges, but without success.

The genius and ambition of Plato having thus disqualified him for the office of a faithful historian of the philosophy of Socrates, we must be cautious how we impute to that extraordinary man any opinion or practice, upon the authority of Plato, unless we have the concurrent testimony of Xenophon, whose amiable candour and simplicity irresistibly claim our belief. His *Ἀπομνημονεύματα*, or *Memoirs** of Socrates, are our text book, in investigating the opinions of his master.

The life of Socrates was written by Aristoxenus, Demetrius, Phalerus, and several others, whose works have perished; but we find notices from them in the writings of later authors; in some instances contradicting one another, and requiring the judgment of sound criticism to decide upon their comparative credibility.

Socrates was born in the fourth year of the seventy-seventh Olympiad, on the sixth of the month Thargelion, at Alopecæ, a demus or borough, of Attica. His father, who was a statuary, was named Sophroniscus; his mother, who was a midwife, Phænarete. Socrates was instructed by his father in his own art, which he exercised with some skill and success: Pausanias says, that he made the statues of Mercury and the Graces, which stood at the entrance of the Acropolis. His father having died, left him an inheritance of eighty minæ, which he lost by the treachery of a relation, to

* This book is usually called the *Memorabilia*. Gellius describes it as "a treatise concerning the actions and sayings of Socrates;" *de moribus* is "to remind," *de moribus*, "any thing of which one is put in mind;" therefore, *de moribus* seems probably *Memoirs*. Boswell's *Life of Johnson* would be exactly designated by this word. We must here observe, that some critics have doubted whether the *Memorabilia* be the genuine production of Xenophon or not.

Biography, whom he had lent it upon interest. Being thus reduced to the necessity of working at his profession, he contented himself with doing just enough to bring him in a bare subsistence, and employed his leisure time in the study of philosophy.* Cræus, a rich Athenian, is said to have furnished him with the means of procuring for himself such instruction as he desired. At the age of seventeen, he became a hearer and favourite scholar of Archelaus. He received lessons to music from Damon, a celebrated professor of that science; but did not learn to play on the lyre till he had arrived at a much later period of his life. For the precepts of eloquence he had recourse to Prodicus; for those of poetry to Eueus, of Paros, a celebrated elegiac poet; geometry he learned from Theodorus. To these graver studies, he sought to add an acquaintance with the delicacies of language and of thought; and with that view, he frequented the society of the most accomplished females at Athens, particularly Aspasia, the mistress, and afterwards the wife, of Pericles; and Diotima, from whom he professed to have imbibed the philosophy of love.

He pursued these methods of obtaining knowledge, in preference to the course which had been followed by most of his predecessors, who had thought it necessary to visit Egypt and the east, *θεωπεῖν αἰεὶ*, as Herodotus says, for the sake of seeing what was to be seen, and of obtaining some insight into the recondite wisdom of the priests and magi; whereas Socrates used to boast that he had never left Athens, except on the service of the state. When he was called upon, in his civil capacity, to discharge any of the offices imposed upon him by the laws, he was active, conscientious, and disinterested. He served as a soldier in the siege of Potidaea, (O_l. lxxxi. 3.) and Alcibiades, who was his comrade, testified that he surpassed all his fellow-soldiers in his endurance of labour, hunger, and thirst; and that he united the most perfect sobriety with great convivial cheerfulness. Alcibiades himself, when wounded, was rescued from the most imminent danger by his friend and preceptor. After the conflict, the prize of valour having been adjudged to Socrates, he prevailed upon the umpires to transfer it to Alcibiades. His second campaign was in O_l. lxxxi. 1. when he distinguished himself at the battle of Delium in Boeotia (where the Athenians were defeated) by his valour in defence of Xenophon; who having lost his horse in the flight, and lying wounded on the ground, Socrates, who was on foot, carried him on his shoulders to a considerable distance, walking deliberately and firmly, and displaying a courage which deterred the enemy from attacking him. He served again, the same year, in the expedition against Amphipolis. Athenæus endeavours to deprive Socrates of the credit of these military achievements, taking for his text a saying of Democritus, "that one could as easily make a hoose of a stalk of savori, as a perfect soldier of a Socrates;" and he attempts to prove, partly by chronological

computations, and partly on the ground of improbability, that the account given by Plato is untrue. But Plato is supported by the testimony of Xenophon and Antisthenes; all of whom lived so near the time when these occurrences are said to have taken place, as to render it in the highest degree improbable that they should have ventured to impose a false account upon persons who knew the real state of the case. The civils of Athenæus have been satisfactorily refuted by Isaac Casaubon, in his annotations upon that learned, but injudicious writer.

Socrates, partly from a dislike of politics, and partly, perhaps, from the obscurity of his station, did not fill any civil office till he was considerably advanced in years, when he was elected into the council; and being one of the Prytænes when the six generals were tried for having neglected to rescue from the waves those who had been wrecked, and the dead bodies of those who had fallen in the sea-fight at Arginæuse, he resisted singly the iniquitous attempts of their accusers, and the fury of the people, and refused to put the question to the vote. Afterwards, under the rule of the Thirty, being deputed one of five to arrest Leon of Salamis, for the purpose of putting him to death, he resolutely declined the office, at the hazard of his own life, which would probably have been sacrificed to the resentment of the tyrants, had they not shortly afterwards been deprived of their power.

Socrates is said to have taken advantage of a law of Solon, which permitted an Athenian citizen to have two wives; and to have married first Xanthippe, and afterwards Myrto, the daughter of Aristides (not the Just,) whom he is related to have taken into his house from motives of pity, when she was a widow and in distress. This story rests upon the authority of Plutarch, Demetrius Phalereus, Aristæus, and Satyrus the peripatetic. But there are many reasons for doubting the fact. In the first place, there is no good authority for asserting that there was any law of Solon which permitted bigamy. In the second place, neither Plato nor Xenophon make any allusion to such a circumstance in their master's life; nor Aristophanes, who certainly would not have let slip so fair an opportunity of a joke against Socrates. And lastly, Plutarch, who is the earliest author extant, that mentions the story, says that Panætius, in his book on Socrates, "has abundantly refuted the assertions of those writers who propagated the story." The fact probably was, that Socrates did receive Myrto into his house from motives of charity and kindness, and that hence originated a report of his having married her. The reader may see the question discussed at length in Bentley's *Diss. on the Socratic Epistles*; Mahne's *Diatribæ de Aristotelo*.

With regard to the character of Xenophon, his undoubted wife, there is a great diversity of opinion. She is commonly believed to have been a woman of loose manners, and of violent temper. For the first of these charges, however, there seems to be no good authority. Neither Plato, Aristotle, nor Aristophanes, make any allusion to it; and it is inconsistent with the account which Plato gives of the kind and affectionate behaviour of Xanthippe towards her husband in his last moments. But it is quite clear that she was of a violent and untractable temper; for Socrates professed to have married her because he knew that if

* Brucker makes a ludicrous mistake on this subject. He says "quærit necessitatem compulsionis, non. Atheniæ tantum, sed et *Darius* statuasque exercebat." He found in the Latin version of Diogenes these words; "Πορὸν Δῆριν σερβίειν ἱλλανσὶν, ἐν σκῆπτρῳ λαβὼν." i.e. "Darius also makes that he was a slave, and cut statues." Whereas Brucker, not consulting the Greek, where there is the nominative *Δῆρις*, mistook *Darius* for the relative, and fancied it to be the name of a place.

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Ringraphy. he could put up with her caprice and passion, he would be able to bear with patience the ill humour of others. Lamprocles, the son of Xanthippe, declares, in Xenophon, that the fierceness of a wild beast would be more tolerable than the temper of such a mother. At the same time, however, he confesses that she had performed, towards him, all the offices of a kind and careful parent.

Socrates appears to have been at all times in a state of great indigence; nor was he solicitous to increase his means. He was wholly intent upon correcting the gross defects which he perceived in the religion, the morality, and the government of his country; and made the pursuit of this object the sole business of his life. He was gifted with an extraordinary share of sagacity and common sense, and a great facility of expressing his sentiments in easy and perspicuous language. Instead of following the example of the sophists, who proclaimed their readiness and ability to communicate to others every kind of knowledge, he professed himself, what, in fact he was, a sincere and ardent inquirer after truth; and imparted to others the wisdom which he seemed to be seeking, not in the way of a dogmatic lecture, nor of precept, but by proposing questions, which led his hearers insensibly to just and indisputable conclusions.

As Socrates was well aware that the most effectual way of producing a reform in the opinions and habits of his countrymen, was by communicating a proper bias to the minds of those young men, who were likely to have a share in the management of public affairs, he took every opportunity of mixing, but in an easy and natural way, in the company of the opulent and popular Athenians, of those who sought to distinguish themselves by their eloquence, their elegance, or their manly pursuits. With this view he was continually in public. No man, perhaps, ever lived so long and so much in the eyes of the world as Socrates. Early in the morning he went to the public walks and gymnasia, or schools for athletic exercises; and when the Agora (i. e. the public bazaar or exchange) was most thronged, which was about noon, Socrates was always one of the crowd; and he generally accepted of some invitation to pass the rest of the day where he was likely to see the largest company. In these parties he was usually the principal speaker. Although a very patient hearer, he most assiduously gave the conversation a turn to some interesting and important subject, which he enlivened by his ingenuity and cheerfulness, and concluded by convincing his hearers, without even distinctly asserting the opinion which he wished them to embrace.

When his reputation was established, and he was followed by great numbers of young Athenians, he could never be induced to relieve his poverty by accepting any reward for his instructions given in public; and in private, properly speaking, he gave none.

He did not, however, confine his peculiar method of philosophising to men of rank and property; but took frequent opportunities of conversing with those artists and mechanics who were most eminent in their respective departments. He judged that it was an important service to his country, to inspire every class of citizens with just and correct notions of the best method of practising their callings, and of discharging

giving the duties incident to them.* Indeed this was an object of which he never lost sight; rightly thinking, that upon the conscientious and diligent behaviour of each individual in his particular station and calling, depended the safety and prosperity of the whole commonwealth. In the same strain he taught his hearers, that he who was the best manager of his own affairs, was likely to be the best administrator of the affairs of the republic.

We have before us, observed, that Socrates did not deliver lectures like the sophists, but conducted his discourses upon subjects of practical philosophy in the way of question and answer. His usual method was, to apply to the person, whom he wished to bring over to his own opinion, with a pretended ignorance, as one who desired to obtain information ; and without asserting any thing himself, he would put to him, in succession, a series of questions, which admitted but of one answer; and so, by degrees, would bring him to acknowledge the truth which Socrates wished to establish. He always began by gaining the assent of his adversary to some unquestionable propositions : these he artfully connected with some of a more dubious kind, and then, by tying down his opponent to his former concessions, he proved his own point.

This Socratic mode of disputation the Greeks called *εἰρωνεία*, 'irony,' from *εἰρῆναι*, 'n person who dissembles his real knowledge or opinions; one who pretends to know nothing of what he really does know.' Horace calls a person of this sort *dissimulator* *quique proprie*. To this ironical or bantering mode of disputation the Athenians in general seem to have been partial; in the case of Socrates it gave so much offence to some, that they called him "the Attic buffoon, or jester." Aristotle contrasts the boasting pretender, who, for the sake of fame or profit, affects accomplishments which he does not possess, with the *εἰρων*, him who dissembles his powers, and disparages his own qualifications, "for the sake of appearing more amiable and pleasing; for," he observes, "persons of this description seem to speak, not for the sake of gain, but from a wish to avoid ostentation. And in particular, they reject all pretences to fame; as was the case with Socrates."

Being well aware that the sophists were a principal cause of that deterioration in the character of his countrymen which he so often complained of, he applied himself to undermine their credit, and to open the eyes of their disciples. With this object in view, he pursued a line of conduct, in all respects, the reverse of that which distinguished the sophists. Instead of appearing in the places of public resort, in a gorgeous robe, he wore a simple and unassuming dress, and he appeared in the most unassuming manner, instead of professing the talent of haranguing copiously and elegantly, he declared himself wholly ignorant of such arts, and instead of delivering at length lectures

* He carried this custom so far, as not only to give advice to Parrhasius, the celebrated painter, and Clito the sculptor, upon the best method of communicating to their representations of the human form an expression of moral sentiment; but he conversed with Theodote, a courtesan, upon the most efficacious methods of alluring lovers.

† Aristoph. Av. 1209. Κατὰ πόλιν πόλιν κλειθῆτες ἐς τὸ εὐ-
χεῖσθαι, ὃ μακρόν ἐστι; 1. Οὐκ οἶδα, καὶ Δὲ θύμῳ κατὰ πόλιν πόλιν,
πρ'. ἤκουσας αὐτῆς, ἄλλο εἰσπείρεται; 1 By what gates did you get
into the city, you baggage? 2. I protest I don't know by what
gates. P. D' ye hear how the lanterns are!

Biography. upon given subjects, he conversed in the way of short questions and answers. He used to make his appearance, as it were by accident, amidst the numerous tribe of Athenians who were listening to Gorgias, or some other famous sophist; and professing his admiration of such talents and eloquence, lamented the straitness of his means, which debarred him from the advantage of becoming a scholar of so able a master. He would then, with seeming diffidence, propose a simple question to the sophist, to which an eloquent but diffuse reply would be given. Upon which, Socrates requests him so far to humour his infirmity and slow comprehension, as to proceed step by step. When this was done, he soon manifested the clearness and justice of his own ideas, and the confused and inconsistent notions of the sophists; reducing him by a series of simple, but closely connected questions, to admit the truth which Socrates desired to prove. It was in vain that the sophist ridiculed or found fault with his opponent, for descending to minutiae, and arguing in detail, to the exclusion of all eloquence and common place; in vain did he treat with contempt the maxims of common sense and of plain downright morality, which were at variance with his own notions as to the best methods of prospering in life. Socrates returned with coolness and temper to the charge; and by a series of such attacks, closely followed up, he exposed the shallowness and inconsistency of those pretenders to wisdom.

It does not appear very clearly, at what period of his life Socrates began to attract public notice as a teacher of philosophy, nor how long a period of time he continued his attacks upon the sophists, before he produced a strong impression upon the public mind. For some time he was himself considered to be one of that class of teachers; and when Aristophanes introduced him upon the stage, he was probably just risen into eminence, although it should seem, from the representation given of him in *The Clouds*, that his real character and mode of philosophising were not known to the great comic poet. Socrates was then about forty-six years of age. To this subject we shall revert presently.

We may probably refer to his ironical mode of teaching the celebrated *εὐρησμός*, or genius of Socrates, which, he said, in various emergencies, admonished him what course to pursue, and enabled him to predict, in many cases, what was about to happen. It was, in fact, neither more nor less than common sense or right judgment; a faculty which he possessed in an eminent degree, and which he made the guide of his life. Other philosophers called this 'Opinion'; Socrates chose to speak of it as his attendant genius. At the same time, it must be confessed, we are told by some authors that this *δαίμων* made itself heard only in those questions which were not determinable by human prudence. It is evident that most of those who have mentioned the genius of Socrates, including his immediate scholars, have understood it literally to have been a being of a superior nature; a very natural opinion for those who were acquainted with the doctrines of the older philosophers, who maintained the existence of a race of spiritual beings, intermediate between the gods and men. Socrates, who had full confidence in the conclusions of that judgment which he had cultivated with so much care, and was convinced that it would

not mislead him in matters cognisable by human reason; yet studious at the same time to avoid an appearance of laying down the conclusions of his own reason, as the sophists used to do, for infallible truths; chose to speak of them as the suggestions of this invisible friend; being at all times very careful not to exalt too highly the powers of the human mind; and being aware, that even the dictates of right reason might, without impropriety, be referred to the inspiration of a superior power. It is even possible, that, convinced as he was of the existence of a supreme intelligence, and accustomed to find, that when he acted upon the suggestions of his reason, without having sought for them by laborious induction, he was always in the right—it is possible, we say, that he might have referred them to the immediate influence of a spiritual adviser, as the enthusiasts of modern days are too apt to do, oftentimes with less reason. But it is truly surprising that any Christian writer should have been found, to ascribe the genius of Socrates, in order to prove the truth of the Scripture doctrine of angels. It appears, that the great master himself would never vouchsafe to his most intimate friends any explanation touching this *δαίμων*. And it is very probable, that the few instances which they record, where Socrates appeared to have determined rightly rather from divination than from the inductions of reason, are not related agreeably to the real facts. Every explanation which has hitherto been given of this curious subject has its difficulties. It appears to us, that the most probable solution of the knot is that which we have proposed in the last place. We cannot, at any rate, coincide in opinion with Brucker, who thinks that Socrates enjoyed "a certain faculty or presentiment, approaching to divination." But, on the other hand, it will not be enough to conclude, with Plutarch, P. Simon, and others, that this genius was no other than common sense; unless at the same time we suppose that Socrates himself, struck by the justice and promptitude of his own conclusions in emergencies, which gave no scope to deliberation, did actually refer to the inspiration of a divine monitor, what were in fact the dictates of his own singular natural good sense. For many years he had been an attentive observer of human nature, and had narrowly scrutinised the motives and watched the consequences of actions; the result of which was a matured and solid experience, and a degree of sagacity, which seemed at times to be almost more than human. The oracle which is said to have been delivered by the Pythian priestess, declaring Socrates to be the wisest of mankind, is well known: but there is good reason to suspect that it was a forgery, probably invented by Chærophron, or by some other disciple of Socrates, after his master's death. It was, however, reported very soon after that event, and at any rate serves to show the prevailing opinion in Greece respecting the superior wisdom of the deceased philosopher. Great, however, as that wisdom was, it was not greater than his modesty. The following observations, which Cicero has put into the mouth of Varro in his first Book of *Academic Questions*, place in a strong light the good sense and modesty of Socrates. "It is agreed on all hands, and I think, justly, that Socrates was the first person, who called away philosophy from the study of occult things, purposely concealed by nature herself, in which all the

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philosophers before him had been occupied, and introduced her to common life: making virtue and vice, good and evil, the objects of his inquiry; but esteeming the higher branches of natural philosophy (*celestia*) far removed from our cognisance, or at all events, if they were ever so well understood, of no importance towards living well. In all his discourses, which have been committed to writing by those who heard him, with great variety and copiousness of language, his method of disputing is, to affirm nothing himself, but to refute others: he professes to know nothing, except the fact itself of his knowing nothing: and says that in this respect he excels other men, who fancy that they know that which they do not know; whereas all his own knowledge consisted in the consciousness of knowing nothing; and he supposes that Apollo had pronounced him to be the wisest of mankind,* because the whole of true wisdom consists in a man's not thinking himself to know that, of which he is ignorant. This being the constant tenor of his discourses, and his fixed opinion; all his eloquence was expended in praising virtue, and in exhorting all men to the study of virtue; a fact sufficiently evident from the writings of the Socratic philosophers, and especially of Plato.† It need hardly be remarked that this confession of ignorance, on the part of Socrates, was very different, from the universal doubt and uncertainty professed by the sceptics; his object being simply to inspire mankind with a distrust of that intuitive kind of knowledge, to which the sophists laid claim, and to teach them that the road to true wisdom must be pursued through all the successive steps of patient investigation.

With regard to his religious opinions, Socrates appears to have been firmly convinced of the existence of a Supreme Being, and of his superintending providence over the affairs of men. He was never heard, says Xenophon, to say any thing which savoured of impiety; but every part both of his conversation and his conduct was such, as might be expected from a man, deeply sensible of the truth and importance of religion. Upon these subjects, however, he found it necessary to speak with a certain degree of caution and reserve; and even with all his care he did not escape the charge of impiety. It need hardly be proved, that he disbelieved the popular mythology of his time; and he appears to have admitted the existence of an intermediate race of spiritual beings, between the supreme Deity and men. It is, however, not unreasonable to suspect, that when Socrates referred to his friends, in questions not to be resolved by human sagacity, to auguries and divinations, he complied with what he considered to be a harmless superstition, without intending to assert his own belief in it. At the same time that he maintained the purity and spirituality of the Supreme God, and strongly denied the weaknesses and vices imputed by the poets to the deities of the Pantheon, he practised himself, and recommended to others, a regular compliance with the established forms of worship, and even consulted oracles. At the same time, he seems to have intimated his sense of the impropriety of addressing the Deity by

any particular name, by his custom of introducing into his colloquial asseverations sometimes the name of Heré (Juno) and sometimes that of a dog, or a goose. The last words which Socrates uttered before his death, were to put his friends in mind, that he was indebted to *Asculapius* a cock, which he had vowed, but never sacrificed. Such an expression, used at a moment, when he was perfectly aware of his approaching dissolution, might seem to indicate an actual belief in the existence of the inferior gods. But it has been conjectured, and not improbably, that when those words were uttered, the poison which he had taken, had affected his reason. Whatever may have been the language which he held in his public discourses, the sagacity of Aristophanes did not fail to perceive, that he rejected in fact the popular superstitions of his country.

His firmness of mind, in refusing to act contrary to the dictates of his conscience; his temperance and frugality, have been already mentioned. The concurrent testimony of all antiquity proves him to have been one of the most irreproachable characters of the heathen world. And the virtues, for which he was most remarkable, will appear more worthy of admiration, if we reflect, that he was destitute of those lights and helps, which are possessed by the Christian moralist. "The singular merit of Socrates," observes Mr. Mitford, "lay in the purity and usefulness of his manners and conversation; the clearness with which he saw, and the steadiness with which he practised, in a blind and corrupt age, all moral duties; the disinterestedness and the zeal with which he devoted himself to the benefit of others; and the enlarged and warm benevolence, whence his supreme and only pleasure seems to have consisted in doing good. The purity of Christian morality, little enough indeed seen in practice, nevertheless is become so familiar in theory, that it passes almost for obvious and even congenial to the human mind. Those only will justly estimate the merit of that near approach to it which Socrates made, who will take the pains to gather, as they may from the writings of his contemporaries and predecessors, how little conception of it was entertained before his time; how dull to a just moral sense the human mind has really been; how slow the progress in the investigation of the moral duties, even where not only great pains have been taken, but the greatest abilities zealously employed; and, when discovered, how difficult it has been to establish them by proofs beyond controversy, or proofs even that should be generally admitted by the reason of men. It is through the light diffused by his doctrine, enforced by his practice, with the advantage of having both the doctrine and practice exhibited to the highest advantage, in the incomparable writings of disciples, such as Xenophon and Plato, that his life forms an era in the history of Athens, and of man."

Our readers are well aware that one imputation has been cast upon the moral character of Socrates, of the most disgraceful kind. but it has been by writers of an age much more recent than that of Socrates, and chiefly by Porphyry, and some Fathers of the Christian church. The authorities upon which it rests, have been collected by Mr. Cumberland, in the *Observer*, or rather by Dr. Bentley, whose papers his grandson is now known to have pillaged without scruple. But these authorities may justly be considered as destitute of

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* These words, it must be remembered, are put into the mouth of Socrates by Plato; and afford one proof amongst many, that it is unsafe to place much reliance upon the accuracy of his representations.

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weight, when put in competition with the total absence of any aspersion of the kind in *The Clouds* of Aristophanes, and with the direct and united testimony of Plato and Xenophon to the purity and integrity of Socrates. These changes, as Mr. Mitford justly observes, carry every appearance of having originated in the virulence of party-spirit; and they have been propagated by writers in the profligate ages that followed—a propensity to involve men of the best report, in former times, in the scandal of that gross immorality which disgraced the fall of Greece and Rome, is conspicuous among some of the writers under the Roman empire. There cannot be a stronger negative argument to rebut the charge of scandalous immorality, than the silence, both of Aristophanes, (who scrupled at no ineffectuality of expression or of representation*) and of the accusers of Socrates, who were not deterred from calumniating the object of their hatred, by any regard for truth. (The reader may see this question discussed more at length in a dissertation by the Abbé Fraguier, *Choir des Mémoires de l'Académie Royale* t. iii. p. 29.) The wisdom of Socrates, his benevolence, and the purity of his morals, were so remarkably superior to those of his contemporaries, that some Jewish and Christian writers have maintained, with more zeal than judgment, that he derived his knowledge of divine things from an acquaintance with the Scriptures of the Old Testament. While some of the defenders of natural religion affect to contrast the ethics of Socrates, with those which are inculcated in the Gospel. But even if we admit the justice of those commendations which are bestowed upon his moral precepts, we find the great and pervading deficiency, which revelation alone could supply, that of motive; necessarily resulting from a state of uncertainty as to the retribution of a future life.

Socrates taught that the divine attributes might be inferred from the works of creation; a notion asserted also by St. Paul. He maintained the omniscience, obliquity, and providence of the Deity; and from the existence of conscience in the human breast, he inferred that man is a moral agent, the object of reward and punishment; and that the great distinction between virtue and vice was ordained by the Deity. This is the sum of those theological doctrines which Socrates taught with plainness and simplicity; but which Plato expanded and corrupted with his own refined and abstruse speculations. It is easy to perceive how far superior, both in point of reasonableness and in their moral tendency, these doctrines were, to the metaphysical speculations of the Ionic school.

The soul of man, according to Socrates, is given him by the Deity, whom it resembles in its powers and properties; consequently it is immortal, and will receive, after the death of the body, the rewards of virtue. If Socrates expressed any doubt on this head, it related to the place of the soul in another life, not to its existence or happiness.

The justness of his notions, upon these important subjects, ostensibly exalted and purified his moral system. The chief happiness of life he placed in a practical knowledge of virtue, of the ends which man is intended to answer, and of the right methods of pur-

suing them. This knowledge, when complete, teaches him that in every case that which is just, is expedient; and that the purest pleasures are those which spring from an habitual rectitude of conduct. The great secret of obtaining this desirable wisdom, is to know ourselves, a secret which Socrates, in his daily conversations with those who had the greatest reputation for wisdom, proved to be little understood.

Socrates taught that "to obey is better than sacrifice;" that the most acceptable service to the gods, is to perform their commands: that man ought simply to ask the gods to give what is good for him; for that they know, far better than he does, what is really to his advantage; that the gods are to be worshipped, according to the institutions of our country; a precept which is also attributed to Pythagoras. He said that besides the written laws of men, there are certain unwritten laws,* ordained by the Deity, such as those which enjoin the worship of the gods, and the reverence due to parents; that it is reasonable to conclude that these laws have the divine sanction, because the violation of them carries with it its own punishment, a provision surpassing the wisdom and power of a human legislator. (This argument is insisted upon by Bishop Butler, in the second chapter of his *Analogy*.)

In the course of a life spent in disseminating the principles of truth and morality, as discoverable by the light of nature, Socrates delivered maxims and rules for the conduct of men in every relation of civil and social life. Those which are recorded by Xenophon, are marked by that sound and practical common sense, which was the leading feature of his philosophy. With regard to politics, the peculiar constitution of the Athenian polity, and the temper of the times, made him cautious in delivering his sentiments. Yet he said enough, at different times, to make his countrymen suspect, that he disliked the existing constitution of Athens. He remarked, (at least Ælian tells us that he remarked) that democracy is tyrannical, and abounds with the evils of monarchy. It was urged by his enemies, that he rendered his hearers disaffected towards the democracy; and indeed, although he was too good a citizen to promote seditious and political violence, it was not possible that he should approve of the manner in which the Athenian government was conducted. He wished, as Mr. Mitford has remarked, for wholesome changes by gentle means; and it seems to have been an object which he never lost sight of, in all his teaching, to infuse those principles into the Athenian youth, which might insensibly produce the wished-for change. Although he took no part in politics himself, he endeavoured to obtain an influence over those young men, who were most likely, from their wealth, their talents, and their ambition, to bear away in the popular assemblies. Thus

* *Ἀγασσάμενος*. This notion was not first entertained by Socrates. We find it expressed by Sophocles, in his *Antigone*. v. 453.

οὐδὲν ὁμολοῖται νομοθέτης ὅτι καὶ ἐκ
ἀποφασίας, ὅτι ἡ ἀρετὴ ἀποφασίᾳ τῶν
νόμων ἡρώδης ἔστιν ἡ ἀρετὴ.

† Nor judged I thy decrees of such avail,
As that a mortal might transgress the gods'
Unwritten and immutable behests."

Thucydides, in the funeral oration spoken by Pericles, distinguishes between the laws enacted for the common good, and the unwritten laws, the violation of which brings with it acknowledged disgrace. See also Demosthenes de *Coro.* p. 83.

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employed, and courted as he was by many of the richest and most powerful of the Athenian Youth, it is no wonder, if the vulgar demagogues considered him as a dangerous rival, and were desirous of exciting popular jealousy against him.

Socrates was about forty-six years of age, when he was introduced by Aristophanes in his comedy of *The Clouds*, and held up to public derision. It is well known, that what is called the *old comedy*, the leading writers of which were Eupolis, Cratinus, and Aristophanes, introduced, without scruple, living personages upon the stage, not only exhibiting the peculiarities of their moral and political characters, but representing, by means of masks and dresses, their personal appearance.

The great object of the comic poets was, to please a popular audience, and to obtain their suffrages for the prize awarded to the most deserving. But they not unfrequently had a higher object in view: Aristophanes in particular directed his wit against the mischievous, but too popular demagogues of his time, with the truest patriotism; and with a courage, which nothing but a confidence in his own surpassing abilities, and the justice of the cause which he espoused, could have inspired. Whatever he conceived to be at variance with that free and manly spirit, which had once distinguished his countrymen, but which in his time was nearly destroyed by political chicanery, and the flagitious doctrines of the sophists, he assailed with all the powers of ridicule; and although in many cases, as was to be expected, the innocent suffered with the guilty, and defamation usurped the place of legitimate satire; yet, upon the whole, it is evident, that the object of Aristophanes was, to bring his countrymen to a right way of thinking, and to open their eyes to the artifices, by which they had been so long imposed upon. It is not easy to assign a satisfactory reason for the injurious representation, which Aristophanes has given of Socrates, in the comedy before mentioned. But we may probably conjecture, that wishing to attack the sophists in general, of whom Socrates at that time was considered to be one, he took him as a representative of the whole body, and attributed to him that species of philosophy, which it was the constant object of Socrates to decry and discredit.

The object of the comic poet in *The Clouds*, is to show how the sophistry of the schools may be employed to the perversion of justice and morality. He ridicules, by the way, certain new and fanciful notions touching the relation of children and parents; and introduces the clouds, as the deities of the new philosophers, who acknowledged no such divinity as Jupiter, or his associate gods. Mr. Cumberland has justly remarked, that although Socrates is exhibited in a very ridiculous point of view, as hoisted up in a basket, to pursue his astronomical studies, and measuring the space over which a flea can skip, yet he lays down no principles of fraud or injustice, as parts of his own system. It is not the teacher who recommends, but his disciples who pervert his instructions to the evil purpose of defrauding their creditors. The son in the play beats his father on the stage, and he quotes in his own justification the maxims of Socrates; but he does not quote them as positive rules and injunctions for an art so atrocious; he only shows that sophistry may be turned, to defend that or any other thing, equally violent and outrageous.

It is undoubtedly true, that the schools of the so-

phists, which the government of Athens thought it necessary to put down by a public decree, were no unfit subjects for dramatic ridicule; but still the great difficulty recurs, why should Socrates have been selected by the poet, as the representative of that mischievous tribe, rather than Gorgias, or Hippia, or Polus, or some well-known member of the fraternity? Perhaps it was, as some modern critics have supposed, that some of the disciples and friends of Socrates, rather than the philosopher himself, were the real objects of dislike to Aristophanes; and that he introduced the teacher himself upon the stage, for the purpose of ridiculing his school. Three, at least, of the followers of Socrates, were just objects of satire: the rapacious Simmon, the cowardly Cleonymus, and the disolute Theorus; of whom Aristophanes says "O Jupiter, if thy bolt is aimed at perjury, why has it not consumed Simmon, nor Cleonymus, nor Theorus, all perjured as they are?" An intimate friend of Socrates was Euripides; against whom, as the inculcator of an ambiguous morality, and the debaser of genuine tragedy, Aristophanes entertained a peculiar antipathy. And besides, accustomed as the Athenians were to see their public men ridiculed and reviled in the grossest manner upon the stage, it did, perhaps, no great harm to the character of Socrates, that his philosophy should be jocosely burlesqued; for, be it remembered, there is little or nothing of calumny and ill-nature in the delineation which Aristophanes gives of Socrates himself. It must have been so exceedingly and palpably unlike the original, that one is almost tempted to suspect the poet of having made it so on purpose, that the spectators might at once perceive it to be intended for a good-natured caricature of Socrates, with whose real mode of life they were all perfectly well acquainted; and whose prosing discourses, most of them probably thought, as Eupolis did, very tiresome. The singularity which Socrates affected in his manners and dress, going barefoot, and, at times, standing for a whole day together in the same attitude of meditation, rendered him a tempting subject for ridicule. The poet says in *The Clouds*, "We could not think of attending to any other of the sophists of the present day, except Prodicus, to him, on account of his wisdom and good sense; but to you (Socrates) because you swagger in the streets, and roll your eyes about, and go barefoot, pretending to put up with many annoyances, and wear a solemn countenance towards us." Aristophanes represents Socrates as taking a fee for his instructions, although the contrary was notoriously the fact. It appears, however, that at the first representation *The Clouds* did not take with the audience, but was condemned, owing, as it is said, to Alcibiades, and a party of the friends of Socrates. The following year it was reproduced, in an amended state, with better success. The story told by Ælian, of the poet's having been bribed by Anytus and Melitus to write *The Clouds*, in order to pave the way for their criminal accusation, has been long ago exploded: this comedy is known to have been acted more than twenty years before the trial and condemnation of Socrates. Yet it is far from impossible, that the ridicule cast upon him in that play, may have contributed to the popular prejudice, which, many years afterwards, became so fatally strong. We are not informed by Xenophon or Plato, whether Socrates had given any cause of offence to Aristophanes; indeed, Plato represents them

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B. C. 469. About two or three-and-twenty years after the first representation of *The Clouds*, a young man, named Melitus (or rather Meletus) delivered to the archon an information against Socrates, to the following effect: "Melitus, son of Meletus, of the borough of Pitthos, makes this charge upon oath against Socrates, son of Sophroniscus, of the borough of Alopece: Socrates is guilty of reviling the gods acknowledged by the state, and of preaching other new gods; moreover, he is guilty of corrupting the youth. Penalty, death." Melitus, who was a poet, and a man of no consideration, was associated in this affair with Lycon, an orator of eminence, and Anytus, a man in high esteem, who had commended with credit in the Peloponnesian war, and was afterwards an ally of Thymaeus, in restoring the democracy. It was urged against Socrates, by his prosecutors, that he was disaffected to the democracy, and that he had instilled similar principles into his followers, especially Critias and Alcibiades. Indeed, it seems very likely, that his intimacy with Alcibiades was one principal cause of the suspicion and dislike, with which he was viewed by the popular party. Socrates himself, as Plato makes him speak, did not deny his disapprobation of the existing government: the whole of his defence, as reported by his illustrious scholar, was calculated to irritate, rather than to conciliate, his judges.

No advice of his friends could persuade him, when put upon his defence before the Heliasts,* to say a word in the form of supplication. He told his judges, that he was pleading for them, to save them the guilt of an unjust condemnation. Being persuaded of the soul's immortality, he considered the prospect of a dismissal from the body, at his age, to be a subject of rejoicing. Death might be an introduction to the highest degree of happiness; it could not bring any thing worse to a good man than a cessation of being; and therefore he looked with no apprehension to a sentence, which would consign him to the easiest of deaths; for such the Athenian mode of execution, by a draught of prepared hemlock, was reputed to be.

The judges were so much incensed by the tone which Socrates took in his defence, that they refused to hear Plato, who would have spoken in his behalf, and immediately found him guilty. It being then permitted him to say what fine ought to be imposed upon him, he would not suffer his friends to contribute any thing towards a pecuniary mulct; but told the court, that he considered himself worthy of the highest honours and reward. Still further irritated by this reply, a majority of the judges, still greater than the former one, condemned him to death; and he was accordingly conducted to prison, after having shown the injustice of his sentence. He concluded his address to the judges with these words: "But it is time that we should depart; I to die, you to live: but which for the greater good, God only knows."

* The largest court of judicature at Athens was the *Heliasts*, consisting of from 1500 to 500 judges, called *Heliasts*. Before this tribunal were tried questions concerning religion.

The condemnation of Socrates happened on the eve of the day, appointed for the ceremony of placing a sacred chaplet upon the ship, which carried the annual offerings to the gods worshipped at Delos. And no execution could take place at Athens from the crowding of the galley till its return from Delos. Thus the death of Socrates was respite for thirty days. His friends took advantage of this delay, to concert means for his escape. The jailer was bribed, and a vessel prepared, to convey Socrates to some friends in Thessaly. But no persuasion could induce him to use the opportunity. Having all his life recommended obedience to the laws of his country he would not now set an example of the breach of them; arguing, that unjust as his sentence was, wrong would not justify wrong. Plato has given us a beautiful representation of the manner in which Socrates employed himself during this painful interval, in discussing subjects of the highest nature with his favourite disciples. But there is too much reason to apprehend that these representations are more striking than faithful. It is, however, agreed on all hands, that when the sacred ship returned, (of which he professed to have been forewarned by a dream,) he drank the fatal cup with perfect composure, and died with a degree of tranquillity, which would have been still more admirable, had it not been alloyed by a mixture of ill-timed facetiousness. He was, at his death, which happened *OL. xciv. 1. in the 70th year of his age.*

The disciples of Socrates, after having paid the last honours to their departed master, and testified their grief and indignation in the most public manner, quitted Athens for some time, for fear of the faction which had procured his condemnation. A general sentiment of indignation prevailed in the Grecian states, at the news of this event; and it was not long before the Athenians themselves, being made sensible of the injustice of their proceedings, turned their anger against the accusers of Socrates; of whom Melitus is said to have been condemned to death, and Anytus banished from Athens. The friends of the murdered philosopher were recruited, and a statue erected to his honour. A pestilence which happened not long afterwards, was considered to be a just punishment for their gross violation of justice; and it is not a little remarkable that from that time, the affairs of Athens grew continually worse.

The grammarian who wrote the argument to that oration of Isocrates, which is called the *Encomium of Boetis*, relates, that when the *Palamedes* of Euripides was acted at Athens, and the chorus uttered the following words: "O Greeks, ye have killed the wisest, sweetest songstress of the muses, who injured no one, the best of the Greeks," the whole theatre shed tears, perceiving the allusion to Socrates. But Diogenes Laertius, after having observed, that Euripides intended, in the words above quoted, to reproach the Athenians with their injustice towards his illustrious friend, adds, "but Philochorus, (a writer on the antiquities of Attica,) says, that Euripides died before Socrates;" which is perfectly true; for the poet died, *OL. xciii. 1.*, the philosopher in *OL. xciv. 1.* But as the *Palamedes* was brought upon the stage nine years after the first representation of *The Clouds* of Aristophanes, Valckenner thinks it probable that Euripides might intend to shadow out, in the

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Socrates never committed any of his speculations to writing; those which have been attributed to him have been abundantly proved not to have been his productions; especially the epistles, which go by his name, but which Bishop Pearson and Dr. Bentley have shown to be the forgery of a sophist of later times. He is reported to have assisted Euripides in writing some of his tragedies, for which rumour there was, probably, no foundation but the intimacy which subsisted between them.

The person of Socrates is so well known to our readers, that it need hardly be described. Its resemblance to the representation usually given of Silenus, in the works of ancient art, is so strong, that he was called, with an allusion to the convivial excesses of his friend, the Silenus of Alcibiades.

As Socrates, instead of addicting himself to any set of philosophical principles as a system, with which every moral and political phenomenon must be made to square, passed his life in the investigation of truth, and delivered, in plain and unaffected language, the result of patient observations and inquiry; it is not

to be wondered at, if some of his followers, who were not superior to the ambition of system-making, instead of treading in the footsteps of their master, struck off in different directions, and became the founders of different sects in philosophy. Such were Plato, the father of the Academic sect, Aristippus of the Cyrenaic, Phædo of the Eliac, Euclid of the Megaric, and Antisthenes of the Cynic: all of whom, widely as they differed from one another, pretended to ground their notions upon the authority of their master.

In the foregoing account of Socrates, we have endeavoured to observe a just impartiality. It is not to be denied, that in some parts of his conduct there was an affectation of singularity, unworthy of so wise a man; and that he sometimes bestowed much unnecessary labour upon the elucidation of a very common and obvious truth; but he was undoubtedly the author of a far more genuine and practical philosophy than the Greeks had before been masters of; and taught a system of morality, which, with a very few exceptions, was defective only in its motives. And it is a strong argument of the necessity which existed, before the time of our Saviour, of a divine revelation, that a philosophy, so pure and rational as that of Socrates, enforced as it was by the ablest and most eloquent writers of antiquity, had but little effect in improving the religious or moral character of the most acute and ingenious people of the heathen world.

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ARCHIMEDES—GREEK MATHEMATICS.

THALES	DIED	B. C. 546.
ANAXIMANDER	B. C. 547.	AGED 72.
PYTHAGORAS	B. C. 507.	98.
EMPEDOCLES	B. C. 413.	60.
ANAXAGORAS	B. C. 428.	72.
ARCHYTAS	A. C. 360.	
DEMOCRITUS	B. C. 361.	AGED 100.
HERODOTUS		
HIPPOCRATES		
ANTIPHRON AND ERYXON		
METON AND EUTEMON	FLOURISHED	B. C. 438.
PLATO	DIED	B. C. 348. AGED 81.
MENECHEMUS		
DINDATRATUS		
EUDOXUS		
ARISTOTLE	DIED	B. C. 322. AGED 63.
AUTOLYCUS	FLOURISHED	B. C. 330.
EUCLID	B. C. 320.	
ARISTILLUS AND TIMOCARIS	B. C. 280.	
ARISTARCHUS	B. C. 281.	
ARATUS		
ARCHIMEDES	DIED	B. C. 212. AGED 75.
CONON	FLOURISHED	B. C. 240.
ERATOSTHENES	DIED	B. C. 194. AGED 82.
APOLLONIUS	FLOURISHED	B. C. 215.
CRYSIPPUS	B. C. 150.	
HERO	B. C. 140.	

Biography. At the time when the state of eloquence and the arts among the Greeks shewed most strongly the extraordinary powers of their minds, they were employed in forming and advancing the singularly beautiful and intellectual structure of the GREEK GEOMETRY. This science, associated in its birth with their earliest philosophy, generally continued combined with their favourite speculations; and in its progress was more rapid, or at least more certain, than any of them. In the school of PLATO it had already engaged in the most intricate and difficult researches; and when transferred to the college of Alexandria, it produced those profound investigations, in which the first intellects of later times have been content to employ themselves without hoping to add to his discoveries.

Among the names which the history of this subject offers, that of ARCHIMEDES has been, by the suffrage of all judges, considered as standing highest; and possessing the same pre-eminence in the ancient world with that of Newton in modern times. It will, therefore, be natural to combine with what can be collected of his biography, some account of the history, about that time, of the sciences which he cultivated. This sketch of what was then known, may be considered as the only view which we can give of that which is generally the most interesting part in the life of a mathematician, his education: for it is clear that Archimedes was familiar with all that had been done in mathematics up to his time. Without such knowledge, few have been fortunate enough to extend, as he did, the limits of their province in the world of science.

THALES of Miletus, the first of the Greeks who is mentioned as having turned his attention to geometry, is to be looked on as the father of their mathematical science, as indeed he appears to have been of the rest of their philosophy. The discoveries attributed to him are of the most elementary kind; but enough was done to give an impulse to the subject; and his followers in the Ionic school imitated him also in these researches. ANAXIMANDER is said to have written an *Introduction to Geometry*. PYTHAGORAS was a scholar of Thales; and did much for the progress of mathematics, besides the discovery of his celebrated theorem, for which he is said, it must be acknowledged with little probability, to have sacrificed a hecatomb. The theories of which he was the author, and the reception which they met with, shew the strong tendency of the Greeks to such inquiries. In his hands and those of his successors, music became a mathematical subject; the properties of numbers were pursued with an inquisitiveness which led to a curious spirit of mysticism; and the doctrine of the sphere was applied to the explanation of astronomical phenomena.

Under these circumstances geometry and its related sciences soon became of considerable extent. We have the titles of several treatises upon a variety of its branches by DEMOCRITUS and others of the times before Pericles; and at the period of the Peloponnesian war, geometers had not only travelled over most elementary problems, but had, in some instances, struck against those limits which they have been ever since vainly struggling to pass. According to PLUTARCH, ANAXAGORAS, the friend of Pericles, employed

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Pythagoras.
Democritus.
Anaxagoras.

Biography.	himself in his prison in investigations on the <i>quadrature of the circle</i> ; and steps of the same problem were also attempted by Antiphan and Bryson, whose reasonings Aristotle calls paralogisms, though it would seem undeservedly with respect to the former. Hippocrates, who was originally a merchant of Chio, and became a geometer at Athens, whither he had gone in consequence of pecuniary misfortunes, entered upon a train of research, which at first seemed to promise success, in measuring the circle. He went so far as to find the area of a space comprehended between two circular areas, and called a <i>lune</i> , from its resemblance to the horned moon; but it was found impossible to extend this to a whole circle. Another problem, now also known to be impracticable by plane geometry, namely, the discovery of <i>two mean proportionals</i> , excited much interest about this time. It is identical with the problem of <i>doubling the cube</i> , said to have been proposed by the oracle at Delos; though this story is probably only one of those fictions in which mathematicians used often to present their questions. However that may be, it is certain that we have several solutions of this problem, purporting to be of the time of Plato, given by Eutocius in his commentary on Archimedes. ARCHYTAS, a Pythagorean, the master of Plato, solved it by a somewhat complicated construction, in which a conical and cylindrical surface are made to intersect. MENECMUS, a scholar of Plato, obtained the result by the intersection of two conic sections. EUDOXUS, another of Plato's scholars, is said to have applied to it curve lines invented by himself. Plato himself devised a kind of parallel ruler, by means of which it might easily be mechanically executed. Indeed the Greek geometry seems sometimes to have had a rather curious tendency to solve its problems by mechanical contrivances: of which practice, according to Plutarch, in his account of Archimedes, Plato strongly disapproved; notwithstanding the instance we have just given of his adoption of it.*
Plato.	The admiration of Plato for geometry is well known, from the inscription which he is said to have placed over the door of the place where he taught: "Let no one enter who is without geometry." The acquisitions which are attributed to him and his school shew how rapidly the science advanced; for the discoveries which we have now to ascribe are no longer particular propositions, but general methods, and long trains of investigation. We shall consider them in order.
Conics.	It appears by what has been just said of Menecmus, that the conic sections had already been discovered. They are sometimes ascribed to Plato himself, and many of their properties were known soon after his time.
Analysis.	Plato is said to have invented the <i>geometrical analysis</i> ; the method by which, assuming a problematical result to be true, we reason backward to the other propositions which its truth presupposes, till we arrive at something which is known to be true or to be false; and thus establish or overturn the proposition assumed.
Loc.	Another invention of this illustrious mathematical

* Plutarch, in Marcellus. Plutarch obviously confounds, as it was easy for a writer to do who was not a mathematician, the solution of problems by mechanical contrivances, (*μηχανικα*), with the application of mathematics to problems concerning machines, (*μηχανισμοι*.)

school was the doctrine of geometrical loci. By this proceeding, when a required point cannot be found by the intersections of straight lines and circles, some new curve is constructed, consisting of the places which the point might assume by leaving out one of the conditions; and in this curve the remaining condition enables us to determine the point demanded. The *quadratrix* (*τετραπλευροειδης*) of Deionastus, a curve so called from the scholar of Plato, who invented it, or discovered its properties, and from its use in squaring the circle, was one of the first of these loci. It may also be used in another celebrated problem, the *bisection of an angle*. This problem, and that of the duplication of the cube, gave rise also to the loci constructed by succeeding mathematicians, and called the cochoid of Nicomedes, and the cissoid of Diocles. Besides these, which were called *loci at a line*, similar considerations led afterwards to the invention of *loci at a surface*, when the possible positions of a point lay in a curved superficies.

To the active minds of Plato and his school we may attribute also the prosecution of *Solid Geometry*. We have a treatise by ZECHOONAS, who is supposed to have lived somewhat about this time, in which it is proved that the content of the sphere is greater than that of any other solid of equal surface. This is preserved by Theon in his commentary on the *Elements*, and is the oldest work on geometry extant. But the Platonists pursued this subject, and investigated the properties of the five regular solids, called from that cause the Platonic bodies. This branch could not previously have been much attended to, for Plato (*Rep. lib. 7.*) "notes it defective," to use Lord Bacon's phrase in his *Sarety of Human Learning*.

In the passage of Plato just referred to, he divides mathematics into the doctrine of planes, or plane geometry; the doctrine of solids; and the doctrine of solids in motion. This last division is meant to describe the mathematical part of *Astronomy*; viz. the doctrine of the appearances presented by the revolution of a sphere. Thales, or his immediate successors, had mistaken, the spherical form of the earth, and imagined and named the most important circles in the sphere of the heavens. After this, the application of geometry to determine the risings, settings, and motions of the stars was an obvious step, and seems to have been early made. It does not appear to have led to any very remote consequences; and may be adequately judged of from the ancient and curious treatise on the sphere still extant, and written by AUTOLYCHUS, who lived about the time of Alexander. For an account of this work, and of other early Greek astronomers, see the HISTORY OF ASTRONOMY in the SECOND DIVISION. Of EUDOXUS, one of the most eminent of them, we may further notice Delambre's opinion, that he possessed an artificial globe, such as we may conceive the skill of that time able to produce; and that having marked upon it the places of the stars, with no great exactness, he determined their risings and settings by means similar to what is now understood by "the use of the globes." The results of this method he published in a work which we may consider of great importance, as having given rise not only to the poetical paraphrase of ARATUS, but to the valuable commentary of Hipparchus.

The other astronomical opinions of the Greek philosophers were less precise and correct. The true

Archimedes.	From A. M. 345B.
—	A. C. 346.
—	A. M. 386A.
—	A. C. 140.

Loci at a surface.
Solid geometry.

Astronomy.

Biography. system of the universe had indeed been maintained by Pythagoras, but the minds, even of philosophers, were not yet ripe for it; and except that it was occasionally revived, as for instance by Aristarchus of Samos, a little before Archimedes, it slept till the time of Copernicus. Aristotle pretended to confute it; and Plato's opinions, though often borrowed from the Pythagoreans, have no tinge of that part of their philosophy. Yet he is said to have adopted in his old age the system which places the sun in the centre of the universe. He had also the merit of having recommended mathematics to the more particular attention of astronomers; but apparently this was done with the hope of discovering imaginary relations among the parts of the universe: such, perhaps, as afterwards haunted the mind of Kepler; and though unfounded in themselves, led him, by singular good fortune, to the true laws of the solar system. Eudoxus, already mentioned as the disciple of Plato, appears to be the author of that cumbrous hypothesis of crystalline spheres, which generally, but erroneously, has the name of Ptolemy attached to it. It is not to be found in the works of that great astronomer, though it was adopted by Aristotle and others of the ancients.

The most important practical result of the astronomy of those times was the invention of the cycle of nineteen years, (*sextus idus Augusti*) for the purpose of making the solar and lunar year coincide. It is said (Gemini, c. 6.) to have been produced for the approbation of the Athenians, by METON and ECTEMON, and adopted a. c. 433; and it so far answers its purpose, that it is still in use, under the name of the *golden number*, to determine the new and full moons, on which moveable festivals depend.

Arithmetic. The Pythagoreans had paid much attention to arithmetic, i. e. to the properties of numbers; indeed, they attributed to them a mystical meaning, which is not very intelligible. The Platonists also pursued this subject, and invented arrangements of numbers into various classes: thus they were called odd or even, perfect or imperfect, polygonal, which included triangular, square and pentagonal, pyramidal, &c. Besides these speculations, which are not of very material consequence, the practical art of performing arithmetical operations had been carried to a considerable extent, as we shall see hereafter.

Music. It has already been mentioned, that, from the time of Pythagoras, music had become a mathematical science. Though there seems to be some error in the account of the inferences which that philosopher drew from the notes struck by the hammers on a blacksmith's anvil, the general fact is probably true, that he made the discovery that two musical strings which gave the most perceptible concord to the ear, exhibited also remarkable mathematical relations to each other in their lengths and tensions. This curious fact, connected with the great importance which the Greeks attached to music, soon led to a variety of speculations, derived from these mathematical proportions, which were assumed to be perfectly exact. This accuracy, however, though a proper subject for theory, is not the foundation of practical music: and though a mathematical exactness in concords is susceptible of being appreciated by the ear, it is rejected by the practice of modern music. Indeed the unalterable properties of numbers, thus curiously connected with one of the most exquisite gratifications of the senses,

make it impossible to preserve the perfect exactness of chords in every part of the musical scale. Therefore, though the ancients reasoned upon their concords as *perfect*, it is probable that in practice they used these imperfect. The latitude which this allows gives rise to the different expression of the different keys, as they are called, which probably correspond, at least to a considerable extent, with the various modes, Phrygian, Dorian, &c. of the ancient music. It was also probably this capacity of the ear to adapt itself to concords slightly imperfect, which caused the separation into two sects of the ancient theorists on this subject: of one of which sects Pythagoras was the founder, as Aristoxenus, a cotemporary of Aristotle, was of the other. While the former made the simplicity of the arithmetical relations regulate, as it were, the musical ones; the latter appealed more to experiment, and placed the tones at equal intervals in the scale; perhaps making, much in the same manner as is done in modern keyed instruments, their defects compensate each other. It seems requisite, to speak of ancient mathematics, to say something of this difficult, and perhaps uninteresting portion of the science, as it was by them considered a most important branch; and many of their greatest mathematicians have written upon it treatises which are still extant. Their principal researches consisted in determining the value of the intervals between different notes of their scale, and arranging them into systems of four contiguous notes, which they called *tetrachords*; which, however, do not make the successions of the notes so clear as our arrangement of them in octaves. Any further discussion of this subject might be considered out of place; we shall only notice, that the scale above referred to was called the *diatonic*; that besides this they had the *chromatic*, in which all the half notes were introduced; the *old enharmonic*, which, according to Dr. Burney, resembled the Scotch scale; and the *new enharmonic*, which contained all the quarter notes, and to which we have nothing exactly corresponding. It appears certain that the music of the Greeks was confined to *melody*, or the pleasing succession of sounds; and that it was left for modern times to produce what we now call *harmony*; that effect of simultaneous sounds which may almost be considered as having a rightful claim to the reward offered for the discovery of a new sense of pleasure.

In the view of the state of mathematics in the time Mechanics. of Plato we can hardly censure the two sciences of mechanics and optics, which had scarcely then begun to exist, though they soon afterwards engaged some attention. The doctrine of motion indeed was not destined for the Greeks, for they never had any but the vaguest notions on the subject, and continued ignorant of the first law of motion, "that a moving body will go on uniformly, except so far as it is acted upon by external causes;" nor was any light thrown on this subject, till the time of Galileo, as has already been mentioned in the HISTORY OF MECHANICS in the SEVENTH DIVISION. The reader may there see the speculations of Aristotle; and a fragment on this subject, which is attributed to Euclid, contains nothing more definite or important. The doctrine of equilibrium, in which Archimedes made such extraordinary progress, seems to have been little better before his time. In ARISTOTLE'S mechanical problems, he thus accounts for the fact that, by means of the lever, a small weight

Archimedes.
From
A. M.
3458.
—
B. C.
546.
to
A. M.
3864.
—
B. C.
140.

Biography. may move a larger wheel is at the end of a shorter arm. The extremities of the arms describe circles, and the motion of a point in a circle is twofold; viz. a motion perpendicular to the radius, which is according to nature, and a motion towards the centre, which is contrary to nature. This unusual motion is smaller in a larger circle, if the space described be the same; and hence in a larger circle a force will with equal ease move a body through a larger space. It is manifest that such reasoning as this can lead to nothing, and we do not know of any thing better till the time of Archimedes.

Optics. Optics was in a similar imperfect state at this time. The vagueness of Aristotle's speculations on the subject has been mentioned in the history of it given in the Sacco Division, and the reader will there find an abstract of the remarkable treatise of Euclid; the earliest which we have on this science. The hypothesis of vision which is there attempted to be proved is, that it does not take place by images coming from the objects and entering the eye, but by rays proceeding from the eye to the different points of the objects. It is evident that the mathematical results would be the same on either supposition.

The subjects which we have mentioned, geometry, plane and solid, and arithmetic, in the department of pure mathematics; astronomy, music, mechanics, and optics, in that of their application; formed the exact sciences cultivated by the ancients. To this division some of their authors added logistics and geometry; the former indicating the application of arithmetic to questions respecting material objects; the latter, the mensuration of land by geometry: for which separation, however, there seems no necessity. At the time of Plato, some portion of these sciences seems to have formed a common part of a liberal education: see the dialogues *Meno*, *Eraste*, and *Theætetus*. It is not probable, however, that any extensive information on such subjects was popularly diffused. Thucydides seems to have been ignorant of the cause of a solar eclipse; and Aristophanes ridicules the geometricians and natural philosophers, under the character of Socrates in *The Clouds*, and of Meton in *The Birds*.

The preceding sketch shews how flourishing was the condition of the mathematics among the Greeks at the time when almost every other department of literature and art was at its greatest splendour. Their poetry, eloquence, and sculpture soon began to decline: but to the usual progress of the human mind the sciences continue to advance after these arts have become retrograde. In most countries a short period only of original excellence has been allowed to the literature which depends upon the imagination. The exercise of that faculty, like the liberty of a turbulent republic, seems to last, after a few generations, to its slavery; but the reason, a better governed kingdom, goes on making acquisitions which are imperishable and perpetually accumulating. The sciences and literature, of which Athens had been the metropolis, were transferred to the other coasts of the Mediterranean, and particularly fostered by the successors of Alexander. The encouragement of the Ptolemies produced no poets who are now considered as great; but royal patronage may be more successfully extended to men of science; and the mathematical school of Alexandria, exhibited an extraordinary succession of

remarkable men. The clustered walks, and public halls, and ample libraries of this Egyptian college, were for nearly a thousand years, the resort of the most eminent of the men of science among the ancients; in whose hands the exact sciences, though often stationary, were sometimes advancing and never going back.

One of the principal founders of this school was Euclid, whose *Elements* form a grand work of geometry, which the mathematical world has hardly yet been able to improve upon. Of his history we know little. Pappus, contrasting his character with that of Apollonius, describes it as kind and unassuming, and particularly disposed to encourage mathematical merit in others. He is said to have been attracted to Alexandria by the patronage offered to learned men under the first Ptolemy; and to that monarch, who he had expressed some dissatisfaction at the prolixity of the reasonings, through which the study required him to proceed, Euclid is reported to have represented, that "there was no royal road to geometry." Besides the celebrated *Elements*, he was the author of mathematical works upon almost every branch of the science which we have mentioned. He wrote four books on *conics*; a treatise on *loci ad superficies*; and one on *porisms*, a species of geometrical proposition, which, after being long involved in obscurity, was elucidated by Robert Simson, and after him by professor Playfair. We have his data, and a *Treatise on Divisions*, that is, on dividing a figure in a given ratio by lines drawn under certain conditions. Another work which Pappus praises much, was an arrangement and analysis of mathematical paralogisms. We have already referred to his optics, of which science, mathematically considered, it is by no means improbable, from the nature of the treatise, that he was the inventor. We possess also a work on music attributed to him, but which, Montucla thinks, consists of two parts, written the first by an Aristoxenian, and the second by a Pythagorean. In the latter capacity, Euclid is said to have been the person who first demonstrated that the Aristoxenian method of proceeding by tones and half tones, would necessarily give the octaves out of tune. We have already mentioned the fragment, referring to mechanics, which is ascribed to Euclid; and arithmetic may be considered as the subject of the 7th, 8th, 9th, and 10th books of the *Elements*. In astronomy we have a work of his upon the doctrine of the sphere, entitled *Phænomena*. This last science was one of those which occupied most, and most successfully, the Alexandrian mathematicians. Above all, the importance of observation began to be better understood. ARISTILLUS and TIMOCHARIS for a long course of years made observations on the stars, many of which are preserved by Ptolemy. The poem of ARATUS, so popular among the ancients, and which was translated by men of no less name than Cicero and Germanicus, was about this time written at the court of Antigonus Gonatas. And ARISTARCHUS of Samos, besides his method of determining the distance of the sun by the dichotomy of the moon, mentioned in the HISTORY OF ASTRONOMY in the SACRO DIVISION, made an observation of the solstice 381 a. c. and is remarkable as having attempted to revive the true doctrine of the universe which places the sun in the centre. This we learn from Archimedes, of whose life we shall now collect what is known, and examine the improvements of which he was the author in the different branches of science.

Archimedes

From A. M. 3458.

— c. c. 546. to A. M. 3864. — a. c. 140.

Euclid.

Astronomy at Alexandria. Aristillus and Timocharis. Aratus.

Aristarchus.

School of Alexandria.

Biography.

From
A. M.
3458.
—
B. C.
546.
By
A. M.
3864.
—
B. C.
140.

This extraordinary man is said by Plutarch to have been a relation, as well as friend, to Hiero, king of Syracuse, and flourished under the long and peaceful reign of that prudent monarch. Though the Sicilian prince reigned at the time when the contests of the Romans and Carthaginians were becoming a struggle for existence, and in the situation where the rival nations most naturally came in contact, he kept himself pretty well out of the vortex of wars and calamities, into which the violence of his neighbours might have drawn him; and the warlike machines, which the great mathematician constructed, to prove to the king the resources of his art, found no employment during his reign. Archimedes appears to have been born a. c. 287, a little before Hiero's accession to the crown. His youth corresponded with the time of Ptolemy Philadelphus, under whom Alexandria, then the principal seat of science, contained several of the mathematicians whom we have already mentioned. To this school he travelled, but at what precise time does not appear. He was probably too late to be a personal scholar of Euclid, but among the other mathematicians, with whom he became acquainted, he frequently in his works mentions CONON, with particular expressions of attachment. Conon is known to have resided in Egypt, under Ptolemy Evergetes, in honour of whose queen he formed the constellation of Berenice's Hair. It is said to have been for the purpose of raising water out of the canal of Egypt that Archimedes invented the machine, which yet has the name of his screw; and the Arabian historian attributes to him the mounds and bridges, which are rendered necessary by the inundations of the Nile.

The greater part of his life, however, appears to have been spent at Syracuse; and his mathematical researches are given in "his beloved Dorian dialect," as one of his ancient commentators calls it; the form of Greek which was spoken in Sicily, and with which the pastoral poets have made us associate something of picturesque simplicity. It was there that he pursued his investigations, and carried forwards the mathematical knowledge of his time by those wide advances, which we shall shortly mention.

It would appear that then, as in later times, mathematicians used to announce their discoveries in part, in such a manner as to challenge the ingenuity of their contemporaries by what they kept concealed. Archimedes had sent to Conon a long list of propositions on various subjects, of which he required the demonstrations; and, it would appear, that he employed the artifice of stating some false theorems along with the true ones; "In order," he says, "that if any assert themselves to have discovered the whole, and produce no demonstrations, they may be convicted, as pretending to have done what is impossible." These discoveries refer to the area of the parabola, the surface and solidity of the sphere and cylinder, the properties of spheroids, and of that spiral, which is called indifferently the spiral of Conon or of Archimedes. Conon, however, died before he had obtained the demonstration of these propositions, to the great grief of Archimedes. "If he had lived," he says, "he would have found out these, and invented more, and would have done much for the advancement of geometry; for I well know his uncommon talents, and his indefatigable industry in these studies." When Conon was dead, years elapsed without any one attempting the

proposed theorems. The demonstrations were sent by Archimedes himself, at different times, to Dositheus, an Athenian, whom he knew, as he tells him, to be both a friend of Conon and a lover of mathematics; and who, after receiving a part, had pressed him much for the remaining portions. These successive epistles form his treatises on the quadrature of the parabola, on the sphere and cylinder, on helices or spirals, and on spheroids and conoids.

The *Treatise on the Quadrature of the Parabola*, was the first instance in which a geometer had been able to determine the exact space bounded by a curve line; for though several before him had pretended to assign the area of the circle and of portions of it, their assumptions, as Archimedes asserts, were inadmissible: and their conclusions must have been false, since the problem, as we have already observed, is not soluble. The method which he employs is most remarkable for its ingenuity and novelty. He divides the parabola into an endless series of decreasing terms; and we may observe in his process a tendency to that passage from finite to infinite, by resolving a curve into its smallest portions, which, after assuming various forms in the hands of Barrow, Cavalieri, Newton, &c. produced at last the differential and integral calculus. And though by means of these modern methods, a more scholar in mathematics may now obtain the answers to such questions as that of which we are speaking, we cannot but regret, in the facilities of our technical rules, the elegance and evidence of the ancient geometry. Difficult as the problem appears to the way in which Archimedes has treated it, his only axiom is, that of two unequal spaces, the excess of the greater above the less, may be multiplied so as to exceed any given space; and from this he proves, by the strictest reasoning, that a parabola can be neither greater nor less than two-thirds of the parallelogram described about it.

The speculations respecting the sphere and cylinder are those with which the author appears to have been most delighted, for he wished to have his grave marked by these solids, as some more recent mathematicians have had their discoveries engraved on their tomb-stones. Indeed all who have the perception of geometrical beauty, must be struck, both by his results and his methods. As he had been the first to find the area of a plane curve, he here finds the surface of a corolline solid; and determines the sphere to be two-thirds, both in content and in surface, of the cylinder which circumscribes it; with many other remarkable properties of these solids compared with each other and with the cone.

The subject of spiral lines, was also, so far as we know, altogether new. In the one which he has examined he has discovered many remarkable properties with respect to its area, tangent, &c.

The conoids and spheroids are solids described by the revolution of a conic section about its axis. These he considers, as also the sections which are made in them by planes, the solid content of the paraboloid conoid, &c. This subject appears to have given him more trouble than the rest, for he informs his correspondent that he long kept back the proofs of his theorems on it, because he found some difficulty and doubt; "at least," he says, "going over them more carefully, I satisfied my scruples."

Archimedes.
From
A. M.
3458.
—
B. C.
546.
By
A. M.
3864.
—
B. C.
140.
Quadrature
of parabola.

Sphere
and
cylinder.

Spirals.

Conoids
and
spheroids.

Biography.

From
A. M.
3458.
—
B. C.
546.
to
A. M.
3864.
—
B. C.
140.
Numbering
the sand.

Besides these works which are addressed to Dositheus, we have his measurement of the circle; in which he determines the circumference to be between 3 and 3½ times its diameter. The method which he uses might easily be extended to greater accuracy by the assistance of a proper system of arithmetic.

The Greek arithmetic is the subject of his *Pisamites*, or *Numbering of the Sand*, of which he thus explains the purpose to Gelo, the son of his king Hiero, and associated with him in the throne: "There are persons, king Gelo, who think that the grains of the sand are infinite in number; I mean not merely the sands about Syracuse and the rest of Sicily, but those of the whole earth, inhabited and uninhabited. Others think that they are not infinite, but that no number can be expressed which shall exceed this multitude. Now, I shall attempt to show by geometrical proofs, which you will be able to follow, that among the numbers which I have expressed and published in my books to Leucippus, there are some which exceed, not only the multitude of the sands which would fill the earth, but of those which would fill the universe. You understand that by the universe is meant, by most astronomers, the sphere of which the centre is the earth, and the radius the distance of the sun from the earth." He then proceeds to some reasonings to establish that this distance is less than 10,000 of the earth's radii; and to shew that if we conceive a globe of this magnitude to be formed of grains of sand, the fortieth of an inch in diameter, their number may be reckoned. With our present mode of notation, there is no difficulty in increasing numbers to any magnitude whatever. But the Greek system, less perfect than the Arabic, though much superior to the numeration of other countries, required some contrivance to carry it to the requisite extent. The Greek geometer answered this purpose by dividing the figures into periods, the unit in each period being a myriad myriad, or ten million times the unit in the preceding. The Greeks could thus go on with their numbers as far as they might choose, though still their method did not afford them the same facilities which we derive from ours, in arithmetical operations.

Astronomy.

Of the astronomical labours of Archimedes, none have reached our times, if we except the method of determining the sun's apparent diameter, which has already been extracted in the *HISTORY OF ASTRONOMY IN THE SECOND DIVISION*. (p. 469.) The accuracy of his result is remarkable, if we consider, not only the imperfection of his means in other respects, but that he does not appear to have known any way of observing with one eye at a time, and is obliged to make allowance for the double vision of his two eyes. He was, as were all the mathematicians of that age, a diligent practical observer; and we are told, that he thought he had discovered the distances of the heavenly bodies from the earth, and from each other; but that his measures were rejected by the Platonists, as not following that imagined perfection of mathematical proportions, which, they asserted, must necessarily exist. Cicero speaks of an orrery, as we

should call it, made by Archimedes, and exhibiting the motion of the sun, the moon, and the planets; which he uses as an argument against those who deny a Providence. "Shall we," says he, "attribute more intelligence to Archimedes for making the imitation, than to nature for framing the original?"

Perhaps the most remarkable part of his discoveries were those which he made in mechanics, and his applications of them to practice. We have already seen, that before his time, this branch of science did not exist. In his work on the equilibrium of bodies, he gives a proof of the fundamental properties of the lever, which has never yet been surpassed in simplicity and evidence; and applies his principles to find the centre of gravity of various spaces, with great ingenuity. In his work on the *Floating of Bodies in Fluids*, he shews a complete insight into the nature of fluid equilibrium; and determines the position in which bodies float in some cases, which can, by no means, be considered as easy, even to modern mathematics. Indeed, without any addition to the principles of Archimedes, the doctrine of equilibrium was enabled of being carried to its utmost extent, though among the ancients it appears to have stopped with him. We are told by Pappus, that Hero, a little after his time, proved in what cases there could be an equilibrium in the five mechanical powers; viz. the lever, the wheel and axle, the pulley, the wedge, and the screw; and that he reduced them all to one in principle; but we cannot be certain that these proofs were strict, for there is nothing satisfactory in the demonstrations given by authors before the time of Stevinus and Galileo; and an attempt made by Pappus himself to determine the mechanical advantage of the inclined plane is remarkably erroneous.

We read of many mechanical contrivances of Archimedes, some, probably, merely attributed to him from the celebrity of his name. For instance, an invention something like what are now called Chinese puzzles, in which certain angular pieces of ivory are to be put together, so as, by different arrangements, to produce the resemblance of various objects. But he seems to have turned much of his attention to the construction of machines of extraordinary powers; and he boasted of the unlimited extent of his art in the well-known expression, "give me a spot to stand on, and I will move the earth." The mechanicians of that time employed themselves, not merely in proving the possibility of making a given force move any weight, however large, but studied to combine the best material means for carrying it into effect. Athenæus describes a ship of extraordinary magnitude, which Hiero caused to be made with twenty ranks of rowers, and containing so enormous a space, as to have on board gardens, baths, walks, a gymnasium, a large library, &c. This unwieldy mass, Archimedes is said, by means of some mechanical power, to have enabled Hiero to push into the sea, by his individual strength. We have already mentioned the screw of Archimedes, which is said, also, to have been used as the pump of this vessel.

Though the study of mathematics is generally considered dry and repulsive by persons not engaged in it, there seem to be few pursuits which have the power of exciting so strong and engrossing an interest in the student. Like our own Newton, when

Archimedes.
From
A. M.
3458.
—
B. C.
546.
to
A. M.
3864.
—
B. C.
140.

Mechanics.

**Mechanical
inventions.**

His labors.

* It is, in fact, about 24,000 of the earth's radii; but this difference does not affect the reasonings of Archimedes. He founded his calculations on the supposition made by Aristarchus of Samos, that the sun's diameter was not greater than thirty times the earth's.

Biography.

From
A. M.
3458.—
R. C.
546.—
A. M.
3864.—
R. C.
140.Hiero's
Crown.

absorbed in the current of discovery, Archimedes is said to have required to be reminded of the common duties of eating and drinking by those about him; and while his servants were placing him in the bath, he employed himself in drawing mathematical diagrams in the ashes which were spread on the floor, or in the oil with which his skin was covered. "So that this abstraction made people say, and not unreasonably," Plutarch tells us, "that he was accompanied by an invisible siren, to whose song he was listening." A lively fancy might easily imagine a discoverer, in the enthusiasm of his speculations, to be absorbed in his attention to the voice, audible only to his ears, which reveals to him truths concealed from all the world beside.

Another story told of Archimedes, is that of Hiero's crown. King Hiero sent to a goldsmith a certain weight of gold, to be made into a crown. The crown was sent home of the proper weight; but it was suspected that some silver had been substituted for a part of the gold, and Archimedes was asked to detect the quantity of the fraud. He had sought in vain for some time, the means of doing it; when one day, going into the bath, the rising of the water as his body became more immersed, suggested a method, which he instantly saw to be infallible, and he immediately sprang out, exclaiming, "I have found it, I have found it," (*εὕρηκα, εὕρηκα*). Vitruvius explains the process by which he is said to have solved the problem. He placed the crown, and a wedge of gold, and one of silver, each of equal weight, in a full vessel of water. In each case the quantity of water which ran over, gave the size of the mass; and by comparing these, he found the quantity of silver in the crown. The principles explained in his *Equilibrium of Bodies in Fluids*, afford the means of a more accurate and scientific solution, which we should have been disposed to attribute to him, but for this testimony to the contrary.

Siege of
Syracuse.

We now come to the last and most remarkable events in the life of Archimedes, those connected with the siege of Syracuse, which ended s. c. 212. Hiero the friend of Archimedes had closed his reign a few years sooner. Gelo his son, and apparently the pupil of the mathematician, had died before his father. Hieronymus the son of Gelo succeeded to the throne but not to the popularity of his grandfather; he shortly fell the victim of a conspiracy, and Syracuse became a prey to contending factions, who soon engaged her in a quarrel with the Romans. Marcellus by sea, and Appius by land, laid siege to the city, and it would probably have been soon taken had it not been for the extraordinary resources of mechanical skill which Archimedes produced in its defence. We have an account of them in Polybius, one of the most intelligent and scrupulous of historians, and who was born a few years only after the time. He says that when the Roman fleet appeared sailing towards the city, it was assailed at a distance from the walls by powerful machines, which threw darts and stones: that when it got too near for the range of these, others were used so actively that Marcellus was obliged to approach the city, under protection of the night: and that when they were near it, such an artillery of arrows and other missiles was played upon them, that they were unable to make the assault and suffered great loss. To protect the besiegers from such attacks in their

approaches, they built upon vessels, certain machines in use among the ancients, and called *sambucæ*. When these came near, there suddenly started above the walls large cranes carrying stones of ten talents and heavy masses of lead: these were brought over the *sambucæ* and then let fall, so as to break through the whole structure and nearly to sink the ships on which it was carried. Large levers were also made, to project over the walls, from which iron claws were suspended; by these the vessels were seized by the prows and hoisted half way out of the sea, and then let fall, with such violence, as to be sometimes dashed under water: so that, as Marcellus observed, Archimedes used his ships like buckets. By these contrivances the Roman soldiers suffered so much, that at last, the appearance of a rope or a pole above the walls, threw them into a panic, for fear of some new instrument of annoyance.

There does not seem to be any reason to doubt these statements, which are confirmed by the universal consent of historians. In fact, while modern artillery was unknown, much greater attention was paid to improving those instruments which were used; and the effects produced exceeded, in many cases, any thing that we should think possible, without the use of gunpowder. The powers which were employed, were sometimes the elasticity of large beams of wood, of which a gigantic bow was made, and worked by machinery; and sometimes the forces of cords of different substances, which being violently twisted, were allowed to untwist, and thus to give motion to a lever inserted in them. We have descriptions of such machines, by Hero of Alexandria, who lived not long after Archimedes. With respect to the latter kind, he says that the best materials for the cords, are the muscles of the shoulders of various animals, of the legs of stags, and the necks of hulls. He also observes, that long female hair, having been saturated with essences, possesses a powerful elasticity for this purpose. And, in considering the effects ascribed to the other machines, we must recollect how much smaller the Roman vessels were than ours.

Another of the inventions ascribed to Archimedes in this siege are the mirrors with which he is said to have burnt the Roman fleet, of which relation the authenticity is more disputed. In the History of Greece, in the Second Division, some account is given of the ancient authorities and modern experiments on this subject. The silence of Polybius and Livy on this point, while they give as other details of the siege, would lead us to imagine that if Archimedes did execute something of the kind, it was not very important or decisive. And at the same time the distinctness of the later evidence, and the demonstrated practicability of the fact, hardly allow us to suppose that it is entirely without foundation. Lucian in the second century says, that Archimedes by his mechanical skill burnt (*κατέφλεγε*) the Roman ships. Galen, a little later, alludes to it as a known fact. Anthemius the architect of Saint Sophia in the sixth century, says that it is undeniable, and mentioned by numerous historians; and explains the method in which it might be executed as was afterwards done by Buffon and others. And the later authors, Zonaras and Tzetzes, mention it with an unusual distinctness of reference to the earlier historians Dio Cassius, Diodorus, &c. as if to remove any doubt which might exist. So that per-

Archimedes.

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R. C.
546.—
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R. C.
140.His burning
mirrors.

Biography. haps we may come to the conclusion of Gibbon who says, "Since it is possible, I am more disposed to attribute the act to the greatest mathematician of antiquity: than to give the merit of the fiction to the idle fancy of a monk or a sophist."

By the ingenuity of Archimedes the siege of Syracuse was protracted for some time; but at last the fortune of the Romans prevailed. They discovered a weak place in the fortifications; made an attack when the citizens had relaxed their vigilance in the celebration of a feast to Diana; and soon became masters of part of the city. Marcellus is said to have wept at the approaching ruin of this populous and opulent state, which, old in prosperity, and rich in historical recollections, was now tending to a catastrophe so different from that of its former great siege by the Atheosians.

After some difficulties and fluctuations of success, the unfortunate town was taken by the Romans, and given up to be plundered by the soldiers. Archimedes, who had so long been its safety, perished in the confusion of the capture. It is said that Marcellus had given strict orders to preserve a person of whose genius he had had such extraordinary proofs; but that these were disregarded in the licence of war. While the Romans were plundering from house to house, Archimedes, unaffected by the violence which surrounded him, was absorbed in the contemplation of a mathematical diagram; and when a soldier burst into the room, refused to attend to him, till he had finished his demonstration: on which the man, with the carelessness of human life which such scenes produce, killed the venerable philosopher upon the spot. According to some, when about to be put to death, he pleaded, like Lavoisier in modern times, for a short respite to finish the philosophical inquiries on which he was engaged, which, as in that case, was also refused.

Thus died, at the age of 75, one of the most extraordinary mathematical geniuses of any age or nation. Marcellus was grieved at the fruitlessness of his attempt to save him, and honoured his memory by liberality towards his surviving relations. A sepulchre was built for him on which was placed a sphere and a cylinder, figures which had been the subject of some of his most beautiful discoveries. But neither his mathematical fame, nor his defence of Syracuse, seem to have kept him long in the memory of his countrymen. When Cicero, travelling in Sicily less than 140 years afterwards, inquired for his tomb, he was told by the Syracusans that nothing of the kind existed. "I recollected," he says, "some verses, which I had understood to be inscribed on his monument, which indicated that on the top of it there was a sphere and a cylinder. On looking over the burying ground, (for at the gate of the city the tombs are very numerous and crowded,) I saw a small pillar just appearing above the brushwood, with a sphere and a cylinder upon it, and immediately told those who were with me, who were the principal persons in Syracuse, that I believed that to be what I was seeking. Workmen were sent in with bills to clear and open the place, and when it was accessible we went to the opposite side of the pedestal: there we found the inscription, with the latter portions of the lines worn away, so that about half of it was gone. And thus one of the most illustrious cities of Greece, and one formerly of the most literary, would have remained ignorant of the monu-

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ment of a citizen so distinguished for his talents, if they had not learnt it from a man of a small Samnite village."

Archimedes was incomparably the most inventive and original of ancient mathematicians, and seems to have possessed the power of applying his geometry to a greater diversity of subjects, and of overcoming difficulties of a more various kind. If he had had one or two successors of equal genius with himself, it is not easy to see to what extent or in what direction the science of the ancients would have advanced; but it must certainly have anticipated some of the discoveries of modern times, though probably by methods a good deal different from ours. The mechanics of equilibrium, hydrostatics, and estroptics might have been brought nearly to perfection, for they were in possession of the principles on which these depend. In fact, however, no advance of consequence was made in mixed mathematics. In astronomy alone had they adopted the only source of knowledge, assiduous and accurate observation. And the discoveries of mathematicians from that time were made almost entirely in pure geometry, and even these are very limited, if we except what was done by Apollonius; and of his propositions it is said that he owed some to Archimedes, whose results were left unedited and fell into his hands.

In practical mechanics the ancients appear to have gone somewhat further than we have yet mentioned. Hero seems to have been well acquainted with the effects, if not with the theory, of the elasticity of the air; and we have a treatise of his called *Pneumatica* or *Spiritualia*, describing divers machines depending upon that property, and most of them containing the principle of the syphon. We have also a treatise by him on automata, which are principally toys moved by very simple machinery. And besides several mechanicians who are remarked for their inventions of warlike machines, Ctesibius, the master of Hero, who lived apparently about 150 a. c. invented a pump which is yet considered of a very efficient construction.

In order to finish what relates to the great age of Greek geometry, we shall notice some of the eminent characters who flourished with or immediately after Archimedes. These all seemed to have belonged to the college of Alexandria. ERATOSTHENES was a contemporary of the Sicilian mathematicians, and was a remarkable instance of great acquirements in very different branches of knowledge. He is generally called by the ancients Eratosthenes the grammarian or philologist; and though he comes under our notice as a great geometer and astronomer, he was also a poet and an antiquary. It is seldom that one person attempts to master so many subjects, without incurring the charge and perhaps the danger of being superficial. His enemies gave him the name of Beta, as occupying only the second place in his pursuits: his admirers called him the Pentathlete, thus comparing him to a person who at the public games had been victorious in all the subjects of emulation. He was appointed superintendent of the library of Alexandria, under the third Ptolemy (*Geographes* 246—251 a. c.): and he had the merit of inducing that monarch to place in the vestibule of the museum the *arsilla*, or combinations of graduated circles which were the principal instruments of observation among the ancients. These instruments were about 20 inches diameter, and the observations made with them are quoted in the *Almagest*. The

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Eratosthenes.

Biography. mode of observing was by placing a small pin on one limb of the circle, so that its shadow might fall upon another at the opposite extremity of the diameter, and thus indicate the position of the sun. By this means Eratosthenes is said to have found, that the interval between the tropics was $\frac{1}{4}$ of the circumference, which makes the obliquity of the ecliptic $23^{\circ} 51' 19''$. 5. His measurement of the earth is remarkable and celebrated, and has been described in the *HIST.* or *Astron.* in the *Second Division*. He also gave determinations of the magnitude and distance of the sun, which appear, from their discordance with each other, to be erroneously reported to us. Besides his astronomical merits, he was an eminent geometer. He turned his attention to conic sections; and we have his description of a mesolabium or instrument for finding any number of mean proportionals, which is ingenious, though it is said to have been ridiculed by Nicomedes; who, probably soon after, invented the conchoid for a similar object. He is said to have written *De locis ad medietatem*, the subject of which treatise can only be a matter of conjecture; and he is also known for what is called his *Sieve*, which is a method of finding prime numbers. We possess likewise his *Catasterism*, which is a description of the constellations. After living to the age of 83, he found his eightieth year his health decay, and came to the resolution that life was not worth preserving under such circumstances. He died by voluntarily abstaining from food, a. c. 194.

Apollonius The principal remaining name which offers itself to our notice in the Alexandrian school, is the illustrious one of APOLLONIUS, whom antiquity distinguished by the name of the *Great Geometer*, and who has been considered with corresponding admiration by some of the most profound of modern mathematicians. He was born at Parga in Pamphylia, in the time of Ptolemy Evergetes: was instructed in mathematics by those who had been the disciples of Euclid: and flourished at the museum under Philopater (221 to 204 a. c.) We learn from Pappus that he employed himself in what has been a favourite, but not very profitable, speculation of the most acute mathematicians, an attempt to prove the elementary axioms on which geometry is founded. The works of his which remain are a treatise on conic sections. The four first books of this, which were all that were known in Europe till 1658, contain the properties observed previously to his time; but the three following ones, which were brought from the east and translated from the Arabic, give his own discoveries. They are principally on the greatest and least lines which can be drawn from any point to the curve of a conic section. They shew wonderful powers in the management of the ancient geometry, and though it might be imagined that the instrument was scarcely capable of such results, they lead to the borders of the modern theories of evolute curves and centres of osculation.* Besides this treatise,

* The history of the recovery of these books is remarkable. Upon the syllabus given by Pappus of the lost books of Apollonius's conics, several persons had attempted to form a conjectural restoration, or *disinvention*, as it was called. In particular, Viriani had been for some time silently and laboriously engaged in this in-

tise, Apollonius wrote others on several very general and difficult problems of geometrical analysis, which he pursued into all their detail of cases. Their titles and subjects are given us by Pappus. Many of them have since exercised the ingenuity of the most skilful of modern mathematicians. For instance the problem of *tactions*, of which the most difficult case is to draw a circle touching three given circles, has been solved by Vieta and Newton. The *section of ratio* and the *section of space* have been restored by Halley. This problem is to draw a line through a given point, cutting segment from two given straight lines: in the first place so that they may have a given ratio; in the next place so that they may contain a given rectangle. In the *determinate section* it was required to find a point in a straight line, such that the rectangles of its distances from given points should have a given ratio: this was resolved by Dr. Simon. The problem of *inclinations* proposed to draw through a given point a straight line, so that a given portion of it should be intercepted between two given straight lines. Some of these problems had been solved by Euclid, and Pappus blames Apollonius for the harsh manner in which he speaks of the solution of his predecessor, which did not pretend to be complete.

Like the other mathematicians of his time he also applied to astronomy, as we learn from his having, like Eratosthenes, a *scholium* derived from a Greek letter. He was called *epiton* (ε) from his perpetual attention to the moon, which resembled the form in which that letter was written. After his time, the principal progress of Greek mathematicians was made in astronomy, and will be related hereafter. Either that the powers of the Greek geometry had reached their limit, or that inventive genius became more scarce, succeeding generations contented themselves almost entirely with commenting upon what had been done by the giants in geometry who were the first race. Thus Hypatia the daughter of Theon, Pappus, Serenus, and Eutocius wrote commentaries upon Apollonius; Eutocius also upon Archimedes; Theon upon Euclid: and it is from such of these as are still extant that much of the preceding information is derived. They had means of knowledge which have since been lost; and we might have been able to give a much more complete and accurate account of the extensive series of inventions which the old mathematicians exhibited, if time had spared the histories of this science by Theophrastus and Eudemus, from which later writers seem to have drawn the light whose scattered rays reflected from them we have been attempting to collect.

investigation, when it was discovered by Borelli (in 1658) that the 6th, 6th, and seventh books existed in Arabic in the Medicean library. Viriani saw himself on the point of losing the credit due to several years of research by this unexpected discovery. He however obtained from the Grand Duke, an attestation of the state of forwardness in which his own MSS. then were, signed by his hand: and an injunction to Borelli to keep secret his translation until Viriani's book had been published. The *Liberatio in V. Apollonii Conicorum* appeared in 1659, and the translation from the Arabic in 1661. The comparison of the conjectural with the actual Apollonius is to the credit of both. Viriani's propositions are more varied and extensive, but perhaps those of the ancient astronomer are more recalcitrant and difficult.

Archimedes

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GRECIAN ELOQUENCE—ORATORS.

LYSIAS	B. C. 459.—378.
ISOCRATES	B. C. 437.—338.
ISÆUS	FLOCRINHO B. C. 310.
DEMOSTHENES	B. C. 332.—392.
ÆSCHINES	FLOCRINHO B. C. 342. DIED, AGED 75.
ERMADES	DIBO B. C. 322.
HYPERIDES	DIBO B. C. 322.

Biography. If we take an extensive view of ancient and modern literature, and compare their several departments, in order to form an accurate estimate of their relative merit, the palm of oratory seems confessedly conceded to the former. In the prosecution of scientific researches, in developing the principles of political economy, in the cultivation of various arts which contribute by their utility to national greatness, or adorn by their elegance the social intercourse of domestic life, the moderns have a manifest superiority. The same pre-eminence may be found in our didactic and descriptive poetry; and even in those more lofty and sublime efforts where the grandeur of the subject is calculated to display the full strength and brilliancy of poetical talent, the competition has not been inglorious. The ancients may, perhaps with justice, claim the prize; but we at least have proved ourselves no unworthy rivals.

In eloquence the case is widely different: a review of modern history presents to our observation "few who deserve the name of orators, even among those nations whose government would seem likely to facilitate the growth of eloquence, by admitting to a share in its legislature such assemblies as may be supposed to lie under the dominion of its influence. There have been men of information and talent who have assisted at the councils of princes, or shared in the deliberation of popular assemblies, but the authority which they exerted seems to have arisen more from an opinion of the extent of their experience, or the sagacity of their understanding, than from any peculiar power which they possessed of affecting the passions, or persuading the judgment of their audience. Their speeches seem to have been framed with little premeditation or study, and preserved by others with as little care." (*Hume's Essays*.) Indeed the slightest acquaintance with the records of antiquity is sufficient to teach us that the style and character of their eloquence is essentially different from our own: and before we proceed to give any account of the works of the Greek orators, or to introduce a sketch of their respective lives, it will not be amiss to make some preliminary observations on the causes of their vast and acknowledged superiority.

Without inquiring into the extent of that influence which climate may exercise over national character, it may be remarked, that the geographical situation of Greece was eminently favourable to the development of intellectual power, and to that peculiarly fine organisation by which delicacy of feeling is refined, even to fastidiousness. That the Athenians did possess this exquisite susceptibility, we know as well

by several historical anecdotes, as by the direct and explicit testimony of Cicero. Speaking of this extraordinary people he says, "Sincerum fuit sic eorum iudicium ut nihil possent nisi incorruptum audire atque elegans." Theophrastus was discovered to be a foreigner, by using the Attic dialect too correctly; Demosthenes was hissed in one of his earliest speeches for a false accent; and Euripides offended the ears of his audience by repeating too frequently the letter *e* (sigma) in a single line. (See Bowdler's *Remains*.) Longinus, in his *Treatise on the Sublime*, speaking of the proper collocation of words, brings a passage from Demosthenes, the harmony of which he says would be entirely destroyed by adding or removing a single syllable: τοῦτο τὸ ψήφημα τὴν τόνῃ τῇ καὶ περιουσίᾳ κίνησιν παραδίδωμι ὡς ἂν ὅτις ὅσον ὅσον: doubtless the observation of the critic was suggested by the delicacy of his own taste; and the audience whom Demosthenes addressed were also able to feel and appreciate the music of the sentence: but it is probable that no modern, though possessing the finest ear, would originally have made the remark; and we receive it from respect paid to the authority of Longinus, rather than from any very clear perception of its truth.

A tribunal then whose discrimination was so keen, whose taste was so fastidious, and from whose authority there was no appeal, would, by the very severity of its decisions, call forth productions of finished excellence, from those who were conscious of talents which deserved approbation, and stimulated by ambition to pursue it. Such a tribunal, though it might intimidate and abash minds of inferior calibre, would urge to active industry, and unwearied perseverance, those more eminent abilities which no difficulty can alarm, and no disappointment effectually retard.

Accordingly we find that among many of the ancients, the study of eloquence was the occupation of life, and the splendour of their success is only proportionate to the vigour of their exertions.—The laborious diligence of Demosthenes, his careful correction of natural defects, his seclusion from society, and earnest zeal in preparing himself for the career of a public speaker, are familiar to every one. The moderns may have the same powers of genius, and the same indefatigable application, but at least they are not often directed to the attainment of the same object.

Cicero, in his *treatise de Oratore*, has left us much valuable information respecting the Greek orators: from them he learnt the graces which eloquence is capable of assuming, and the deep and durable impression which it makes on the minds both of the

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Biography. learned and the illiterate: his estimate of what an orator ought to do, was formed by what the Greeks had actually done; and therefore from his precepts we may, in some measure, learn the nature and the extent of their exertions in the prosecution of their favourite pursuit. After enumerating some exercises, such as speaking extempore, and from memory, or in repeating Latin orations which had been read in Greek—exercises, the habitual practice of which was necessary to the attainment of eloquence, he adds, "Legendi etiam poete, cognoscenda historia, omnium bonarum artium scriptores ac doctores et legendi, et pervolvendi, et, exercitatiois causa, laudandi, interpretandi, corrigendi, vituperandi, refellendi; disputationumque de omni re in contraria partes, et quicquid erit in quaque re quod probabile videri possit, eliciendum atque dicendum. Perdiscendum jus civile, cognoscendum leges, percipienda omnia antiquitas, senatoria consuetudo, disciplina, reipublice jura, sociorum fœdera, pactiones, causa imperii cognoscenda est. Litandis etiam ex omni genere urbanitatis facturi quidam lepos, quo, tanquam sale, perspergatur omnis oratio."—*Cic. de Oratore*, lib. i. 34. "Besides these exercises, the poets must be studied, and an accurate knowledge of history obtained: the works of all those who understand and teach the liberal arts, must be read repeatedly, and, by way of practice, their opinions should be either commended and explained, or corrected, refuted, and condemned. Opposite sides of the same subject should also be defended, and, whatever seems worthy of regard, should be extracted and enforced. Civil law must be thoroughly learnt, and an acquaintance formed with the records of antiquity, the customs and arrangements of the senate, with the rights of the republic, with the treaties and compacts of the allies, and the whole system of the government. The various kinds of elegant mirth must furnish wit and pleasantry, with which the whole speech must be seasoned, as it were, and interspersed."

If then such was the earnestness or zeal with which the ancients cultivated the art of eloquence, and so wide the range of learning which they brought to bear upon it; if the audience to whose judgment their speeches were submitted, were so alive to the perception of beauties, and so keen in discovering defects; we need not wonder that the superior excellence of the Greek orators is so vast and indisputable. As the prize for which these intellectual gladiators contended was valuable, so the weapon they employed combined the highest polish with the greatest strength. Those who are familiar with the Greek language need not be reminded of its unrivalled copiousness of expression, its majesty, elegance, and compactness, its unlimited range of compound words, and the flexible ductility with which it lends itself to convey every variety of meaning. The power of such an instrument was only to be surpassed by the skill of those who wielded it. The democratic government of Athens, its foreign wars, and domestic discord, furnished the Greek orators with ample materials for the employment of their eloquence; and successful exertions were crowned, not only with the pleasing tribute of popular applause, but the more profitable reward of political power.

Such, then, were some of the causes which promoted the growth and secured the celebrity of eloquence in Greece, or, to speak more properly, at

Athens. Oratory, in fact, flourished only at Athens; and while other states arrest attention by occasional periods of military glory; while Sparta excites astonishment by the extreme austerity of its national manners, and the singularity of its political institutions, history does not inform us that these republics produced any individual whose eloquence elevated him to importance during his life, or secured his posthumous renown.—*Cic. Brut.* 13. Velleius Paterculus, i. 18.

At Athens, where the favour of a wild and lawless democracy was the sure nod, perhaps, the only avenue to honour and to opulence, it is obvious that there would always be an abundant supply of men who would flatter the caprices of the people, with a view to their own aggrandisement: all those who were eager to rise to eminence as distinguished statesmen, or whose ambitious views tended only to make them the idols of a party, would naturally find in the cultivation of oratory the readiest means of success. To attempt an account of all these characters is evidently inconsistent with the limits of this article; their rise and fall will find a more appropriate place in the more minute details of Grecian history: the greater part of their speeches were, probably, forgotten, when the circumstances from which they arose had ceased to excite interest, and even of those whose works have partially escaped the ravages of time, many are rather consulted for historical information, than studied as models of style: the attention of the general scholar is judiciously fixed on a few pre-eminently individuals, who have expressed in the language of the sublimest eloquence, the sentiments of the purest patriotism; while the rest are consigned to the industrious labours of the professed critic, or to him who has opportunity and inclination to acquaint himself familiarly with all the remains of Grecian literature. In fact, the comparative value of the Greek orators is very unequal; nor did this escape the learned commentator, Reiske, the unwearied activity of whose research was only to be equalled by the acute sagacity of his discernment: six volumes of his great work are devoted to the orations of *Æschines*, *Demosthenes*, *Isæus*, and *Lysias*, while a part only of the last volume is sufficient to comprehend *Antisthenes*, *Alcidamas*, *Gorgias* of *Leontium*, and others, together with Latin versions of speeches by *Antipho*, and *Andocides*. To Reiske we would refer those readers who are desirous of particular information respecting these minor orators: for us, it will have been sufficient to give, first, a general account of the rise and progress of eloquence at Athens, and, secondly, to combine, with a sketch of their domestic lives, some observations on the style and peculiarities of those few, whom the judgment, both of contemporaries and posterity, has proposed to our imitation as models of oratorical excellence.

Cicero, in the admirable treatise which contains instructions for the attainment of that eloquence, of which he was himself so great a master, was naturally led to speak of the several periods of Grecian oratory. Each of these produced its peculiar style: the first comprehends *Pericles*, *Alcibiades*, and *Thucydides*. In the time of Cicero there were some fragments which went under the name of *Pericles*, and there is reason to suppose he himself considered them genuine.—*De Oratore*, lib. ii. cap. 21. See also *Cic. Brut.* 7.

Quintilian, on the other hand, deems them spurious:

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Biography. the question is of very little moment, as the compositions themselves, whether genuine or spurious, are lost. Nothing of Alcibiades remains; but we know, from the unexceptionable testimony of Demosthenes (*Adv. Med.*) and others, that his accomplishments as an orator, were little inferior to his talents as a statesman.

Among those of the Greek orators, whose writings have been handed down to us, *Lysias* is the first in chronological order who arrests attention by the extent of his works, or the celebrity of his reputation. Others had existed in abundance, but the only knowledge of them which we possess, is their names, and the few scanty memorials of them which have been diligently recorded by Reiske. *Lysias* was born at a period when the cessation of war abroad, and the consequent establishment of internal tranquillity, left Athens at liberty to seek and find in the cultivation of literature, a distinction and delight which she had hitherto derived from military success. Sophocles and Euripides had touched the passions, and Aristophanes ridiculed the follies of the people; and philosophy, quitting the study of natural phenomena, had already applied itself to the investigation of moral truth. He was born at Athens, *Oc.* 80., his father, Cephalus, having migrated thither from Syracuse; others say the orator himself was a Syracusan by birth. At an early period of his life he accompanied a colony to Thurium, in Italy, nor did he return till the disasters of the Athenians in Sicily had alienated the attachment of the Thurians, who now dismissed with indignity the colonists whom they had sought with zeal. During the reign of the thirty tyrants, and the revolution which vested the management of the state in the council of four hundred, *Lysias* endured his full share of national suffering: when, however, Thrasybulus united those whom the cruelty of the thirty had expelled, and again restored the democracy, a bill was introduced to make *Lysias* a citizen. He died at the advanced age of eighty, having passed the latter years of his life in composing orations for the use of others, and in giving instructions in rhetoric. Quintilian mentions this custom of the orator, and adds, that in framing these speeches, he had the art of adapting them with peculiar propriety to the circumstances of those for whom they were written. Socrates thought his style too effeminate, as we learn by an anecdote preserved in Cicero.—“Cum ei scriptam orationem disertissimus orator *Lysias* attulisset, quam, si ei videretur, educeret, ut ea pro se in judicio uteretur, non inavitus legit, et commodè scripturam esse dixit: sed inquit, ut, si mihi calceos Sicyonios attulisses, non oterer, quamvis essent habiles et apte ad pedem, quia non essent viriles, sic illam orationem disertam sibi et oratorium videri, fortem et virilem non videri.”—*De Orat.* lib. i. 54. The circumstance of many of these speeches being composed on occasions of private rather than public interest, renders an enumeration and analysis of them less important: it had also a manifest effect on the style of the author, and hence he aims rather at neatness, elegance, and precision of language, than the more sublime beauties of oratorical excellence. (See *The Preface to Taylor's edition of Lysias.*)

In some of his speeches there is much interesting information respecting Athenian finance, and the immense burthens which were laid by the state on the

fortunes of the wealthy citizens. Vast sums of money were collected by forcible contribution, and laid out in ministering to the amusements of the people: the *χαρτηρία* and *λευσουργοί* *εργασίαι* provided games and spectacles, and theatrical entertainments, in which troops of singers and dancers displayed their musical skill, and performed their evolutions. The writings of *Lysias* are conceived in the spirit of determined republicanism, a spirit which delighted in arbitrary confiscation, and which seized on the fortunes of the rich to replenish that exchequer, from which the amusements of the mob were to be supplied: hence arose, on one hand, the most anxious desire to conceal wealth, and, on the other, unwearied acuteness in detecting it. This introduced bribery and falsehood into the Athenian courts of justice; while those whose opulence was proved, and consequently plundered, endeavoured to indemnify their own losses by the corrupt administration of the city magistracies. In short, the speeches of this orator display such a system of public and private rapine as may diminish our admiration of Athenian government, and teach us to receive with caution the praises which are lavished on the advantages of Athenian liberty.

The great merit of the style of *Lysias* is its purity: in this, which may almost be esteemed the first excellence of an orator, *Isocrates* only equalled *Lysias*, and no one ever surpassed him. Secondly, he has a peculiar art of giving his subjects an air of dignity and importance, while at the same time, he uses none but the simplest and most unostentatious phraseology, alike free from the mixture of barbarous expressions, and the display of ambitious ornament. This most valuable art Gorgias, of Leontium, entirely missed: he, when he wished to elevate and adorn his subject matter, found no other method than the use of metaphors without number, pompous words, and poetical figures, which both spoiled the value of his own composition, and vitiated the popular taste. The writings of *Lysias* are pure without feebleness, and perspicuous without prolixity: he combines, with the greatest knowledge of human character, the happiest skill in adapting his speeches to the several ages, pursuits, and stations of individuals: the arrangement of his words is always clear, and the language itself uniformly elegant. His power of inventing, and judgment in selecting, appropriate arguments, was eminent; but *Dionysius of Halicarnassus*, thinks him defective in their arrangement. His exordia are singularly good; especially the opening of that speech, in which *Diogenes* is accused of having treacherously applied to his own use, property entrusted to his care: the same oration furnishes a fine model of narration. *Lysias* is not successful in attempting to excite the passions: he is not “a mighty master of the human mind:” he raises no intense feeling; he does not expand and amplify his subjects, but is content to state them with clearness, elegance, and brevity. For further information, the reader may consult *DIONYSIUS HALICARNASSENSIS*.

ISOCRATES was born at Athens, five years before the commencement of the Peloponnesian war: his father, Theodorus, was not wealthy; but he gave his son such a liberal education as awakened in his mind an early love of literature, and induced him to devote the efforts of maturer years to the careful and continued cultivation of philosophy. He attended the

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Biography. lectures of Gorgias, of Leontium, and there imbibed a desire to combine the qualifications of a statesman and an orator; but his natural timidity and weakness of voice were impediments to public speaking too great to be overcome, and he therefore turned his attention to the more tranquil task of composition. Abandoning to the sophists of the day all subjects connected with private concerns of minor importance, his object was to teach moral virtue to individuals, and political wisdom to states. His own pure taste led him to reject the perplexing casuistry of Protagoras, and the ostentatious ornament of Gorgias: his school became the favorite resort of the studious, and spread through the various cities of Greece, men who were afterwards eminent in history, politics, and law. He died in his ninety-eighth year, unable to survive the blow which the liberty of his country received at the fatal battle of Chæronæa.

The style of Isocrates approaches that of Lysias in purity and correctness; we find there the same careful and judicious selection of appropriate words, the same habitual avoidance of obsolete ones, and the same consequent perspicuity. The periods, however, have not the same roundness or fulness, nor are they equally adapted to forensic disputation: at times they are too prolix, and deficient in natural simplicity. Isocrates studies too much the harmony of his cadences, and his sentences are often comprehended in a rhythm which is almost poetical. The selection of his terms is admirable; their arrangement capricious and affected, and his figures are frequently so pompous as to make him liable to the imputation of frigidity, ψυχρότης. The sweetness of Lysias's style is natural, that of Isocrates, affected: the latter, however, has a manifest superiority in dignified elevation and majestic sublimity. Lysias is neat and dexterous in the management of minute points; Isocrates excels in the management of great ones. In the invention of arguments he is a match for Lysias; in the arrangement and application of them, superior: Isocrates also has the advantage in the general management of his subjects, and the philosophical adjustment of their several parts, and also in the moral beauty and political truth of his sentiments, particularly in his famous *Panegyric*. In this speech he enumerates the merits of the ancient Greeks, their military prowess, their noble ambition, their disinterested patriotism, their attachment to their constitution and laws, their fidelity to oaths, their private integrity; and he dwells with energy on other topics, calculated to check the progress of depravity, and awaken the love of virtue.

If a military man might derive instruction from the orations which Isocrates addressed to Philip of Macedon, all the several states of Greece might have been benefited by that spirit of unanimity and concord which is taught by the *Oratio de Pace*: its object is to prove that honesty is the best policy; and to persuade the Athenians to curtail their ambitious schemes of naval dominion, and make peace with the Chians, Rhodians, and their allies. Some of the ancient critics have esteemed this the best of the speeches of Isocrates, yet is it not faultless: it is too concise, and at times not sufficiently elevated and dignified, neither are the rhetorical figures sufficiently bold; and there is a want of vehemence and ardour which might awaken corresponding sentiments in his audience.—See *DIONYSIUS HALICARNASSENSIS*. Quintilian, speaking

of Isocrates, says, "Omnes veneres cætas est." and Cicero begs permission to admire the orator, and supports his own judgment by the authority of Socrates and Plato: "Me autem qui Isocratem non diligunt una cum Socrate et Platone errar patiuntur.—Cic. *Orat.* § 13.

Little is known of the private life of *ISÆUS*: one circumstance however has been recorded which is in itself a title to immortality.—Isæus was the instructor of Demosthenes.—The model he proposed to copy was the style of Lysias, and his imitation is so close that it requires an accurate knowledge to discriminate the two. In Isæus there is the pure, perspicuous, and concise diction; but perhaps his figures are more artificial and his expressions less natural.—If his style is inferior to Lysias in eloquence, it surpasses him in majesty. The use of interrogatory sentences gives to his speeches an animation and vehemence like that which delights the reader of Demosthenes; and many indications of the sublimity which under that orator acquired maturity and vigour, may be traced in the writings of Isæus. The narrations of Lysias are made with so much simplicity and candour, so much apparent love of truth, that they invariably engage the reader's assent. In Isæus, on the contrary, there is so much visible art, and such appearances of preparation and design, that even when the facts communicated are true, we feel inclined to deny him credit.

The speeches of Isæus which are preserved relate chiefly to private causes; and the minuteness of the subjects discussed may render them uninteresting to the general reader. Nevertheless, he gives us insight into many points of ancient jurisprudence, which, but for him, posterity would have wholly missed.—On the important subject of hereditary and testamentary bequests; on the laws of heirship by proximity of blood, and on heirship by appointment; on desolate heritages; on the Athenian customs relative to the adoption of children; the forms under which such adoption took place; the manner in which the fortune of the person adopted was affected, both as to the house from which he was emancipated and that into which he was received; on all these, and other similar points, Isæus supplies many interesting particulars which no other writer of antiquity affords. From him also may be collected all the Athenian laws relative to the rights of women, and more particularly of heiresses: many of them curious in themselves, and most of them evincing that the chains which society laid on the females of Athens were not at all lightened by the institution of law. Isæus has been translated by Sir William Jones, and the speeches are accompanied by a valuable commentary. In that the reader will find much information on ancient jurisprudence. See also *Quarterly Review*, No. 51, on Dalzel's *Lecture on the ancient Greeks*.

We have thus concisely explained some of those causes which in the early period of Grecian history might have facilitated the progress of eloquence; and we have subsequently combined, together with a few biographical notices, some remarks on the peculiar style of those under whose hands it gradually acquired the maturity of elegance and force.—We are now arrived at the history of one, whom the voice of general opinion has designated as the most complete model of an orator; of one whose compositions were sufficiently perfect, to satisfy even the fastidious delicacy of Cicero

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himself. This writer, the wisdom of whose opinions on the ancient orators, is proved by his own extraordinary success, never speaks of DEMOSTHENES but in terms of the highest commendation.—“*In Græcis vero oratoribus quidem admirabile est, quantum inter omnes unus excellat. Cic. Orat.*” again he observes, “*Planc quidem profectum et cui nulli admodum desit, Demosthenem facile disceris. Cic. de Clar. Orat.*” Again, “*Viduo profecto illum multa perficeret, nos multa conari; illum posse, nos velle quocunque modo causa postulat, dicere. Cic. Orat.*” Recordecim nos longe omnibus auctem antefere Demosthenem, qui vim accommodaret ad eam quam sentiam eloquentiam nos ad eam quam aliquo case agnoscerim.” Nothing can be conceived more noble and disinterested than the spirit which dictated this panegyric; nothing more decisive than the language in which it is expressed. Cicero here represents his great predecessor as having not only surpassed all the actual and existing models of eloquence, but effected all that taste can desire and imagination fancy, and as having embodied and expressed the best ideal of oratorical excellence.—Demosthenes was equally eminent as an orator and a statesman, and in the latter capacity he was concerned in most of the public transactions of his own eventful times: it is obvious, however, that any detailed account of his political career would both exceed the proper limits of this article, and repeat unnecessarily, those circumstances, which are introduced with more propriety, in the regular history of the affairs of Greece.

The father of Demosthenes was a citizen of rank and opulence: he died when his son had completed only his seventh year, and left in the hands of guardians the administration of considerable property. The orator's early studies were impeded, partly by the over-anxious fears of maternal tenderness, and partly by infirmity of health. When he was about sixteen, his curiosity was attracted by a trial in which Callistratus pleaded, and won a cause of importance. The eloquence which procured, and the acclamations which followed his success, so inflamed the ambition of Demosthenes, that he determined to devote himself thenceforward to the assiduous study of oratory. He chose Læus as his master rather than Isoerates (either because this plan was least expensive, or because the style of the latter was not sufficiently nervous and energetic): from Plato also he imbibed much of the richness and grandeur which characterise the writings of that mighty master. His first attempts at oratory were made to vindicate his own claims, and recover property which his guardians had appropriated to themselves. In this he succeeded; but his early endeavours to obtain distinction as a public speaker entirely failed on account of the weakness of his voice, and indistinctness of his utterance. These impediments however, served only to animate his zeal; and by studious seclusion, and the habitual exertion of declaiming on the sea-shore, he in time overcame them all. The energy and force of his action were admitted to be pre-eminent, even by his rivals. When the Rhodians expressed their admiration of the oration “*Fur the Crown*,” Æschines said to them, what if you had heard the monster himself, *τί δὲ εἰ αὐτὸς τοῦ ὄφιδος ἀκούετε*.

The indefatigable industry of Demosthenes gave his enemies an opportunity of denying his natural talents: this malicious opinion would easily find credit; and in fact a similar mistake is very frequently made;

for since it is acknowledged on all hands, that all successful men who are naturally dull must be industrious, the converse of the proposition grows into repute, and it is inferred that men who are industrious must necessarily be dull. The accusation against Demosthenes seems to have rested chiefly on his known reluctance to speak without preparation; the fact is, that though he could exert the talent of extempore speaking, he avoided rather than sought such occasions, partly from deference to his audience, and partly from apprehending the possibility of a failure. Plutarch, who mentions this reluctance of the orator, mentions at the same time the great merit of his extempore speeches.

Before the time of Demosthenes, there existed three distinct styles of eloquence; that of Lysias, mild and persuasive, quietly engaged the attention and won the assent of an audience: that of Thucydides, bold and animated, awakened the feelings, and powerfully forced conviction on the mind; while that of Isoerates was, as it were, a combination of the two former. Demosthenes can scarcely be said to have proposed any individual as a model; he rather culled all that was valuable from the various styles of his great predecessors, working them up, and blending them into one harmonious whole: not, however, that there is such a uniformity or mannerism in his works, as prevents him from applying himself with versatility to a variety of subjects; on the contrary, he seems to have had the power of carrying each individual style to perfection, and of adapting himself with equal excellence to each successive topic.—In the general structure of many of his sentences, he very much resembles Thucydides; but is more simple and perspicuous, and better calculated to be quickly comprehended by an audience.—His clearness in narration; his elegance and purity of diction; and (to borrow a metaphor from a sister art) his correct keeping, remind the reader of Lysias. A particular instance of this similarity is selected by Dionysius Halicarnassensis, from the speech against Conon. He considers the resemblance so complete, that a critic might be at a loss to determine, from internal evidence alone, to which orator to ascribe the composition. But the argumentative parts of the speeches of Lysias are often deficient in vigour, while earnestness, power, zeal, rapidity and passion, all exemplified in plain unornamented language, and a strain of close business-like reasoning, are the distinctive characteristics of Demosthenes. The general tone of his oratory was admirably adapted to an Athenian audience, constituted as it was of those whose habits of life were mechanical, and of those whose ambition or taste had led to the cultivation of literature. The former were captivated by sheer sense, urged with masculine force and inextinguishable spirit, and by the forcible application of plain truths; and yet there was enough of grace and variety to please more learned and fastidious auditors. “His style (as Hume well observes) is rapid harmony, exactly adjusted to the sense: it is vehement reasoning, without any appearance of art: it is disdain, anger, boldness, freedom, involved in a continued stream of argument; and, of all human productions, the orations of Demosthenes present to us the models which approach the nearest to perfection.”

The perusal of Isoerates produces a calm, easy, and agreeable tranquillity of mind: Demosthenes agitates

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the feelings with various and conflicting emotions; fear, hatred, pity, benevolence, chase each other in rapid succession. If a comparison be instituted between the famous oration of Isocrates de Pace, and that part of the third Olynthiac, where Demosthenes contrasts his own times with preceding periods, the advantage is manifestly in favour of the latter: it has more majesty, more energy, and, above all, more power in affecting the feelings.

Something similar may be said respecting Plato: if we contrast his funeral oration with a part of Demosthenes's speech "For the Crown," where he awakens in his countrymen the love of virtue by commemorating their former renown. This latter has all the vivid distinctness of reality, as opposed to fiction; the glow of robust and vigorous health, as opposed to the delicate flush of sickness. The one is a beautiful parterre, where the eye is delighted by abundance of cultivated flowers; the other a tract, where every thing, both for use and ornament, springs up spontaneous and plentiful.

Another very remarkable excellence of Demosthenes is, the collocation of his words: the arrangement of sentences in such a manner that their cadences should be harmonious, and to a certain degree rhythmical, was a study much in use among the great masters of Grecian composition. Plato passed the latter years of his life in correcting his dialogues; and that very simplicity remarkable in the structure of the periods of Demosthenes, is itself the result of art. In the course of this article, the reader has often been referred to the works of Dionysius of Halicarnassus, an author who is less studied than his powers of original composition, and his critical sagacity deserve. We here translate a passage in which he coarsely sketches the character of Demosthenes, and we earnestly recommend to general perusal the treatise from which it is extracted.—"Demosthenes then, finding the system of public speaking so artfully arranged, and succeeding as he did to such eminent orators, did not deign to copy any single model, deeming all his predecessors half-artists, as it were, and imperfect. But having selected from these all their respective excellencies, he blended them together, and combined from many sources a style of composition magnificent yet polished; full, without overflowing; refined, yet unaffected; adapted to popular assemblies, yet natural; severe, yet animated; concise, yet flowing; gentle, yet keen; moderate, yet passionate: like Proteus, celebrated by the ancient poets, who could easily assume in succession every variety of form. Whether he was some deity or genius deluding the eyes of men, or, what is the more probable conjecture, some mortal prodigy of eloquence and wisdom seducing the senses of his audience; some such opinion I entertain respecting the style of Demosthenes; and this is the character I give of it, that it is made up of every kind."

Although the writings of Cicero do not fall within the scope of the present subject, yet a comparison between the two greatest orators of antiquity will scarcely be deemed irrelevant. The following passages, translated from Longinus and Quintilian, are introduced by Young in his *History of Athens*.

"Demosthenes is more lofty and compressed in style; Cicero more diffuse: the former, with strength, brightness, and velocity, so inflames whatever he touches on, that he should be compared to the tem-

pest, which hurries all before it, or to the lightning, which strikes at the moment. Cicero's oratory shoots not forth so impetuously, but as a lambent flame plays round its subject, and with the copious matter feeds itself as it winds over the soil, till its fuel is exhausted, and its force is spent. But I must further observe, the reason of the Demosthenic style soaring bold and impassioned, is when the hearer is to be carried away, and hurried into the sentiments of the speaker; and that the proper occasions of diffusive rhetoric is when it is necessary to calm and soften the feelings of the audience.

"I allow," says Quintilian, "that the works of Demosthenes should first be read, or rather gotten by heart: the excellencies of either are equal, as to political knowledge, strength of argument, method of arrangement, and as to all other points that come under the head of invention. In eloquence they differ; that of the one is more compressed, that of the other more copious; the one is more pointedly, the other more fully conclusive; the one is more keen and forcible, the other sometimes keen, yet always with dignity; from the one nothing could be taken, to the other nothing could added; more art is in the one, more nature in the other. In the witty and the tender, which most affect the taste and feelings of men, we have the better of the comparison; perhaps the usages of the Greek commonwealth precluded such sort of appeals; and, on the other hand, much that the Athenians admired, might not have been admissible by a Roman audience." *Inst. Orat. lib. x. ch. 1.* The political character of Demosthenes must be gathered from the history of his own times, and from the careful study of his own speeches; these display in glowing colours his devoted attachment to his country; his zeal and perseverance in opposing the designs of Philip; his bold defence of the rights of Athens—a defence which neither flattery nor fear could induce him to relinquish; and they form the sources from which the historian collects his most valuable and authentic memoirs. Indeed we may say with Young, "Is there a fact in the history of his own times which escapes him? or is there a deduction from those facts which does not denote his knowledge of business and political sentences? Does not each speech term with reference to the laws of his country, to public letters, to embassies, and documents of state? Does not every oration stand an example against the frivolous pretensions of those who seek to be public speakers, without a knowledge of public business?"

The courage, however, of Demosthenes was political rather than military. At Chæronea he fled from the field of battle, though in the Athenian assembly no private apprehension could check his eloquence, or influence his conduct. Another stain was cast on his character, by the imputation of having accepted a bribe from Harpalus. This man having embezzled some public money, fled from the court of Macedonia; he sought refuge at Athens, and by a present of a gold cup, prevailed on Demosthenes not to oppose his admission. When Alexander the Great demanded that the orator should be given up, Demosthenes was compelled to save himself by flight: he was subsequently recalled from exile, and received with honour; but when Antipater came into power, and enforced the demand which Alexander had made, Demosthenes

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Biography. avoided captivity by a voluntary death—the usual refuge of Pagan fortitude, when resistance to surrounding evils was useless, and escape appeared impossible.

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ÆSCHINES was not a man of rank or fortune, and the early part of his life was devoted to the assistance of his father, who kept a school: from this occupation he betook himself to act plays, and afterwards began to take a share in politics: here he soon distinguished himself, and the violence with which he opposed the party of Demosthenes created a suspicion that he had been bribed to support the interests of Philip. This prince and the Athenians becoming mutually tired of war, an embassy was sent from Athens to propose conditions of peace. After the preliminaries were adjusted, and terms stated, the same set of men, among whom were Demosthenes and Æschines, were again sent to exact of Philip the necessary oaths. Demosthenes accused Æschines of betraying his trust in this important embassy; of having been suborned to forward the king's interests; and of circulating at Athens false reports, in consequence of which no exertion was made to prevent Phocis from falling into the power of Philip. The accusation and the reply are both preserved, and rank among the best specimens of Grecian oratory: yet some obscurity hangs over their history. Some say they were never delivered; others that Æschines escaped by thirty votes only, and that he owed his acquittal to the interest of his patron Eubulus, rather than to his own innocence. After the death of Philip, Æschines made his celebrated speech against Ctesiphon: the charges in the indictment were three: the first, that Ctesiphon had proposed a bill unlawfully decreeing a crown to Demosthenes: the second, that Ctesiphon had acted illegally in proposing that Demosthenes should be crowned in the theatre: the third, that the character of Demosthenes himself was such as to render him unworthy of any public honour. This trial produced from Demosthenes the most elaborate, and one of the finest of his speeches. He gained his cause triumphantly; and Æschines, not having a fifth part of the votes, was banished from Athens, and retired to Rhodes.

Cicero, in his treatise de Oratore, does not make very frequent mention of the works of Æschines: but his name, whenever it appears, is enumerated among the first masters of Grecian oratory, and the testimony to his merit is distinct and decisive.—“Aspicite nunc eos homines atque Intemini quorum de facilitate quesimus, quid intersit inter oratorum studium atque naturas. Sanvitatem Isocrates, subtilitatem Lysias, acumen Hyperides, sonitum Æschines, vim Demosthenes habuit: quis eorum non egregius? tamen quis ejuisque nisi sui similis?”—“Examine now

and observe those men whose oratorical abilities we are discussing, what variety there is in their acquirements and powers. Isocrates was distinguished for his sweetness; Lysias for elegance; Hyperides for keenness; Æschines for a sonorous style; and Demosthenes for force. All these are great orators, yet each has his peculiar merits.” Cic. de Or. lib. iii. c. 7.—And again, “Si qui send causas contulerunt, et Demosthenes, Hyperides, Lycurgus, Æschines, Dinarchus alique complures, etsi inter se pares non fuerunt tamen sunt omnes in eodem virtutis imitandæ genere versuti: quorum quamdiu mamit imitatio tamdiu genus illud dicendi studiumque vixit.” De Or. lib. ii. c. 23. In these two extracts mention is made of Hyperides: Longinus speaks highly of his powers; and Leland thus expresses himself with respect to this orator and Demades:—

“DEMADES, by his birth and education, seemed destined to obscurity; but as the Athenian assembly admitted persons of all rank and occupations to speak their sentiments, his powers soon recommended him to his countrymen, and raised him from the low condition of a common mariner to the direction of public affairs. His conduct as a leader was not actuated by the principles of delicate honour and integrity; and his eloquence seems to have received a tincture from his original condition. He appears to have been a strong bold speaker, whose manner, rude and daring, had often a greater effect than the more polished style of others.

“HYPERIDES, on the contrary, was blessed with all the graces of refinement; harmonious, elegant, and polite, with a well-bred festivity, and delicate irony; excellent in panegyric, and naturally powerful in exciting the passions. Yet his eloquence seems rather to have been pleasing than persuasive: he is said not to have been so well fitted for a popular assembly, and political debates, as for private causes, and addressing a few select judges.” Leland's Preface.

We have thus directed the reader's attention to a few of the most distinguished of the Greek orators, and endeavoured to point out and discriminate some of their respective excellencies. The name of many others are recorded by Cicero, whose admirable treatise on Oratory cannot be too much commended: time, however, has totally destroyed the works of several, and the fragments of others which survive are, comparatively, few and unimportant. But he who studies with interest all the remains of the Greek orators, however scanty, or however mutilated, will find in Reiske's learned work such information as the subject admits, collected with industry, and arranged with skill.

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MENANDER.—MIDDLE AND NEW COMEDY.

FROM A. M. 3662. A. C. 342. TO A. M. 3711. B. C. 293.

Bibliography. THE literature of Athens, always most strongly developing itself in the theatre, existed, at that period of its history, at which we are now arrived, in the comic drama alone. The subject of the present article,—the writer who left for Terence no ambition but to imitate, and no praise but that of having imitated successfully, may be taken to represent all that it remained for the country of Æschylus and Aristophanes to produce, after she had yielded to the arts and arms of her Macedonian conquerors. But how is it represented? The name of Menander, and of the other less celebrated writers of the middle and new comedy, (for the present we adopt the distinction,) with a few dates, tell all that we must aspire to know of the artists; whilst some unconnected and misanthropic fragments of moralising common-place, convince us, by their strange opposition to all that antiquity has told us of their art itself, of the utter fruitlessness of any attempt to form, for ourselves, an extended estimate of its tendency and spirit. The scenes of Terence, indeed, familiar to every scholar, may serve as a specimen of the plot and conduct of the comedies of the new school—a school which Marmontel, writing in the spirit of French criticism, has characterised as having called comedy from coarseness to simplicity and nature. But, judging from the terms in which ancient writers have conveyed to us their encomiums of the dramas of the Athenian comic poets of this period, and above all of Menander, we cannot avoid believing, that Terence, the “dimidiatus Menander,” as Julius Cæsar called him, without having incurred the blame of a parsimonious enomist, has not presented to us the better half of his original. Where do we discover in the elegancies of the Roman poet, the traces of him who is described by Pliny as “omnis luxurie interpres”? Where do we recognise the traits of that author, whose enjoyment seems to have shewn itself in his verses, no less than in his life? Ill, however, as Terence may express much of the delicate luxuriance of this “Priest of Love,” (so his unqualified admirer, Plutarch, has designated him,) to him we owe, at all events, a gayer portrait of the comic muse, than the few morsels which time and bigotry have spared, would have allowed us to depict for ourselves. Why we ascribe to bigotry a share in causing our loss of the entire works of the new comedians, must be explained by Demetrius Chalcondylas, who assures us, that the Greek emperors, burnt the works of our author and his brethren, at the instigation of the priests, who felt, or feigned scandal, at the amatory plots of which they were framed. The relics which have been preserved to us, we chiefly owe to the taste and reading of some of the early Christian writers, in whose works there are frequent extracts, (frequent with relation to the subject of the treatises where they are found, though scanty, indeed, if

referred to the number of the plays from which they are taken,) from the moral and general reflections which the comedies supplied. “It may well be supposed,” observes Mr. Cumberland, in his learned and judicious remarks on the Greek Theatre, in the *Observer*, vol. v. No. xv. 8., “that they would naturally take the most moral and sententious from amongst the comedies they quoted, and such as afforded grave and useful remarks upon life, harmonising with their own doctrines and instructions.” Hence such passages as that which the same ingenious writer has translated in the following lines, form the amount of all that we now have of the gay and amiable Menander. The original is preserved in the commentary of Eustathius.

“Suppose some God should say—Die when thou wilt,
Mortal, expect another life on earth;
And for that life make choice of all creation
What thou wilt be; dog, sheep, goat, man, or horse;
For live again thou must; it is thy fate:
Choose only in what form; there thou art free—
So help me, Crato, I would fairly answer—
Let me be all things, any thing but man.
He only, of all creatures, feels afflictions;
The generous horse is valued for his worth,
And dog, by merit, is preferred to dog—
The warrior cock is pampered for his courage,
And even the bawdy brood.—But what is man?
Truth, virtue, valour, how do they avail him?
Of this world's good, the first and greatest share
Is fustery's prize; the informer takes the oxt,
And bare-faced knavery garbles what is left.
I'd rather be an ass than what I am,
And see these villains lord it o'er their betters.”

The man in which comedy flourished under Menander, succeeds immediately to that of Alexander the Great. He was the cotemporary of Demetrius of Phalerus, and had been instructed by Theophrastus in philosophy; but in his manner of thinking he approached nearer to the Epicureans. There is an epigram of his, in which he says, “That as Themistocles had preserved the political liberty of his country, so had Epicurus preserved its freedom of reason.” He was, in his private habits, a refined voluptuary. The picture which Plutarch gives of his exterior, is sufficiently characteristic.

“Veniebat greco delicto et linguado,
Unguento delictus, vestitus adulescens.”

The intimacy of his connexion with the courtesan Glycera, has been often recorded; and furnished Alciphron, the letter-writer, with some of his most elegant and amusing epistles; (which, by the way, are mentioned by Cumberland, as if they were the authentic productions of the poet—a curious error in the grandson of Bentley, whose most successful labours were directed against the supposititious letters of the sophists.) It would not, perhaps, be fair to ascribe to the character of the poet, or of his philosophy, the licentiousness which some of the ancient writers have described as colouring his dramas. The

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Biography. political state of the stage at the period in which he wrote, may, without any excess of liberality, be allowed to form a better apology with such tenacious moralists as deem an apology needful.

An Athenian, living under the domination of a foreign power, might well be pardoned if he showed too ready a propensity to those perversions of the seducing but dangerous doctrines of Epicureanism, which place the highest happiness of life in the gratifications of sense, without ever awakening the desire of noble exertion. The sentiments which this indulgent morality inspires, seemed made to console the mild and serene disposition of the Greeks for the absence of glory. And as such a doctrine is perhaps most suitable to the spirit of the comic poet, because it only produces moderate impressions, and never seeks to excite violent indignation against the weaknesses of human nature, so the stoic philosophy is more conformable to the sentiments by which the tragic poet is animated. It is therefore easily to be understood, why in these times of political oppression, the Greeks were inspired by so passionate a taste for comedy; since by turning their thoughts from public affairs and the interests of human nature, it fixed them wholly on their domestic and personal circumstances.

It is a question with us how far a parallel can fairly be instituted between comedy in this and in its earlier stage; between what we know of Aristophanes, and what we are told of Menander; between the wild and fantastic web of the imagination, in which the one envelops his generalisations of the intellect and politics of his own age, and the accurate portraits of life and character which were drawn on the tablet of the other. Such parallels, however, the critics from Plutarch downwards, have indulged in; and nearly the whole tribe have agreed with him, in attributing to the old comedy nothing but gross and monstrous irregularities; whilst, for the new, they have claimed the praise of all that is pure in conception and execution. We speak particularly of the critics of France; of Marquettel, of La Harpe, of Voltaire, even of Barthélemy, whose familiar acquaintance with the writings and manners of Athens, should, it may be thought, have induced a juster estimate of the writers of the old comedy, than is found in such sentences as the following.

“Les auteurs de ces satyres (and it is the comedies of Aristophanes from which he derives his acquaintance with them) recourent à l'impudence, pour satisfaire leur haine; à de sales injures, pour satisfaire le petit peuple. Le poëme à la main, ils parcourent les différentes classes de citoyens, et l'intérieur des maisons, pour exposer aux yeux des horreurs qu'ils n'avoient pas éclairées. D'autres fois ils se déchaînent contre les philosophes, contre les poëtes tragiques, contre leurs propres rivaux.”

A critic, however, there is, of our own day, to whose accurate and profound learning, and his original and philosophical views of the objects which that learning has set before him, we owe a just and adequate exposition of the transcendent merits of Aristophanes; of his rich and imaginative humour; his creative control over language and versification; his masculine sense, and his unflagging energy. We refer to the celebrated German critic, Augustus Schlegel, whose course of lectures on dramatic literature, delivered at Vienna in 1808, contains at once the most brilliant and the most

accurate pictures of this, as of every other portion of the ancient and modern drama.

Mr. Schlegel has rejected, and, we think, very justly, the old division of the post-Aristophanic comedy into middle and new. It is well known that the comic writers were prohibited, by a specific decree, from introducing real characters on the stage. It has been customary to assert that, on losing this privilege, the middle school, as it is termed, resorted to the evasion of representing actual individuals under feigned names; and that the new comedy, properly so called, which consisted of personages, fictitious in fact as well as name, was of a later period, commencing about the era of Menander. It is, however, easy to comprehend, (and this is the point of view in which Mr. Schlegel has contemplated the subject) that there was an intermediate space of doubtful duration, in which comedy oscillated, before it settled into the form, which it finally assumed. We may, then, follow the example of many learned men, in admitting different kinds of middle comedy, or rather different shades between the ancient and modern. All these distinctions may find their place in the history of the art; but, in a theoretical point of view, a connecting link does not constitute a distinct species.

It is to the new comic drama of the Greeks, that we must refer the origin of comedy amongst the moderns; of that branch of the dramatic art, the end and merit of which consists in the liveliness and truth of the pictures which it offers of human nature, under the varied modifications of society. The union which subsisted under the first writers of comedy between ridicule and imagination, was here divorced,—and for ever.

The serious interest which they had felt and expressed, and the influence which they had been allowed to exercise in the public transactions of the day, were forbidden; their gaiety and vigour were driven to pour themselves through other channels; and that change was effected, so well described by Schlegel, in his seventh lecture, from which we transcribe the following words.

“The new comic authors, deprived of the free exercise of their pleasantry, sought a compensation for this loss, in borrowing one of the serious elements of tragedy; they introduced it in the form of the composition, in the knot of the intrigue, and in the impression they sought to produce.”

The history of tragedy, as Schlegel has drawn it in his earlier lectures, shows the gradations by which that art descended from its ideal height; whether in approaching reality by the close delineation of character, and by the more conversational tone of the dialogue, or by manifesting a tendency to practical instruction; namely, to the end of teaching mankind how best to arrange their common and domestic life, as well as all the details which compose it. Aristophanes, indeed, often jeered Euripides on this direction towards utility. This last poet was in effect the forerunner of the new comedy; the authors of this class have extolled him above all others, and the greater part are his acknowledged disciples. Euripides bore so great a resemblance to them, that several sentences drawn from his works have been attributed to Menander; and we find, in the fragments of Menander, speeches which rise fully to the dignity of the Euripidean tragedy.

Menander.
From
A. M.
3662.
—
R. C.
342.
to
A. M.
3711.
—
R. C.
493.

Biography. Menander, by a fatality which seems to have reigned over the destinies of many of the literati, (a whimsical catalogue of whose sudden and extraordinary deaths, forms a part of Mr. Bland's lively preface to his "*Translations from the Greek Anthology*,") was doomed to end his days, (D. 122.) after a literary career of less than thirty years, in which he produced upwards of an hundred comedies, "by cold submersion in the waters of the Piræus."

From
A. M.
3662.
—
B. C.
342.
to
A. M.
3711
—
B. C.
293.

"Comicus ut liquidis perit dum natat in undis."

Of the adventures of his life we know nothing. He appears, however, to have been patronised and courted by Ptolemy, the son of Lagus: a fact, we believe,

* Ovid. *Ibis*.

proved only on the authority of the epistles to which we have already referred.

We have adverted to Mr. Cumberland's papers in the *Observer*, on the history of the Greek drama, and to Schlegel's *Lectures*, (*Lectures* 6 and 7.) And we do not know that we can refer our readers to any sources from which they will obtain more complete and satisfactory views of the subject, which has presented itself to us in the present article. Mr. Cumberland has moreover, executed translations of several of the most interesting remains, with singular fidelity and spirit; and a pleasing and scholar-like collection of the original fragments of the oew comedians (as well as of the minor writers of the old school) was published a few years ago by Mr. Robert Walpole.

Menander.
From
A. M.
3642.
—
B. C.
342.
to
A. M.
3711.
—
B. C.
293.

ALEXANDER THE GREAT.

FROM A. M. 3648. B. C. 356. TO A. M. 3681. B. C. 323.

Biography. We concluded our biography of Philip with a brief account of his death, as inflicted by the hand of Pausanias. As the assassin was almost instantly dispatched, no certain information was obtained, either in regard to the motives which could induce so detestable an act, or as to the number and quality of the persons who were privy to the intention of perpetrating it. The reputation of Olympians, and the second nuptials, for which that event paved the way, are supposed by some writers to have so deeply irritated the minds of Alexander and of his mother as to have prepared them to take a part in the vindictive counsels of the young Pausanias, and even to have encouraged him in his meditated attack on the person of the king. There is no good reason, however, for admitting the operation of views and motives so highly discreditable to the character of the Macedonian conqueror. It is, on the contrary, much more probable that the murder of Philip was connected with a conspiracy, of which the object was to change the line of succession, and to transfer the crown, under the sanction of the Persian monarch, to Amyntas, the son of Antiochus; a member of that branch of the royal family which had formerly laid claim to the throne.

From
A. M.
3648.
—
B. C.
356.
to
A. M.
3681.
—
B. C.
323.
Accession
of Alexander
to the
throne.

His generosity. Whilst these things are confessedly matters of mere conjecture, it is clear that the behaviour of Alexander was equally generous and noble on his accession to the kingdom, thus unexpectedly deprived of that rare wisdom and courage, by which its affairs had been so long directed. No feeling of animosity or deed of violence stained the commencement of the brilliant career which he was about to run. The able and faithful men who had served his father in the cabinet or in the field, were retained by him in their several offices. Neither minister nor general was displaced; and no one had the slightest reason to imagine that Alexander cherished a grudge or remembered an injury, even where he had just ground of complaint; and in cases too, where measures of severity could only have been regarded as salutary

examples or merited punishment. His forgiveness and confidence were extended to all who had endeavoured enough to acknowledge their misdoings, and generosity sufficient in their own hearts to rely on the exercise of it in that of their prince. Even Alexander, the son of Atropus, who had shared in the treasonable counsels of Amyntas, was received into favour and employed in offices of trust, merely because he shewed a reasonable interest in the rising fortunes of his royal kinsman, and confided his life to the noble clemency which marked his character. The first step he took was to reënt from exile the young friends, who, on his account, had incurred the anger or suspicions of Philip; and when we find among these the names of Harpalus, Laomedon, Nearchus, and Ptolemy, son of Lagus, we shall be ready to do justice not less to his benevolence than to his singular discernment. It is remarked, however, that no new man, no personal favorite, no person strange to the army or people of Macedonia, was raised, in the beginning of the new reign, to any place of power, honour, or responsibility.

According to the custom of his country, Alexander was conducted with much military pomp to the throne, immediately after his father had expired, and consequently while the most painful apprehensions still prevailed, concerning the political motives which might have occasioned that catastrophe. When presented to the assembled Macedonians, the young monarch, relying not less on the popularity of the late government than on the strength of his own character, assured them that no change would take place injurious to their interests or reputation. "The king's name is changed," said he, "but the king, you shall find, remains the same;" a pledge which he fully redeemed, not only by retaining his father's friends, and pursuing his father's system, but by surpassing, in the course of his splendid victories, the most exalted ideas that the other ever entertained of Asiatic conquest and Macedonian ascendancy.

The confidence and sanguine hopes of Alexander

Alexander.
From
A. M.
3648.
—
B. C.
356.
to
A. M.
3681.
—
B. C.
323.

Biography. were not, however, we may presume, widely spread among the most experienced and intelligent of his followers. The power acquired by the late king, had excited no small degree of envy and dislike in the minds of the democratical leaders at Athens, and had awakened in some of the other states a lively apprehension, that their independence could not fail to be exposed to hazard, by the predominating influence of their ambitious neighbour. The sceptre of western Asia, too, was at that period venerated by a sovereign, who had already gained some reputation as a soldier; and who, by his negotiations with the secret enemies of Philip, had afforded ample proof that he was acquainted not only with the quarter whence danger was to be feared, but also with the most effectual means by which it might be averted. The accession of a young king, moreover, encouraged the hopes and favoured the intrigues of all who wished to humble the power of Macedonia: and we find, accordingly, that, in concert with the faction of which Demosthenes was the head, the political agents of Darius were every where creating such obstacles to the invasion of Asia by the confederated Greeks, as no genius inferior to that which now directed their arms, could have successfully opposed and overcome. The rapidity and decision which characterised all the movements of Alexander, were fully required to baffle the designs which were now openly contemplated on both sides of the Ægean: and when he did at length take the field, to accomplish the arduous task which, with the crown, he inherited from his father, he found greater opposition to surmount, on the part of the Greeks, than on that of the barbarians.

The first attention of the new government was directed to Thessaly: the oldest and most important ally of Macedonia. There the ambassadors of Alexander had the satisfaction to find on all hands the utmost willingness to continue the friendly relations which had, during the reign of Philip, subsisted between the two powers; and accordingly, the civil and military authority, which had been exercised by the father, were, with equal confidence and alacrity, extended to the son. Nor was this all; for the trusty Thessalians farther assured the successor of Philip, that they would exert themselves to the utmost in order to secure his succession also to the chief command of the Grecian army, destined to act against the Persians; an appointment which they were well aware could not but gratify the ambition, and give play to the warlike spirit of their young protector.

Having secured the good-will and co-operation of his immediate neighbours, Alexander proceeded to Thermopylæ, where the Amphictyonic council was assembled; in which he was readily allowed or invited to occupy the seat, which his father had been raised as the head of that august body. The next step was to obtain the office of generalissimo of the combined army; an object on which it is natural to suppose he set a much higher value than on his mere civil rank among the Amphictyons; and which, moreover, he had the best reason for believing was meant to be bestowed elsewhere, if not altogether abolished. Opposition on the part of Athens could not be concealed; for it was not without much difficulty that the democratical faction in that city, could be induced to pay to the king of Macedonia, the customary and very simple compliment of sending an embassy to congratulate him on his accession, and to

express their readiness to renew with him the treaties into which they had entered with his father.

In due time, a meeting of the Grecian states was announced, for consulting on their common affairs, and for deciding on measures relative to the projected invasion of Asia. The place chosen for this important congress was Corinth; a situation which recommended itself both by its local convenience to those within as well as to those without the isthmus; and also by its being at such a distance from Macedonia, would remove all apprehension of improper interference with the freedom of election. Arrian, whose narrative commences with this occurrence, briefly informs us that Alexander, when he had ascended the throne, marched into Peloponnesus, where, in a grand council of the Greeks, he requested to be made general of the intended expedition against the Persians; and that this was granted by all except by the Lacedæmonians, who alleged that they were bound by an ancient custom, handed down from their ancestors, to yield obedience to none, but rather to claim the command of whatever forces should be sent by Greece to serve in foreign countries. It is certain, at all events, that the king of Macedonia was chosen by a large majority of the republics; the opposition of Sparta having no other effect than to make manifest her pride and her weakness; and to place on record the impotent jealousy towards the successor of Philip which she could no longer suppress. The dissent of this celebrated commonwealth answered perhaps another purpose. It showed that deliberation was free, and suffrage uncontrolled; a state of things altogether irreconcilable with the assertion of Plutarch, that the royal candidate carried with him an overwhelming force into Peloponnesus, and thereby rendered certain his election to the high office which he affected to solicit.

Whatever might be the difference of opinion as to the wisdom of confiding to a youth, not more than twenty years of age, one of the most important expeditions ever meditated by the Grecian states, there seems to have been perfect unanimity with regard to the expediency of the war itself. Asia had long been a favourite field of adventure to the enterprising republicans of Achaia; and events comparatively recent had enlisted amongst them against the Persians, the powerful passions of jealousy, fear, and revenge. As soon, therefore, as the assembly at Corinth was dissolved, preparations were resumed for the armament, of which Alexander was appointed to guide the motions; whilst he himself having effected the object of his journey into the south, returned home to equip his hardy Macedonians for the numerous perils and toils into which he had resolved to conduct them.

The intrigues of Demosthenes, meantime, and the restless disposition of the barbarous tribes by whom the dominions of Alexander were surrounded, had prepared a field in which to try his troops before he should cross over into Asia. In the spring of the year, when he was preparing to assemble his army for the great expedition, the young generalissimo was informed, that his own kingdom was threatened with an assault, on three different points at once: on the west, by the Illyrians, on the north, by the Thracians, and on the east, by that ambiguous class of men, who coited in their characters the qualities of merchantmen and pirates, and infested during troublesome times, the whole of the

Alexander
From
A. M.
3648.
—
A. C.
356.
to
A. M.
3681.
—
A. C.
323.
Elected generalissimo of the Greeks.

Biography.

From
A. M.
3648.
—
n. e.
356.
to
A. M.
3681.
—
n. G.
3625.
Reduces
Thrace

Ægean sea. This intelligence roused the active spirit of Alexander; who, leaving the defence of his western borders to Parmenio, hastened with a body of forces against the freebooters and rebellious Greeks, who dwelt on the coast; and, coming upon them suddenly, he not only defeated their views on some of his ports and strong-holds along the shore, but forced them to take refuge in the mountains, among their barbarian allies. The ardent genius of the king, impelled him to pursue the fugitives even into the rocky defences of Mount Hæmus, and to engage in a species of warfare which was altogether new, even to the veterans who had followed the fortunes of Philip.

Arrian, who takes pleasure in narrating the exploits and contrivances of his military hero, gives a detailed account of the battle, which took place in the wild district where Alexander overtook his enemies. The barbarians, he informs us, seized the tops of the mountains, and occupied the only pass through which the Macedonians could advance, with the firm determination to prevent their further progress. Placing themselves on the summit of a rapid declivity, where the road was confined on either side by lofty precipices, the insurgents formed their chariots in front, so as either to use them as a rampart against the attack of the phalanx, or, should an opportunity present itself, to hurl them down the slope, in the face of the advancing enemy. Alexander, perceiving their intention, prepared his men for the worst. He ordered them to take every advantage which the nature of the ground afforded for shelter and escape; and directed that the moment they perceived the enemy's machines put in motion, such of them as could, should open their ranks and allow the wagons to run freely through, whilst the rest who were confined by the narrowness of the approach, should close their shields artfully and full flat on the earth, so that when the vehicles passed over them with their utmost velocity, they might receive as little injury as possible. The event, we are told, fully answered his expectation; for by adopting the expedients thus pointed out to them, the Macedonians received the shock without losing a single man. The pass being immediately carried, victory was no longer doubtful; for the barbarians unable to cope with the discipline and perfect armour of the phalanxites, sought safety in flight, leaving on the field about fifteen hundred of their number, together with all their women and children, and a large quantity of rude spoil.

Determined to inflict a suitable chastisement on the Triballians, Alexander followed their steps northward of Hæmus into that extensive country which stretches to the right bank of the Danube. Syrmus, the king of the people now named, satisfied that he could not successfully oppose the warlike troops of the invader in the open plain, had recourse to the protection of those immense forests which intersected his territory; having previously adopted the precaution of sending the women and children to a strong island called Pence, in the river Ister, where great numbers of the Thracians had already taken refuge. Alexander, after defeating a large body of the Triballian forces, advanced to the Danube to attack the above-named island, whither Syrmus and his people had now likewise fled for shelter; but commencing the assault with very inadequate strength, he found himself unequal to the tumultuary army of the barbarian chiefs,

now fighting for every thing they held dear in the world, and was consequently obliged to retire with some loss.

Foiled in this attempt, which he did not think proper to renew, the Macedonian commander directed his attention to the Getæ, a people who dwelt beyond the Danube; great numbers of whom were seen flocking down to the bank of the river, apparently busy in concerting means to oppose his landing, should Alexander resolve on entering their territory as an enemy. The Getæ, however, although evidently more civilised than their neighbours the Triballians, were yet comparatively ignorant of the numerous resources and expedients which a warlike nation can employ against the simple members of an agricultural community. Confident in the defences supplied by the mighty river which washed their southern boundary, they were not aware that the king of Macedon had, at his command, the means of conveying over it, not only his phalanx, so formidable to the most expert combatants, but also that active cavalry, against whose rapid and overwhelming charges, no rude people had yet learned to stand. Ships from the Euxine, enabled Alexander to transport, in one night, a large portion of his army, and thereby to carry a complete and speedy conquest among the Getæ; whence, after destroying their capital, and reducing the inhabitants to a nominal subjection, he returned to the south side of the Danube, to pursue his hostile views against the Triballians and their Thracian confederates, whom he had left behind.

The terror of his arms, however, rendered their farther employment unnecessary. Syrmus sent an embassy to solicit peace, or rather to ask on what terms he might secure that benefit for himself and his people; and shortly after, similar messages arrived from all the neighbouring states, charged with professions of friendship and expressions of respect. Among these, according to Arrian, appeared envoys from the Celts, who inhabited the country near the Ionian bay, a people strong in body and of a haughty spirit; and the same historian informs us that Alexander, addressing himself to the members of this interesting embassy, desired them to tell him what was the principal cause of their apprehensions; expecting, no doubt, to be assured that the terror of his name, and the dread of his arms, had made a very deep impression on their minds, and had thereby suggested their present act of homage and reverence to his person. Their reply, however, could not fail to convince him that the Celts were not finished courtiers, and that, if they had fears, it was not in him they were disposed to reveal them. The ambassadors proudly informed him, that "they were afraid of nothing but that the sky should fall upon their heads!" The king suppressed his disappointment, received the Celts into the number of his allies, and satisfied himself with hinting to the envoys, that their countrymen were a proud people.

All things being now adjusted, Alexander was about to return homeward, when intelligence was brought to him that the Antariæ were making preparations to oppose his march through their country, and also that the Illyrians, joined by the Taulantians, were meditating a hostile movement on the western borders of Macedonia. Relieved from all fears of the

Alexander.

From
A. M.
3648.
—
B. C.
356.
to
A. M.
3681.
—
B. C.
383.

Returns to
Macedon.

Biography.

From
A. M.
3648.
—
n. c.
356.
to
A. M.
3661.
—
n. c.
393.

Revolts of
Thebes.

first mentioned tribe by the seasonable interposition of Langarus, king of the Agrians, the Macedonian prince directed his forces against the revolted Illyrians; and conducting his inroad with his usual rapidity and holdness, he reached Pellion, the capital, before measures could be taken to oppose him, and before the contingent of the Thaulantian army had advanced to their aid. As, however, the combined powers, placing their chief confidence in the strength of their ground, acted solely on the defensive, some time elapsed before the Macedonians could bring them to action; and when a battle did take place, the Illyrians and their allies were rather dispersed than benten, spreading themselves over the mountains, and seeking safety in fastnesses which heavy-armed soldiers could not approach. But it was not the policy of either party to prolong a war, from which neither could reap any advantage; and Alexander, hearing of commotions in Greece which more deeply affected his interests, readily withdrew his troops from the mountains of Illyria; whilst the insurgent chiefs, left to reflection on their weakness and danger, appear to have returned to their duty, and to a renewal of their former relations with Macedonia and its young king.

The commotions just mentioned, were occasioned by the revolt of Thebes; one of the most important and melancholy occurrences in the reign of Alexander. Whilst this youthful commander was in the north, Demosthenes was most actively engaged in exciting against him, not only the powerful hostility of the Persian government, but also every feeling of jealousy and revenge, which continued to lurk among the Grecian republics themselves. Among no people were these bad passions more active than among the Thebans; who, long accustomed to aspire to command and influence over the other states, were, since the battle of Chæroneæ, reduced to a condition of comparative insignificance, and even of positive vassalage. A strong party, therefore, at Thebes, was always found hostile to the interests of Macedonia; and, indeed, to the principles of the confederacy of which that country was now the head; and it was obviously to subdue the refractory spirit manifested by these discontented democrats, and to maintain the peace of the republic at large, that a resolution was passed in the Amphictyonic council, authorising a garrison of the confederated army to be placed in the Theban citadel.

Amyntas and Timolaus, the one supposed to be a Theban, and the other a Macedonian, were the commanders of this fort at the period in question; who having no apprehensions in regard to the peaceable disposition of the people, were wont to sleep in the town, instead of taking up their residence, at night, within the precincts of the garrison. The revolt, for which, it is said, abundant means and encouragement were supplied from Athens, was begun by the murder of the two officers just named; upon which, cries were immediately sent through the city, summoning the people to arms, and assuring them that Alexander had perished in his northern expedition. The conspirators, who consisted chiefly of exiles, who had been admitted into the town during the darkness of the night, reiterated the most positive assurances that the king of Macedon was dead; and exhorting the citizens to throw off the foreign yoke under which

they groaned, urged them to begin the glorious work of independence, by laying siege to the citadel, and destroying or expelling, all the Macedonian soldiers who might happen to be found within it.

These events, when made known in Illyria, hastened the departure of Alexander, who, with a chosen body of light-armed troops, advanced by rapid marches upon Thessaly, where he arrived in seven days; whence, in six days more, he carried his forces into Bœotia. So little, says Arrian, did the Thebans dream of his approach, that he was at Onchestus with his whole army, before they had heard of his passing the Straits of Thermopylæ; and even then, the authors of the sedition affirmed that it must be an army newly raised by Antipater in Macedonia, for that Alexander had certainly died in the northern deserts. Nay, so obstinate were they in their incredulity, that when it could no longer be doubted that the king was at the head of his troops in their very neighbourhood, they maintained it could not be the renowned son of Philip, but that it must be Alexander the son of Aëropus, who was discharging the office of commander under the direction of Antipater. Availing themselves of the delusion which they had thus spread among the people, they succeeded in driving them to the resolution of opposing, by arms, his advance towards their city; and the more effectually to prevent, or to render abortive any change of measures, they sent out a party of horse and light-armed foot to attack the *vao guard* of the Macedonians; of whom, as not being prepared for such hasty violence, they killed a few with missile weapons. The behaviour of Alexander afforded a striking contrast to these furious and unwarrantable proceedings; for even after all that had taken place, he caused a proclamation to be made, inviting all the Thebans, without distinction, to relinquish the foolish course upon which they had entered, and to partake of the common peace of Greece. In return for this conciliatory proposal, the leading demagogues in the city, gave order that a herald, of powerful voice, should proclaim in the hearing of the Macedonians, an invitation to all of them who desired to restore liberty and independence to the Grecian states, to join, forthwith, the standard of the king of Persia and of the Theban patriots.

Satisfied, however, that a large proportion of the people were friendly to the Macedonian alliance, and that they were only prevented from declaring their real sentiments by the violent measures pursued by the agitators within the walls, Alexander was resolved to refrain, for some time, at least, from the application of force, and to wait the course of events. With this view, he advanced with his army, the following day, towards that gate of the city which led to Eleuthera and Athens; still forbearing any assault upon the fortifications, and only placing himself in such a situation, with respect to the citadel, that he might have it in his power to assist the Macedonians who were shut up in it, should they happen to be severely pressed.

But matters did not long remain in this uncertain Thebes predicament. A party of the Macedonian army stationed near the walls, under the command of Perdiccas, perceiving an opportunity to scale the rampart, were induced, without either orders or authority from the king, to commence the assault; and having

Alexander.

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n. c.
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Moderation
of Alexander.

taken by
assault

Biography.

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323.

effected a breach, they pursued their advantage with so much ardour, that they soon found themselves in close conflict with the Thebans, in the very heart of the city. Here a considerable number of them lost their lives; and among these Eurylotus, the leader of the Cretan bowmen. Persida, too, being wounded, a retrograde movement became necessary, whilst the Thebans, in their turn, drove the assailants from the walls; and following up their success with thoughtless impetuosity, they advanced so far into the plain as to come in contact with the heavy-armed troops of Alexander's army, whom he had just drawn forth from the camp, in order to remedy the confusion and repair the disaster so unexpectedly occasioned by the rash conduct of his advanced guard. At this juncture the fortune of war changed once more. The Thebans, unable to abide the shock of the phalanx, recoiled from the first onset, and rushing in the utmost disorder and trepidation towards the gates whence they had just issued, the multitude of fugitives so completely choked up the passage, that they not only trod one another under foot, but even prevented all possibility of securing the portals against the victorious enemy. Both parties entered at once; whilst the garrison in the citadel, observing what had occurred, sallied forth from their strong-hold and fell upon the miserable citizens, now no longer capable of resistance or master of their movements, and added not a little to the indiscriminate slaughter which finally disgraced the success of the confederate army. Platonius, Theopompus, Orctomevius, Phocion, and others, who composed the army under Alexander, having formerly suffered from Theban tyranny, and recently dreading a renewal of it, gave a loose to the most furious passions. Ranging the town, to use the words of Mr. Mitford, careless of commands, which scarcely any could hear, they slaughtered equally the resisting and the unresisting; not sparing even women and children; even the sacredness of temples not affording protection. A kind of intoxication of fury urged their destructive course, so that, as Arrian remarks, the extent of the calamity exceeded, not more, all previous apprehensions of the sufferers, than all previous purpose of the perpetrators.

Nor was the vindictive feeling of the minor republics against Thebes, confined to the first moments of military execution. A solemn council was held, composed of the representatives of the several states, in which a decree was passed, declaring that the Theban name should be annihilated; the town utterly destroyed; the surviving women and children sold into slavery; that the territory should become the property of the victorious allies, including the friendly Thebans, and be duly divided amongst them; and, that in order to secure the execution of these resolutions, a garrison from the confederate army should be appointed to take possession of the citadel.

Amidst these scenes of blood, and still more repulsive manifestations of revenge and jealousy entertained against one another by freemen and brothers, it affords some relief to find, that in executing the horrid decree, of which the particulars have just been detailed, some respect was shown to the claims of literature and genius. Alexander gave orders, that in the general demolition of Thebes, the house of Pindar, the poet, should be spared, and that none of

his relations should be subjected to the severe sentence passed upon their countrymen; an act of clemency, it should be added, for which various motives have been assigned, according to the opinions and prejudices of different writers.

In this manner did Thebes expiate her revolt, with the loss of six thousand of her people slain in the battle, thirty thousand sold into slavery, and in a word, with the extinction of her existence as a separate and independent state. Plutarch, who delights in anecdote and in revealing secret thoughts and motives, which he was not likely to know, assures us, that the calamities which he brought upon the Thebans, frequently gave Alexander great uneasiness in the subsequent part of his life, and that upon this account, he treated others with less rigour. He certainly, says this author, imputed the murder of Clitus, which he committed in his wine, and the dastardly refusal of the Macedonians to follow him to his Indian expedition, by which his wars and glory were curtailed, to the anger of Bacchus, the avenger of Thebes. And, he adds, there was not a Theban who survived the fatal overthrow, that was denied any favour he chose to request.

When the news reached Athens that Thebes had yielded to the arms of the young king of Macedonia, a general consternation seized all classes of the people; and such was the fear of an immediate attack upon their own city by the forces under that commander, who, they knew, could not be ignorant of their intrigues with all his enemies, both in Greece and Asia, that an instant order was issued to stop the Eleusinian mysteries in which they were then engaged. A council was called, and a resolution immediately adopted, to send an embassy to Alexander, conveying the congratulations of the Athenian citizens on his safe return from the Illyrian war, as well as on his success in inflicting a speedy and condign chastisement on the seditious Thebans. Although perfectly aware of the motives which had produced this late and rather unreasonable compliment, the Macedonian ruler thought proper to receive it in good part; but, at the same time, he addressed a letter to the Athenian people, demanding that ten of their number, whom he specified, should be delivered up to him, to be dealt with according to the common law of Greece; as being, he added, the authors of all the troubles which had befallen their country, and particularly of the miseries which ensued upon the memorable battle of Charonea. Among the demagogues mentioned in this famous epistle, Arrian gives the names of Demosthenes, Lycurgus, Hypérides, Polyæctes, Charites, Charidemus, Ephialtes, Diotemus, and Merocles. Such a demand threw the city into greater confusion than ever, and the allusion to Demosthenes, on this occasion, are still spoken of by historians as having afforded a subject for ridicule. It is said, that he contented to pay to Demades the sum of five talents to secure the influence of that politician as an intercessor with Alexander, at whose hands, he was perfectly aware, he had great reason to apprehend the last severity. To avert, however, the hard fate which seemed to be in reserve for their orators, the Athenians decreed a second embassy to the captain-general of Greece; beseeching him to extend such a degree of indulgence towards their republic, as to allow them to proceed

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Constanza
tion of
Athens.

Biography. against the accused citizens, according to the forms of their own tribunals. To this request the conqueror acceded, on condition that Charidemus, who bad, in the time of Philip, acted as a spy at the court of Macedon, and who had on other accounts rendered himself disagreeable to the reigning prince, should be forthwith banished from the territory of the Amphictyonic states. Throughout the whole of this transaction, indeed, were a sound policy as well, perhaps, as the natural temper of the king, dictated moderate measures, the desire to come to a speedy adjustment of affairs in Greece, with a view of being at liberty to conduct the confederate army on the grand Asiatic expedition, is repeatedly mentioned by Arrian as a principal reason for exercising clemency, and shortening his discussions with the disaffected Athenians.

111. 3. Having returned to Macedon, and completed the religious festival which had been interrupted by his father's death, Alexander lost no time in equipping the army placed under his command for the invasion of the Persian dominions. The forces with which he entered upon this arduous undertaking did not exceed, in cavalry and infantry, the very moderate number of thirty-five thousand: and, at the head of these, in the spring of the year, noted in the margin, the magnanimous son of Philip advanced to Sesos on the Hellespont, where he had resolved to embark for the opposite shore. After performing sacrifice at the tomb of Protesilaus, he placed himself in a trireme under the direction of Menestheus, and committing his fortune to the care of the gods, he took a final leave of the shores of Europe.

Preparations for the invasion of Persia.

Eager to visit the site of ancient Troy, then occupied by a village, he proceeded thither; and finding, in a temple of Minerva, certain consecrated suits of armour, which were said to have been preserved there from the time of the Trojan war, he offered up the usual religious homage; and then proceeding to dedicate to the goddess the arms which he himself wore, he carried away from the holy fane one of the ancient panoplies, to be thenceforth carried before him on all solemn occasions, but more particularly when going into battle.

Of the preparations made by Persia, to oppose the invaders, no detailed account is to be found in history. The satraps, who governed the western provinces, appear to have been intrusted, each with the defence of his own territory; whilst a considerable force of mercenary Greeks, under the command of Memnon, the Rhodian, seems to have been charged generally with the protection of the Grecian cities on the Asiatic coast, which acknowledged subjection to the Persian crown. The want of vigilance or wisdom was, however, strikingly manifested, in the absence of the most ordinary means for preventing the descent of a hostile army, in a populous part of the country, and at the very point too, where such a descent was most to be apprehended. Not a ship appeared to dispute the passage with Alexander, or to interrupt his supplies, though the Persian navy greatly outnumbered that which transported the invading forces; and thus, with all the information which the most public proceedings could convey to them, the lieutenants of the great king, suffered his empire to be violated by a foreign enemy, with as much indifference as if he had landed merely to present the homage of an ancient and devoted vassal.

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To shun the difficulties of a mountainous country, and perhaps, also, to avoid a premature encounter with Memnon, at the head of his disciplined Greeks, Alexander pursued his march in a north-easterly direction, along the shores of the Propontis. His progress is minutely recorded by the faithful Arrian, who, as every one knows, professes merely to follow the narrative of Ptolemy and Aristobulus, Macedonian generals, who served in this campaign; but it is enough for our purpose to mention, that, when he had arrived in the lower Phrygia, of which Aristes was satrap, he found himself about to be opposed by a considerable army, suddenly collected from the neighbouring districts. According to Arrian, this army consisted of twenty thousand foot, and as many horse; whilst Diodorus, including perhaps, the skirmishers and retainers of the camp, makes it amount to an hundred thousand. That the latter number exceeds the bounds of probability, is rendered obvious, by the counsel administered by Memnon on this occasion, who recommended that the Persians should abstain from battle, lay waste the country, and thereby compel the invader to retrace his steps. This advice, prudent perhaps in any circumstances, when opposed to such an enemy as Alexander, is recommended by the consideration, that the Persians were inferior in regular infantry: but Aristes replied, that he would not suffer a single house in his province to be burnt, nor the property of one inhabitant to be injured, whilst he had such ample means in his power to protect both.

As delay was alike incompatible with the plans and the temper of Alexander, he resolved to move forward his troops, and cross the Graïcus, at a ford near Zeleia. The Persians, aware that his line of march would be confined to that direction, encompassed with their whole force on the opposite side, prepared to dispute with the Macedonians the passage of the stream, and the possession of the rich provinces which stretched out beyond it. A battle now appeared inevitable, and the contending armies were already arranged for the conflict, when Parmenio, the brave and faithful friend of Philip, ventured to expostulate with his impetuous successor, on the great hazard which would attend the crossing of the river, in the face of such a numerous, and determined enemy. "Your reflections," said Alexander, addressing the veteran general, "are just and forcible; but would it not be a mighty disgrace to us, who so easily passed the Hellespont, to be stopped here by a contemptible brook? It would indeed be a lasting reflection on the glory of the Macedonians, as well as on the personal bravery of their commander; and besides, the Persians would forthwith consider themselves our equals in war, did we not, in this first conflict with them, achieve something to justify the terror which attaches to our name."

Having thus spoken, says Arrian, he appointed Parmenio to the left wing, and in the right, where he himself presided, he placed Philotas, the son of Parmenio, with the royal cohort, and the archers and pikemen. The historian then proceeds to describe, with much minuteness, the order adopted on the side of the Macedonians at large, to secure victory in this important fight. As, however, his military terms are not quite familiar to our apprehension, we shall for the sake of our readers, avail ourselves of the exact and masterly description which is given of it, in the volumes of Mitford, as being at once the fullest and

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Biography. most distinct that has yet been given in our language.

From A. M. 3648.
—
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to
A. M. 3681.
—
B. C. 323.

Whilst Alexander was marshalling his army for the hazardous attempt, on which he had resolved, the Persian generals, watching from the opposite bank all his movements, were at no loss to gather from the splendour and dress of the officers who surrounded him, where the king himself was to take his station; and as far as time and circumstances would allow, they drew their choicest troops towards that point. This movement could not be so made, as to be unobserved from the Grecian army; and its purpose being conjectured, Alexander was confirmed by it in the plan which he had formed, in regard to the distribution of his troops, and the position where he was to exercise his personal command. Could he defeat that large part of the hostile force so immediately opposed to his wing, he trusted, from the accounts he had obtained of Asiatic armies, that the rest would not long keep the field.

"An advanced body," says Mitford, "infantry with cavalry, the former under Amyntas, son of Arnbabaris, the latter under Prokeus, son of Philip, crossed the river first and began the battle. The Persian cavalry carried javelins, light enough to be thrown by the arm; in which then, as still at this day, being trained to it from early youth, they were highly dexterous. In closing, they mostly used the scymetar. The Grecian horseman carried a lance for close action, but no missile weapon. The Grecian advanced bodies were received with such firmness, by numbers very superior, on ground of great advantage, that they were quickly compelled to retire with considerable loss. Nevertheless, the employment they gave, enabled the main body, led by Alexander himself, to cross the more quietly. But on approaching the bank it suffered, and on reaching it was so met in stationary fight, that Arrian, following the account of the Macedonian generals, characterises the action by comparing it to a contest of heavy-armed infantry. Alexander's lance was disabled. Turning to Teres his master of the horse, for another, that officer could only shew him one equally injured, so warmly had he also been engaged. The extraordinary skill of the Persian horsemen to disable an enemy's lance, is noticed by Xenophon in his account of an action in which he was engaged under Agesilaus. There the Persians, hardly equal in numbers, as the candid historian allows, overbore the Grecian cavalry: but these were Asiatic Greeks, and very recently raised. The very superior practice of those under Alexander, animated by his example, gave prevalence to their superior formation, and superior weapons, against very superior numbers, and the Persians gave way.

Alexander
in great
personal
danger.

"A short leisure was thus afforded to Alexander; and Demaratus, a Corinthian, of the hand royal companions was the first to supply him with a sound lance. No sooner was he thus provided than he observed a powerful body of Persian horse returning to charge, and a leading officer considerably advanced before it. In the warmth of mind of the moment, he rode onward so hastily, that before his attendants could join him, he had with his lance killed the leading officer, but almost in the same instant, lost part of his helmet, by a stroke from another's sword, whom yet, with his shortened lance, he killed also. Nearly surrounded now by enemies, one of them was aiming a sword-

stroke at him which might have been fatal, when Chytus, son of Dropis, one of his lords of the body-guard, arrived so critically, as to disable the uplifted arm, by a wound to the shoulder.

"Through the retreat of the Persian cavalry first engaged, and the check in their return to the onset by the death of their principal officers, the right wing of the Grecian army had leisure to gain footing on the plain ground of the meadow. Meanwhile, the left wing under Parmenio had a severe contest with the Persian right. In this contest, the Thessalians, always esteemed among the best of Grecian cavalry, particularly distinguished themselves; and the Persians weakened, as before mentioned, to strengthen their other wing, were compelled to give way."

The horsemen of the Persian army being thus broken and put to flight, there only remained a strong body of Greek infantry, who served as mercenaries under the standard of the great king. This division of the enemy's army, if it had been properly commanded, would still have occasioned to Alexander no small embarrassment, and might even have deprived him of that triumph which already appeared so secure. But Omare, who had been appointed to lead them, ignorant perhaps of their discipline and the mode of using their arms, and struck with consternation at the sudden defeat of the cavalry, in which the Persians placed the greatest confidence, remained in his position till Alexander brought up his phalanx, supported by a chosen body of horse to cut them in pieces, or drive them from the field. They defended themselves with bravery; but courage in their circumstances was unavailing. Attacked in front by the formidable phalangites, and in both wings by the Macedonian cavalry, they soon covered with their dead bodies the ground on which they had received the enemy: for, says Arrian, the assault was so furious, that they were all slain, not so much as one of their whole number escaping, unless such as concealed themselves among the heaps of slain, and about two thousand who surrendered themselves prisoners.

The loss of the Persians in the battle of the Granicus, is estimated by Diodorus at ten thousand men. Plutarch again says, that the barbarians lost in this battle, twenty-two thousand foot, and two thousand five hundred horse; whilst he reduces the numbers who fell on the Macedonian side to thirty-four, nine of whom were infantry. Arrian does not mention the number of the slain, satisfying himself with a list of the commanders who fell in the action; among whom we find the names of Spitridates, governor of Lydia, Mythrobuzanes, president of Cappadocia, Mithridates, a son-in-law of Darius, Pharnaces, the queen's brother, and Omare, the general of the mercenaries. On the part of the Macedonians, the slaughter is usually confined to about one hundred and twenty; of which number, twenty-five belonging to the royal guard or band of companions, were killed at the first onset, when fighting around the person of their king. Of these brave youths, statues cast in brass, by the masterly hand of Lycippus, were placed in the city of Dium, in Macedonia; whilst to shew his respect for the meanest individual who had fallen in his cause, Alexander granted the freedom of their respective cities, to the parents and other surviving relatives, of all the soldiers who lost their lives on the banks of the

Alexander.
From
A. M.
3648.
—
B. C.
356.
to
A. M.
3681.
—
B. C.
323.

The Persians
defeated with
great loss.

Biography. Granicus, and even conferred on their posterity, a perpetual exemption from taxes.

From A. M. 3648. — B. C. 356. to A. M. 3681. — B. C. 323. With the news of his splendid victory, the generalissimo of the Grecian army, sent to the several states, a portion of the military spoil, gathered on the field of battle, in order to afford to them the means of commemorating their joint success against the enemies of their country. To the Athenians he sent three hundred complete suits of Persian armour, which were dedicated to Minerva, their tutelary goddess, and suspended in her temple, with the following inscription, dictated by the conqueror: ALEXANDER, SON OF PHILIP, AND THE GREEKS, EXCEPTING THE LACEDÆMONIANS, OFFER THESE, TAKEN FROM THE BARBARIANS OF ASIA.

Rapid success of Alexander. After the victory of the Granicus, the progress of Alexander was, for some time, quite uninterrupted; whilst the rapidity with which he reduced into subjection, the most important of the towns belonging to the Persian alliance, surpassed his most sanguine expectations. Dascylium, the capital of Bithynia, opened its gates at the approach of Parmenio, who had been dispatched against it. Sardis, a place strong by nature, and rendered almost impregnable by art, was given up without a blow; Mithranes the governor, having gone out, accompanied by the magistracy of the city, and meeting Alexander, at the distance of seven miles from the walls, entreated his clemency in behalf of the people. Possessed thus of the capital of the rich and extensive province of Lydia, Alexander next directed his attention to Miletus and Ephesus: in both of which cities, he was perfectly aware that the friends of Greece were opposed by a strong party, who cultivated the connection with Persia; and, in the latter particularly, as he had been recently informed, the fury of the two factions had risen to such a height, that a frightful massacre was daily apprehended. The presence of the king, however, prevented that catastrophe: and assuming the direction of affairs, he mediated so successfully, between the democratical leaders and their opponents, that he had little difficulty in restoring the wonted form of government, and in giving efficacy to the voice of law. Desirous of popularity, and knowing its vast importance to him, in the pressing circumstances in which he was then placed, Alexander made, on this occasion, a considerable sacrifice of financial means, in order to secure the affections of his Ephesian subjects. Whilst under the Persian dominion, these Asiatic Greeks were accustomed to pay an annual tribute to the satrap of their province; a burden, it seems, from which they were not exempted even when enjoying the more natural protection of Athens and Lacedæmon. Unwilling, however, to remit their taxes altogether, and doubtful of the expediency of demanding them for the use of his own treasury, Alexander gave orders that the sums formerly act apart for the Persian monarch, should now be devoted to the service of Diana, and, in particular, employed in repairing the temple of that goddess, in which the Ephesians had long found so much to gratify at once their pride and their superstition.

Miletus, situated in the province of Caria, still owned the Persian dominion, and was now become an object of very considerable importance, not only to the present rulers of it, as the means of protecting the extensive territory that lay beyond it, but also to Alexander, whose views upon Asia rendered it a matter of

no small consequence, to deprive the fleets of his enemy of all ports on the Ægean sea. A large navy was, indeed, already prepared to act against the confederated powers on the coast of Lydia and Caria; with the intention, not only of affording aid to such towns on the sea-coast as might happen to be attacked, but also to intercept those supplies of men and arms, on which Alexander partly relied for carrying on his designs in the remoter provinces of the Asiatic peninsula. Having therefore settled affairs at Ephesus, the king of Macedonia proceeded forthwith to Miletus, prepared to lay siege to it immediately on his arrival; and so vigorously did he ply his battering rams, and the other means of assault supplied by his engineers, that in a few days the fortifications were reduced, and the garrison dispersed. It is worthy of remark too, that this achievement was accomplished in the sight of the Persian fleet; which, although greatly superior to the small armament which the Macedonians had on the coast, allowed an important town to fall, without making the slightest effort for its relief.

The success which had all along attended the arms of Alexander, neither slackened his exertions nor satisfied his ambition. The possession of Miletus only served to remind him that Halicarnassus had not yet submitted to the authority of Greece; and, moreover, that the great talents and zeal of the celebrated Memnon had been some time employed in strengthening its resources, and in adding discipline to the valour of its garrison. According to Arrian, this city was surrounded with a ditch thirty cubits wide, and fifteen deep, which, before engines could be advanced against the wall, it was necessary to fill up; an arduous undertaking, in the presence of an active enemy, who annoyed, without ceasing, the Macedonian soldiers, by throwing from above every species of missile weapon. The skill and perseverance of Alexander, however, at length prevailed. After a number of sallies by the garrison, attended with various fortune and heavy loss, the commander, Memnon, found himself reduced to adopt the hazardous expedient of withdrawing his troops by night, and of covering his retreat by setting fire to the engines and machinery which he had used in defending the ramparts. A part of the town was involved in the flames; but the citizens, among whom there were many friendly to the Macedonian cause, were, by the humane policy of the conqueror, saved from the horrors of an assault. The castle, into which Memnon had thrown a portion of his army, was indeed still prepared to resist the arms of Alexander; but the latter, unwilling to waste what remained of the season in reducing a fortress, strong by situation, and diligently supplied with all the means for sustaining a long siege, and satisfied, at the same time, that the garrison was too small to occasion any danger to the acquisitions which he had already made, immediately directed his attention to matters of higher consequence. He commanded his engineers, says Arrian, to convey the artillery to Tralles, which city he soon laid level with the ground; and marching thence into Phrygia, left a body of three thousand foot, and two hundred horse, under the command of Ptolemy, to keep the province of Caria in obedience—a portion of his conquests, of which he committed the ostensible government to Ada, a native princess, who had at first thrown herself upon his generosity and protection.

Biography.

From
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3648.
—
B. C.
356.
to
A. M.
3681.
—
B. C.
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Determined not to allow either to himself or to his enemies the usual respite afforded by the arrival of winter, the King of Macedon made known to the army his intention of advancing eastward to meet Darius, on the confines of Syria, should he think proper to take the field in the spring; and, in the meantime, to complete the reduction of all the Persian cities within the boundaries of Asia Minor. To remove, however, the most obvious ground of objection and murmuring among the soldiers, in the prospect of a winter's campaign, he allowed such of them as had been lately married to return home, to pass that season with their wives; giving the command of this domestic party to three of his general officers, Ptolemy, Coenus, and Melaeger, who likewise happened to have recently entered into the estate of matrimony.

Having completed these arrangements, and having despatched Parmenio to take post at Sardis, in order to preserve entire the communication between Macedonia and the army during their progress eastward, Alexander commenced his march through Lycia and Pamphylia, with the design, as Arrian informs us, of reducing all the towns on the sea-coasts, and by that means of rendering useless the enemies' fleet. Upon his entrance in the former of the two provinces just named, the four principal cities of the country, Telmessus, Pinara, Xanthus, and Patara, readily submitted; and thirty smaller towns almost immediately followed their example. Continuing his march in the very depth of winter, he was met by deputies from Phaselis, the principal town of the Lower Lycia, who, presenting him with a golden crown, solicited his friendship and protection. He then passed, continues the accurate historian of Alexander's expedition, into the province of Phaselis, which he reduced, as also a certain fort which the Pisidians had built there; whence the barbarians were wont, by frequent incursions, to harass and lay waste the country around.

Conspiracy
against the
life of
Alexander.

Whilst Alexander was at Phaselis, intelligence was brought to him of a plot against his life, concerted, as it was said, by his namesake, the son of Atropus, whom he had so generously admitted into his friendship at his accession to the throne, and even appointed to the command of the Thessalian horse. The Macedonian prince Amyntas, son of Antiochus, who had fled to the court of Persia, was also engaged in this conspiracy; and under pretence of sending letters to the satrap of Phrygia, he despatched a nobleman named Antiochus to the treacherous Alexander, assuring him that if he would procure the murder of the King, he should have the crown of Macedonia conferred upon him, besides a gratuity of a thousand talents of silver. The Persian messenger, however, was seized by Parmenio, under whose immediate command the son of Atropus was at that time serving, and having confessed the real nature of his embassy, was forthwith sent a prisoner to the head-quarters of the unsuspecting King, that he might reveal in his personal hearing the actual intentions of the conspirators. No doubt being entertained that the general of the Thessalian horse was implicated in the evil intentions of Amyntas and the Persian court, it was resolved in the council which Alexander summoned on the occasion, to send a private messenger to Parmenio, with verbal instructions to supersede him in his command, and retain his person in safe custody.

Having discharged this unpleasant duty, which, it should seem, he was induced to perform rather in compliance with the wishes of his army, than to gratify his personal fears or dislike, Alexander resumed his progress; and, advancing from Lycia into Pamphylia, along the line of the sea-coast, he had an opportunity of profiting by one of those natural contingencies which the ancients were much in the habit of ascribing to divine interposition. At a certain part of the road the mountainous ridge of Taurus projected into the sea, and thereby, except in a particular state of the wind, precluded all passage along the beach; and as it fortunately happened that the wind, which had blown a great while from the south, carrying the waves with great violence into the bay, changed to the north, as the Macedonians approached, and thus drove back the billows towards the deep, leaving a clear path between the sea and the rock, the enterprise of Alexander was regarded by all who witnessed this simple occurrence as sufficiently pious to merit the favour of the gods, and as sufficiently important to demand their interference.

An occurrence, unnoticed by Arrian, is here mentioned by Diodorus, which serves to throw some light on the character of the people who at that period occupied the hilly country which separates Lycia from the adjoining province on the east. As the baggage and cattle belonging to the Macedonian army were, under the protection of a small escort, passing through a valley commanded by the strong town of Marmara, the inhabitants, smitten with the love of spoil, issued forth from their hiding-places, and at once possessed themselves of the whole convoy. Halting his troops, Alexander returned to chastise these predatory barbarians, and, having applied his engines to their walls, was on the point of compelling a surrender, when the desperate plunderers, holding council among themselves, agreed on the horrible resolution to kill all the women, children, and old men, and then, by night, force their way across the besiegers' lines, to a place of refuge in the neighboring mountains. A general feast preceded the execution of this savage expedient. The best provision of meat and drink was produced, and all were invited to partake; when, having just allowed time for a hearty meal, a signal was given for the intended massacre, by setting fire to all the homes. Six hundred of the youth, however, had the humanity to refuse concurrence in the atrocious plot to murder their parents, wives, and children; and no mention is made by the historian to what extent the bloody purpose of the Marmareans was actually realised. The projected sally, however, was performed with considerable success; for it is stated, that the young men who were fortunate enough to execute their design, reached in safety the mountain fastnesses.

Marmareans destroy themselves to avoid punishment.

Having dispersed this nest of robbers, Alexander pursued his march towards Pergo, in Pamphylia. On the way he was met by commissioners from Aspendus, a town situated in the same province, who professed themselves ready to acknowledge his power, on the simple condition, that he would not burden their citizens with a garrison. To this proposal the king readily acceded; requiring, in return, that the horses annually sent to Persia in the name of tribute, should now be sent to him; and besides, that the Aspendians should advance to him a contribution of fifty talents,

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Biography. or about ten thousand pounds sterling. The depoties yielded their consent to these stipulations, on the part of Alexander; but whether the inhabitants of Aspendus thought the terms too hard, or whether their proposals for negotiation were merely intended to gain time, and prepare for resistance, certain it is, that they refused to deliver either horses or mules, and even denied admittance within their gates to the persons whom the Macedonian sent to demand them.

Such conduct could not be allowed to pass without severe punishment. Perga and Sida having been surrendered to him at discretion, Alexander directed his forces against Aspendus, and invested it without delay. Unable to resist, the inhabitants desired capitulation, offering to fulfil the conditions to which their deputies had bound them; but the Macedonian monarch, though unwilling to protract the siege, positively refused to listen to such terms. He required, moreover, together with the horses, double the amount of the sum which he named as a subsidy, a yearly tribute in mules, and subjection to a governor whom he should appoint to superintend their affairs.

But the attention of Alexander was soon after drawn to certain measures concerted by the indefatigable Memnon, who had now obtained command of the Persian fleet, with full powers to carry on a vigorous war in the Ægean. The Lacedæmonians, still obstinate in their refusal to join the Grecian confederacy, were, moreover, irritated by the success of the Macedonian arms in Asia Minor, and therefore not a little disposed to co-operate with the views of Memnon, in distracting the councils of the youthful conqueror. To effect this object, Agis, the king of Sparta, condescended to solicit the republican states of Peloponnesus, and had even prevailed with some of them to receive into their territory a considerable land force, engaged in the service of the Persian monarch. Meanwhile too, Darius himself was preparing to take the field with a powerful army, composed as well of Greeks as of Asiatics, in order to meet Alexander, if he should advance, or to pursue him, should he be compelled to retreat.

Informed of these circumstances, the Macedonian ruler discovered the necessity of assembling the different divisions of his army, and of meeting the reinforcements which he expected from Greece. Gordium, the ancient capital of Lower Phrygia, was the place appointed for mustering such of his soldiers as had wintered at home, who, according to instructions received, were expected to join early in the spring, bringing with them a body of recruits. To that city he directed his steps, over part of the high grounds of Taurus, where he had to conquer the furious but ill-coordinated opposition of several hordes of predatory mountaineers, who attempted to prevent his march through their country. Having reached Celæne, the principal town of the Greater Phrygia, he found the inhabitants ready to acknowledge him as their head, being indifferent whether they paid tribute and owned subjection to a Persian or Macedonian sovereign. This province was accordingly added to his conquests; whilst the rapid progress of his arms, whether employed against the roving barbarians of the Taurian ridge, or the more civilised natives of the Lycian plains, had already increased so much the terror and fascination associated with his name, that the appear-

ance of his standard was in many cases equivalent to a victory.

Before, however, he had completed his march to Gordium, intelligence was conveyed to him of the active proceedings of Memnon in the Ægean. Chios had already yielded to his powerful fleet; and in Lesbos, Mitylene was the only town which held out against him, and prevented the progress of his formidable armament to the Hellespont itself, whence he threatened an immediate attack on the hereditary dominions of Alexander. Antipater, who was left at Pella with the power of regent, employed indeed all the means which he could command, in order to raise such a navy as would protect the Macedonian shores; but had not Memnon died, while as yet he was only beginning to realise his extensive plans, the Grecian confederacy must have recalled their general from his victorious career in Asia, to combat the Persian legions within the limits of Europe. The loss of Memnon, however, defeated the views of Darius in the invasion of Greece.

Intelligence of the death of Memnon, and of the withdrawal of the Persian land forces from the Ægean, relieved Alexander from all apprehensions in regard to his own kingdom, as well as the states of his allies; whilst the movement of the Persian Greeks from all quarters to join the standard of the great king in the east, marked out for him the point to which his attention was to be principally directed. It was now obviously the purpose of Darius to employ his whole strength for the recovery of his lost dominions; and it therefore became the business of Alexander to provide for the maintenance and defence of that great peninsula which he had already overrun; an object which he was most likely to accomplish, by meeting the Persian king on its eastern boundary, or even beyond the mountain range which separates it from the plains of Syria and Mesopotamia. Limiting his stay, therefore, at Celæne to ten days, he proceeded to Gordium, where, as we have already stated, he meant to collect his army, and adopt such measures as might be rendered necessary by the hostile attitude recently assumed by the government of Persia.

A story is told of the Macedonian hero, during his residence at Gordium, which the gravest historians have not disdained to preserve in their pages. Plutarch tells us, that upon taking this town, which is said to have been the seat of the ancient Midas, he found the famed chariot fastened with chords, made of the cornel tree; and was informed of a tradition firmly believed among the barbarians, that "the fates had decreed the empire of the world to him who should untie the knot." This, as most historians state, was twisted so many private ways, and the ends of it were so artfully concealed, that Alexander, finding he could not untie it, cut it asunder with his sword, and made many ends instead of two. But Aristobolus affirms, that he easily untied it, by taking out the pin which fastened the yoke to the beam, and then drawing out the yoke itself.

This place is also remarkable for an embassy, sent by the Athenians to Alexander, requesting him to release those of their citizens, who had been taken at the Granicus, fighting under the banner of the king of Persia, and who, according to Arrian, were then with

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Biography. two thousand others, detained prisoners in Macedonia. For very obvious reasons the prayer of this petition was refused. He did not, says the historian, think it advisable, while the Persians yet continued, to remove from the Greeks that salutary fear which would prevent them from taking up arms for barbarians, against their own countrymen; on which account he dismissed the deputies, with the assurance, that as soon as the war was finished to his mind, he would listen to their solicitations in behalf of their citizens who had fallen into his hands.

The news was from time to time reiterated, that Darius, at the head of a large army, had commenced his march westward, and was already crossing the great desert, with the intention of repelling the Macedonian invader. To secure his conquests in the Lesser Asia, and to be able to sustain with success, the immense pressure of military force, which was arrayed against him, it appeared to Alexander absolutely necessary, that he should possess the great chain of mountains on the eastern confines, where several strong posts might be occupied, and the advance of the enemy essentially retarded. But within that boundary, two important provinces, Cappadocia, and Paphlagonia, still acknowledged the Persian dominion; the former of which, commanded one side of the pass by which, almost exclusively, a large army could cross the ridge of Taurus, and have free communication, between the Lesser and the Greater Asia. To effect this important acquisition, however, there was no need to have recourse to arms. As soon as Alexander had reached Ancyra, an embassy from the Paphlagonians, soliciting his friendship, relieved him from the painful alternative of compelling their subjection; and Cappadocia, in like manner, unwilling to trust to the hazard of war, received a governor, appointed by the Macedonians, and owned the confederated Greeks as their paramount sovereigns.

The province of Cilicia was now the only portion of Asia Minor, that owned subjection to the Persian empire; and against this important district, commanding an extensive line of coast on the Mediterranean sea, the Macedonians now resolved to conduct their victorious phalanx. Advancing with his usual rapidity to cross the mountains at what was called the Gate of Taurus, Alexander was informed that a strong body of the enemy had already occupied the pass, and were prepared to dispute his further progress towards the south. Without a moment's delay, he made arrangements for attacking them in the course of the ensuing night; but the Persians, intimidated by the fame of his valour and military skill, retreated before the break of day, and left an open passage to his army into the maritime plains of Cilicia. Tarsus, the capital, soon opened its gates: the governor, Arsames, having fled with the garrison to meet his master Darius, and to carry to him the ominous intelligence, that the Persians had hardly any longer a foot of ground to stand on, or a strong-hold to flee unto, in all the rich provinces of the Asiatic peninsula.

It was at Tarsus that Alexander was seized with that memorable fever which had so nearly proved fatal to him, and which was the means of affording to the Persians considerable advantages in the choice of their ground, before the decisive battle of Issus. This severe illness is ascribed by Aristobulus to mere

fatigue, sustained by the king in his forced march from Cappadocia into Cilicia. Other writers, however, inform us, that it was the consequence of an unseasonable use of the cold bath in the city of Tarsus; for arriving there greatly heated, and admiring the cleanness of the river Cydnos which flows through the town, and knowing that it was celebrated for its coolness in the summer heats, as coming in rapid course from the snowy mountains of Taurus, he plunged into the current and amused himself some time with swimming. He was soon after seized with the violent fever of which we have just spoken, and was so extremely ill that his life seems to have been despaired of by all, except by his able and favourite physician, Philip the Acarnanian. Whilst the latter was preparing a draught for his patient, a communication arrived from the general Parmenio, advising the king to beware of Philip, who, it was believed, had been bribed by Darius to poison him. Alexander had hardly finished perusing the letter, when the physician presented to him the potion: and taking the cup from his hand, the royal patient desired him to read the note which he had just received, and while he was yet reading, says Arrian, the king swallowed the draught, perceiving by the undisturbed countenance of the Acarnanian that he entertained no design against his life. Nor were the skill and honesty of Philip long in doubt; for the rapid recovery of the king proved that Parmenio's information was groundless, and the infidelity of the physician a malignant calumny.

His first movement upon his restoration to health was to despatch Parmenio with a competent force to occupy the pass which leads into Syria, with the view either of preventing the enemy from entering, or of reserving to himself the power of carrying the war beyond the mountain barrier. In the mean time, with a body of light troops he turned aside into the hilly country of Cilicia, to consolidate his government over the wandering tribes which inhabited that portion of the province. The first day's march brought him to Anebialus, a town said to have been built by Sardanapalus the king of Assyria, and which, by its extent and the magnificence of its fortifications, continued to bear evidence to the traditional character of that monarch's mind. A monument representing this luxurious sovereign was still found there; warranted, as Mr. Mitford expresses it, by an inscription in the old Assyrian language, to which, whether well or ill interpreted, the Greeks gave the following meaning: "Sardanapalus, the son of Anacyndaraxes, in one day founded Anebialus and Tarsus. Eat, drink, play: all other human joys are not worth a filipp." Leaving Anebialus, the conqueror proceeded to Sali, where he imposed a contribution of about forty thousand pounds, and stationed a garrison. Thence he advanced to Megurus, where he sacrificed to Minerva; and afterwards to Mallus, a colony originally peopled from Argos, where he succeeded in attaching the inhabitants to the Macedonian interest, by granting them an immunity from the tribute formerly paid to the Persian government.

Alexander was still at Mallus when information reached him that Darius had crossed the plain of Syria, and was already encamped near Sochi, about two days march from that pass in the mountains

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It is not concealed by Aristotolus and Ptolemy, the authorities whom Arrian avowedly follows, that this movement on the part of the Persians, created some degree of agitation among the Macedonian counsellors who surrounded the king. Decisive measures were obviously necessary to obviate the fatal effects which might result from this neglect to occupy the Amanic pass, and thereby allow their flank to be turned; and Alexander accordingly, with that promptitude and self-possession which characterised all his proceedings, instantly resolved to retrace his steps, and secure at least the command of the pass by which he had entered Syria, and which was now more than ever necessary, to maintain his communication with his friends in Greece. To palliate the real motives for this retrograde movement, he told his army that the step which Darius had taken was precisely that which they should most have desired; that he had certainly followed the worst advice which had been offered to him, or rather that some divine impulse had led him to marshal his force in a place, where its greatness could neither be displayed nor called efficaciously into action; that his cavalry would be useless, and his light troops, armed with missile weapons, absolutely unserviceable. He concluded by assuring them that the Deity had clearly demonstrated his intention that victory should be theirs, and that the Persian empire should pass into their hands.

The main object contemplated by the Persians, was unquestionably to prevent the return of Alexander to Cilicia; and for this purpose they took ground near the Syrian gate, by which, they knew, he would endeavour to effect his retreat across the mountains, should he finally resolve on that measure. A river called Pinarus, issues from the highland district, in the neighbourhood of the pass now described, and, after flowing some distance in a westerly course, diverges to the south, and falls into the Mediterranean. On the northern bank of this celebrated stream, Darius drew up his army in battle array, his right extending to the sea, and his left occupying a very strong position at the foot of the mountains. Alexander formed his troops on the opposite bank, with his right supported by the high ground which bounded the plain, and his left by the sea, or bay of Issus, which spread out towards the west. It is remarked by Mitford, who, on such occasions, speaks with the precision of a practiced soldier, that as the Persian army occupied

the exterior of the curve formed by the river, the inferior or shorter curve was left for the Macedonians. Having ascertained his adversary's formation, the hero of the Granicus placed his own formidable phalanx to oppose the Greeks in the Persian service. His republican Greeks he divided on each flank, to oppose the Cardaces and the cavalry. The command of his left wing, occupying the ground next the sea, where cavalry might act advantageously on either side of the stream, and where the powerful charge of the Persian horse might be expected, he committed to the veteran Parmenio. The immediate command of the right wing he took upon himself, with the apparently desperate purpose, it seemed, of forcing the strong position of the enemy's left, should they not be imprudent enough to descend from their vantage ground and attack him.

Nothing is more perplexing, when examining the statements of ancient history, than to arrive at correct notions, in regard to numbers; and more particularly in regard to the number of men who fought or fell, in any given battle. It is recorded in the present instance, for example, both by Arrian and Diodorus, that the Persian army amounted to more than half a million; a computation which, if it apply to the fighting men whom Darius conducted across the Syrian desert, must exceed not a little the bounds of all probability. Mr. Mitford confining himself to the details of the former writer, and summing up the number of the several bodies specified by him, as holding a place either in the march or in the battle, reduces the amount to about one hundred and forty thousand combatants, of which nearly one-third was cavalry. The difficulty is nearly as great in attempting to ascertain the precise number of the warriors who fought in the army of the confederated Greeks. In the absence of all documents on which to found an accurate calculation, it has been conjectured with much probability, that the forces which Alexander led to the Syrian gate, were at least as numerous as those with which he crossed the Hellespont. Taking this computation at the highest, there was still an immense disparity between the contending hosts; for, from the concurring testimony of the best authors, it seems clearly established, that the Macedonians, with their allies, did not exceed forty thousand men.

Arrayed as we have just described, both armies for some time kept their ground, unwilling apparently by any rash movement to put to unnecessary hazard the fortune of that important day. Alexander, it is manifest, had expected that the Persians would begin the action on their left, and, in this view, had drawn to his right the most efficient of his cavalry: and it was not till he found that they were resolved to direct the principal weight of their charge against the wing under Parmenio, that he despatched his Thessalian horse, and a chosen body of foot, to sustain the attack meditated in that quarter, whilst he himself, at the head of his light armed troops, advanced to drive the enemy from the heights which they had occupied on their left. Crowned with success in this bold manœuvre, he seized the moment of confusion which ensued, to march the phalanx of allied Greeks across the stream, and instantly fell upon the Persian line with such determined valour, that the Cardaces, who composed it, soon turned their backs and left the field. The Macedonian phalanx which was placed in

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opposition to the Persian Greeks, the best troops which served under Darius, seems to have waited this event as the prescribed signal for advancing to the attack; and accordingly, moving forward, these renowned soldiers of Alexander dashed into the current, to decide the fate of two powerful sovereigns and to change the empire of the East. The conflict here was singularly obstinate and bloody. The mercenary Greeks, trained under the experienced Memnon, and commanded by approved officers, highly accomplished in the art of war, were formidable adversaries even to the phalangites of Macedonia. These men, says Arrian, solicitous, though in a foreign service, to shew themselves worthy of the ancient fame of their nation, as the Macedonians were to maintain their new renown, occasioned to the latter a dearly-bought victory. One general and a hundred and twenty-five officers of inferior rank were killed. But, as Mitford well observes, Alexander's first bold measure proved the key of victory. On the flight of the enemy's left, the Greeks of the confederacy occupied their ground, and thus placed a powerful division of troops on the flank of the Persian Greeks, now actively engaged with the Macedonian phalanx in front. This celebrated body, sorely pressed, and suffering severely in the contest, was now relieved by the seasonable approach of their victorious allies; whilst the brave Greeks on the Persian side, unable to resist the combined assaults of two such masses of disciplined combatants, were nearly all put to the sword.

Meanwhile Darius was performing every thing that courage could dictate to the commander of a mighty army, fighting for the mastery of the Asiatic continent, as well as for the safety of his wives and daughters who were present in his camp. Mounted in his chariot with four horses abreast, he appeared conspicuously in the centre of his line, and mixed in the tumult and carnage which the onset of the heavy-armed foot had already carried into that part of his host. Being recognised by the Macedonians, he was so closely attacked and so vigorously pressed upon by the victorious phalanx, that his horses were wounded and rendered quite unmanageable; whilst the heaps of dead bodies and arms so impeded and alarmed them, that the king would in all probability have been carried into the enemy's ranks, but for the gallant exertion of his brother Oxathres, who at the head of a body of horse, charged the confederates with so much impetuosity, as to gain time for the servants of the household to bring up another chariot, into which the monarch immediately removed his person. The fortune of the field, however, being now determined in favour of the Macedonians on the right and centre of their army, the individual exertions of Darius would have been of no avail, even had he possessed all the skill and bravery, which some authors are willing to ascribe to him: for the Persians, destitute of that degree of discipline which enables soldiers to repair their broken ranks, whilst there remains any hope of victory, and to retreat in good order when that hope can no longer be entertained, no sooner saw their ruler turn his back upon the enemy, than they precipitated themselves from the field in a general rout, regardless of every thing except their personal safety. The cavalry on their right wing, indeed, attempted to redeem the character of Persian horsemen; having, according to Arrian,

maintained a severe conflict with the Thessalians under Parmenio, long after the main body of the Macedonians had crossed the river and repulsed the heavy-armed foot, in which Darius seems to have placed his chief confidence: nor was it until they perceived that a total discomfiture had been inflicted on the left and centre of their army, and that their sovereign himself was no longer on the ground to direct or encourage, that these brave troops relinquished a contest where, even the most complete success would have been of no avail.

Owing to the nature of the ground over which they had to pass, the Persians suffered severely in their flight, both from the close pursuit of the enemy, and from the confusion and panic which prevailed in their own ranks. It would appear that Darius had left the field some considerable time, before Alexander was made aware of his departure, or at least before he deemed it expedient to pursue him. At length, however, when victory was fully secured, the conqueror placed himself at the head of a body of cavalry with the view of overtaking the fugitive monarch; who appears to have retreated as far as the roads would permit, in his chariot of state, and afterwards to have mounted a horse, and hastened through the Amanic pass which led into Syria. The approach of night induced Alexander to desist from the pursuit; and carrying back with him the chariot of Darius, in which were found his shield, bow, and cloak, he returned to the Persian camp, now in the possession of the Macedonian soldiers, and proceeded to seek repose in the royal tent.

The number of the slain is so variously reported, that it is impossible to ascertain the exact amount; and it is somewhat remarkable at the same time, that the Grecian writers, whilst they affect much accuracy in regard to the Persian loss where they had small means of arriving at the truth, abstain from all particulars relative to the killed and wounded of the Macedonians, concerning whose casualties they might easily have obtained information. Arrian relates that of the army of Darius no fewer than an hundred thousand fell, including ten thousand cavalry. Diodorus estimates the loss at a hundred and twenty thousand foot, and ten thousand horse; whilst Orosius to ninety thousand slain adds forty thousand prisoners. The statement of Justin differs considerably from that of all other historians, as he reduces the killed to sixty-one thousand foot and ten thousand horse; agreeing, however, with Orosius in the number of captives. Of commanders possessing the highest rank, Arrian mentions the names of five who lost their lives; three of whom, Arsames, Rheomithres, and Atizyes, had fought as chiefs of cavalry at the battle of the Granicus.

Considering the obstinacy with which the conflict was maintained on the side of the Persians, particularly by the horsemen in their right wing, the loss sustained by the confederate army could not fail to be severe. Arrian, however, satisfies himself with informing us, that in the battle of the Issus, the Macedonians had one general killed, Ptolemy the son of Seleucus, and others of no mean account, to the number of one hundred and twenty. This very vague statement is by no means improved by the narrative of Quintus Curtius, who, with an appearance of detail, which only aggravates the improbability of his account, assures us that the loss of the army under

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There are several anecdotes connected with this memorable fight, which though differently told by the different authors who have related them, appear to have a solid foundation in fact. It is said, for example, that upon the return of Alexander from his pursuit of the Persian king, having in his possession, as we have already stated, the shield, bow, and elask, of that unfortunate prince, some one inconsiderately conveyed this intelligence to the wife, mother, and daughters of Darius, who were now prisoners in the camp, and who, concluding that he must have been killed, instantly raised a loud and very piteous lamentation. On learning the cause of their distress, Alexander humanely sent Leonatus, one of his principal officers, to inform them that Darius was not dead, but that on the contrary, as he had outstripped his pursuers, there was every reason to believe that he had reached a place of safety: adding an assurance on the part of the Macedonian commander, that the princesses would be treated by him, with the utmost delicacy, and in a manner becoming their royal rank; and that even towards the king himself, he entertained no personal enmity, farther than was implied in their contest for the dominion of Asia.

It is likewise reported, that Alexander, on the following day, taking with him his favourite general, Hephæstion, repaired to the tent of the captive ladies to pay them a visit of condolence. On entering the apartment together, without any one to announce him, the mother of Darius, mistaking the attendant for the prince, threw herself, after the Persian fashion, at the feet of Hephæstion, who, it should seem, appeared in her eyes the more dignified and guilely person. The general, drawing himself back, pointed to Alexander, who immediately relieved the embarrassment of the aged queen, by telling her, that she had committed no mistake, for that man, to whom she had paid her respects, was worthy to be esteemed his equal. Hephæstion, said he, is another Alexander. This passage, adds Arrian, I neither relate as truth, nor condemn as fiction: if it be true, the pity and indulgence shown by Alexander to the women, and the honour bestowed on his friend, deserve commendation; whilst, if we suppose them feigned and only related as probabilities, it is still honourable to him to have had such speeches and actions recorded by the writers of his own times, not only as being generally believed, but as consonant with the character which he bore among his contemporaries.

Arrian further informs us, that soon after the battle of Issus, a confidential eunuch in the service of the captive queen, found means to repair to her unfortunate husband, now returned to his capital. On his first appearance, Darius hastily asked whether his wife and children were alive; and when the messenger assured him that they were not only well, but treated with all the respect due to royal personages, the fears of the unfortunate monarch took another direction. The queen is said to have been the most beautiful woman in Persia; Darius's next question, therefore, was, whether his honour was still entire, or whether she had yielded to her own weakness, or the violence of others? The eunuch, protesting with solemn oaths, that she was as pure as when she parted from her husband, and adding that Alexander

was the best and most honourable of men, Darius Alexander. raised his hands towards heaven, and exclaimed, "O great God! who dispose of the affairs of kings among men, preserve to me the empire of the Persians and Medes as thou gavest it; but if it be thy will that I am no longer to be king of Asia, let Alexander, in preference to all others, succeed to my power." So powerfully, observes the historian, does generous conduct gain the affections even of an enemy.

The victory of Issus opened a passage for the confederates into the heart of Asia; but before proceeding eastward, Alexander thought it expedient to subject to his dominion the Persian provinces of Syria and Phœnicia. With this view, he despatched Parmenio, with a body of troops, to reduce Damascus, the principal city of the former district, in which, too, Darius had placed his treasury, and whither many of the fugitives, from the late battle, had fled for refuge. In this undertaking, the success of the Macedonian general was rewarded, not only with the capture of the military chest, destined to maintain the enemy's army and to secure the fidelity of their Grecian allies, but also with the seizure of several prisoners of importance, who had been commissioned to attend Darius by the party opposed to Alexander at Sparta, Athens, and Thebes. Indeed, one of the greatest advantages resulting from the recent splendid victory over the Persians was manifested in the complete disappointment of the republican faction in the three cities now named; where a correspondence was constantly maintained with the satraps of Darius, in order to distract the operations of Alexander, and even to invade his hereditary states. We have already remarked that a Persian fleet, under the command of Pharnabazus and Antiochus, was sent round to the Ægean, with the intention of aiding the Lacedæmonian king, Agis, in a descent upon Macedonia; whilst the immense armament, led by Darius himself, was advancing across the desert to repel the conqueror from the confines of Syria. But the issue of the conflict between the grand armies thwarted all the arrangements entered into at Sparta. The Persian fleet almost immediately left the shores of Peloponnesus, and directed its course to the southern coast of Asia Minor; relieving thereby the apprehensions of the king of Macedon, in regard to the safety of his native territory, and securing to him the most perfect liberty to pursue his conquests in the Syrian provinces, and ultimately in Egypt.

Whilst, therefore, Parmenio advanced upon Damascus, Alexander led the rest of his army towards the coast of Phœnicia. The main object of the conqueror in following this route, was to reduce the city of Tyre; a place of great importance as a maritime station, and whence, as he was well aware, the Persian navies derived their best recruits and most abundant supplies. Before, however, he engaged in the famous siege, by which he found it necessary to subvert the power of this mistress of the seas, a deputation from Darius overtook him at Marathus, charged with offers of friendship and alliance, and with a request, as from a king to a king, that his wife and daughters might be released. The answer of Alexander, it is well known, was extremely haughty and threatening. He accused the Persian monarch of

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3648.
—
R. C.
356.
to
A. M.
3681.
—
R. C.
323.

Biography. Intriguing with the Greeks, and even of having countenanced the conspiracy for assassinating his father Philip. He recounted all the injuries which the Macedonians had sustained, or had cause to fear, at the hands of the Persian faction in the republican states, and concluded by announcing to Darius his pretensions to the sovereignty of all Asia, and his readiness to treat with him as a vassal prince. As lord paramount of the east, the young hero invited the vanquished king of the Medes and Persians to come personally to him and prefer his requests. "If you have any apprehension for your safety, send a confidential person to receive my plighted faith. When with me, ask for your wife and children, and whatever else you may desire, and you shall have all: ask freely; nothing shall be refused. But whenever, hereafter, you would communicate with me, I must be addressed as king of Asia, lord of all you possess, and of all you can desire; otherwise I shall consider myself unduly treated. If you propose yet to dispute with me the sovereignty of Asia, be it so, and prepare for my approach: I shall seek you wherever you may happen to fix your quarters."

Proceeding southward to Tyre, Alexander was met by the son of the governor, accompanied by some of the principal townsmen, offering him allegiance, but refusing, on any account, to allow him to enter within their walls. Aware of their disposition, and sensible, at the same time, that it would not be prudent to advance into Egypt, leaving so powerful an enemy behind him, he submitted to his officers a proposal either to demand from the Tyrians an unequivocal avowal of their alliance, or in the event of their refusal, to compel them by force of arms to open their gates.

we cannot enter into the details of the memorable siege which followed. The insular situation of the town, at the distance of half a mile from the shore, gave the Tyrians many opportunities of defence, and numerous advantages in repelling the invader, which directed by an unusual degree of skill and courage, had nearly baffled all the efforts of Alexander. A mole, stretching from the mainland to the island, facilitated the operations of the conqueror; but it was not till he had obtained a fleet, and trained his men to fight on shipboard, that he found himself a match for the expert sailors of Tyre, who destroyed his works as fast as he erected them, and burnt his towers and machines before they could be brought to act against their ramparts. At length, after a siege of seven months, the Macedonians took the city by storm, putting eight thousand of the inhabitants to the sword, and reducing to slavery not fewer than thirty thousand, who had survived the horrors of the bombardment and the carnage of the last assault.

It was while Alexander lay before Tyre, that a second deputation reached him from Darius; bringing the offer of ten thousand talents, about two millions sterling, for the ransom of his family, and proposing a treaty of peace and alliance. To further this last object, the Persian offered the additional inducement of his daughter in marriage, and all the country between the Euphrates and Mediterranean sea, in name of dowry. The proposal was, as usual, submitted to his council; and it was on this occasion, according to the concurrent testimony of historians, that the Macedonian prince pronounced, in

reply to one of his generals, the pithy expression Alexander, which has been so often repeated, and so inconsiderately admired. "If I were Alexander," said Parmenio, "I would accept the terms."—"And I," rejoined Alexander, "were I Parmenio."

The answer returned to Darius was so harsh, so destitute of feeling, and withal, so unlike the romantic generosity of Alexander's character, that we readily participate in the doubts entertained by Mr. Mitford, as to the genuineness of the expression in which it is conveyed. He replied to the ambassadors, says Arrian, "that he did not want Darius's money, and that he would not accept of a part of his empire when he had a right to the whole; and as to his daughter, he would marry her, if he pleased, without her father's consent; but that if he had a wish to put his humanity to the proof, he might come and see him in person."

Gaza was now the only town in Syria which intervened between the Macedonian and his views upon Egypt. It occupied a strong position in the midst of deep sand, which rendered approach to it on all sides extremely difficult; but as Alexander was resolved to leave behind him no fortress of any consequence in the hands of the enemy, he instantly adopted measures for its reduction. The garrison, according to the statement of Arrian, consisted of Arabians, hired for the purpose by Betis, the governor, who likewise had laid up an immense stock of provisions to enable him to hold out during the long siege which the obstinacy of the Macedonians in their investment of Tyre, had prepared him to expect. But no precautions were found sufficient against the resolute bravery of Alexander. The place was taken by storm after a gallant defence on the part of the citizens; who, when they saw the enemy within their walls, collected together in a body, and fought till every man lost his life on the spot on which he stood. The women and children were, as usual, sold for slaves to reward the toils of the conquerors; and the town itself was bestowed upon the partizans of Macedonia, who forthwith, founded a colony amidst the ruins of its buildings.

The fall of Gaza was rendered memorable by a wound which Alexander received whilst conducting an assault against the ramparts, and which has been recorded by historians with all the accompaniments of credulity and superstition, usual on such occasions. Plutarch, whose love of the marvellous had no bounds, relates a variety of particulars concerning it, full of augury and omens; but the only thing which admits of no doubt, is the fact that the captain-general of Greece was severely wounded in leading up his men to the enemy's walls, at a period of the siege so extremely critical, that personal example and encouragement had become absolutely necessary.

Syria, including Judaea, Samaria, and Phoenicia, being now added to the conquests of Alexander, he lost no time in directing his march towards the richer and more important provinces of Egypt. Arriving before Pelusium, the key of that country, he summoned it to surrender; upon which the Persian deputy, unable to resist the power of the conqueror of Tyre and Gaza, and finding the Egyptians heartily disposed for a change of masters, immediately delivered that strong-hold into his hands, together with the whole of the territory which, at that period, acknowledged

From
A. M.
3648.

n. e.
356.
to
A. M.
3681.
n. e.
323.

From
A. M.
3648.

n. e.
356.
to
A. M.
3681.
n. e.
323.

Gaza taken
by assault.

Tyre taken
by assault.

n. e.
332.
o. e.
112. 1

Biography. the dominion of the great king. Thus, in the course of a few days, did the Macedonian chief obtain possession of that wealthy and powerful nation which had so long defied the force of the Persian empire; thereby excluding the navies of the Asiatic monarch from all the shores of the *Ægean* and *Mediterranean* seas, and also securing to himself the command of the vast trade, and other resources, of which the Arabian gulf had already become the principal channel. It was, perhaps, at this period, that for the first time, his mind opened to the numerous advantages which would redound to his extensive dominions from the establishment, in *Egypt*, of a regular emporium for the commerce of the east. It is certain, at all events, that from this epoch, he turned his attention to those magnificent plans for laying the foundation of a permanent intercourse between *India* and the states of the west, which reflect so much honour on his discernment and patriotism.

Determined to employ the first moments of peace in surveying the vast country which he had so easily acquired, he proceeded up the Nile as far as *Heliopolis*, and crossing the river at that point, returned by the way of *Memphis*; where, we are told, he had immediate recourse to all his arts of popularity, with the view of gaining the affections of his new subjects. Having next examined the several mouths of the *Egyptian* river, and considered the comparative advantages of *Pelusium* and *Canopus*, he rejected both as unsuitable for the great object which he had in view. At length, passing to the western side of the branch on which the latter city stood, he made choice of a site between the river and lake *Mareotis*; and there he resolved to build a town, which in point of magnificence and commodiousness, should eclipse all similar works on either shore of the *Mediterranean*. To *Dinocrates* he committed the design and execution of his new city; which, as if he had wished to attach his reputation to the labours of peace and improvement, rather than to those of war and desolation, he named after himself, and called it *Alexandria*.

The resolution of this wonderful man to visit the temple of *Jupiter Ammon*, has never been clearly explained, or traced to motives such as usually influenced his sagacious mind. *Arrian* merely informs us that *Alexander*, about this time, was smitten with a desire to visit that famous temple, and to consult the oracle; because *Perseus* and *Hercules* had formerly consulted the god, and because he counted these personages among his ancestors. As was to be expected, a number of supernatural occurrences distinguished this expedition. Rain fell miraculously from heaven to quench the thirst of the exhausted Macedonians whilst travelling through the desert; and when they had lost their way amidst the trackless sand, a couple of dragons or large serpents, appeared in order to conduct them to the sacred territory of *Ammon*. It was worthy of remark, that whilst *Ptolemy* describes these guides as belonging to the species of animals we have just named, his brother officer, *Aristobulus*, who was also of the party, informs his readers that they owed this seasonable interposition to a pair of ravens. *Rooke*, in his notes attached to *Arrian's* history, indulges in much absurd merriment, in regard to these divine heralds, whilst he seems altogether incapable of penetrating the mystery which

is occasioned by the use of this figurative language. The learned *Bryant*, on the contrary, proceeding on the fact that both the serpent and the raven were symbolical of sacred things among the Egyptians, conceives that such names might be given to different orders of priests, who, in their turn, might act as guides to the devotees whose zeal led them to cross the *Lybian* desert. A more natural explication of the passage has been suggested by an annotator on *Strabo*, who reminds us, that in a wilderness destitute of water, the flight of birds is commonly held as a sure indication of the existence of woods and fountains in the neighbourhood towards which it is directed.

Arrived at the land of *Ammon*, which is described as a green and pleasant spot in the arid waste, the Macedonian prince was received with the respect becoming his high rank, and with that reverence to which his great piety had entitled him. The answer of the oracle, of which we are told nothing more than that it was satisfactory, seems not to have come down to the time of *Arrian*; and there is moreover, much reason to believe that the response to be delivered from the holy shrine, was the least important object which *Alexander* had in view, when he undertook a march of more than three hundred miles over the moving sands of an African wilderness. It is not to be imagined that such a man as he could allow his mind to fall a prey to the absurd vanity of obtaining from the oracle, an assurance that his parentage was divine; or that there could be any ground for the puerilities narrated by *Plutarch* and *Quintus Curtius*, as having been played off by the juggling priests, to gratify their illustrious visitor. No character of antiquity could employ more successfully than the son of *Philip*, those passions and weaknesses of the human race, which have their origin in superstitious fears and anticipations; but, on no occasion, does he appear to have yielded to them so far himself, as to become the dupe, either of prophets or of the interpreters of prophecies.

Upon his return to *Memphis*, the king of *Macedon* arranged the affairs of his extensive government, and appointed presidents of his newly acquired provinces; keeping in view his great object, the conquest of *Persia*, which was about to engage all the powers of his active mind, as well as all the resources of the confederated states. In the spring of the year he proceeded to *Tyre*, where the naval and military forces which he had raised in *Macedonia*, or which were intrusted to his command by the Grecian republics, had been ordered to assemble. Having transacted business here with certain commissioners from *Athens* and other allied cities, he put his army in motion, in order to commence his third Asiatic campaign, and to complete the subjugation of the *Persian* monarchy.

In the beginning of *June*, in the year noted in the margin, the Macedonian hero reached the *Euphrates*, having performed his march thither without any opposition. At *Thapsacus*, where he intended to cross that celebrated barrier of the *Persian* territory, he found the bridges broken down, and about four thousand horsemen manœuvring on the opposite bank; stationed there, however, rather to observe his motions, than to dispute his passage, for they immediately retired upon ascertaining his purpose to transport his troops to the eastern side. Meeting no

Alexander visits the temple of Jupiter Ammon

Alexander.
From A. M. 3648.
—
B. C. 356.
to A. M. 3681.
—
B. C. 323.

a. c. 331.
ol.
112. 1.
Crosses the Euphrates.

Biography.

From
A. M.
3648.
—
D. C.
356.
to
A. M.
3681.
—
B. C.
323.

hostile force, Alexander advanced along the northern border of Mesopotamia; in the course of which march, he learned from certain prisoners taken by his mounted skirmishers, that Darius had already occupied a strong position on the further bank of the Tigris, where he seemed disposed to await the approach of his adversary. It had been the intention of the confederates, as suggested by Alexander, to proceed at once to Babylon, to strike a decisive blow at the very heart of the empire; but no sooner were they informed of the situation and apparent views of the Persian king, than they yielded to the advice of their able commander, and immediately directed their march towards the Tigris, in order to bring on a battle.

Pursuing the line of the river now named, the fourth day brought the Macedonians in sight of the enemy, who appeared to be retreating still farther into the southern provinces, either with a view of falling back upon his resources, or of exhausting the army of Alexander by fatiguing marches. Darius, however, was so closely pressed, that he could not any longer follow this judicious system. It was now necessary for him to hazard a battle; and he therefore proceeded to make preparations for it, with considerable skill and foresight, and with a due reference to the nature of the ground where he was posted, and the character of the troops under his command. Leaving his heavy baggage and military chest in the fortified town of Arbela, he made choice of a field about six miles off, on the banks of the Bumadus, a stream which falls into the Tigris, where the open plain appeared suitable for the action of his numerous cavalry, and particularly of his armed chariots.

In estimating the number of troops engaged in this memorable conflict, we are, as usual, puzzled with the various and inconsistent statements of the several Grecian historians. Arrian, indeed, favours us with a very minute muster-roll of the different nations which fought under the standard of the great King, as well as with the names of the respective commanders who conducted them to the war; but he is, at the same time, so extremely neglectful in regard to the actual numbers which every tribe brought into the field, that we have no means of satisfying ourselves as to the accuracy of the total amount of the Persian force, with which Alexander had to cope at Gaugamela. This historian relates that the infantry under Darius, was not short of a million; whilst the cavalry, according to his estimate, amounted to forty thousand, the armed chariots to two hundred, and the elephants to about fifteen; a computation which is evidently as much exaggerated, as the Macedonian army engaged in this battle is diminished; the numbers of the latter being reduced as low as forty thousand foot, and seven thousand horse.

The invader having granted to his soldiers a rest of four days, began to fortify his camp and make preparations for an attack on the enemy's lines. At the second watch of the fifth night, accordingly, he drew out his forces, with the intention, as it should seem, of lending them against the Persians by break of day; but having advanced about half the distance which intervened between the two camps, and reaching the summit of some small hills which had concealed each host from the other, Alexander perceived so many tokens of defensive preparation on

the part of his adversary, that he thought it expedient to halt and summon a council of war. The majority of the commanders were for an immediate attack: Parmenio, however, opposed himself to that rash opinion, and advised the king to examine well the nature of the ground on which they were about to risk their safety and reputation, and by all means to postpone the attack till night. The advice of this faithful veteran coincided, in this instance, with the judgment of his royal master; who, repressing his usual ardour and impetuosity, spent the day in viewing the several bearings of the field, and in securing himself against the use of stratagem or any other undue advantage on the side of the Persians. Both armies appear to have remained at their posts, ready for battle, till the next morning; when each, desirous to bring to a decision the momentous interests which were suspended on the fortune of the day, advanced slowly to meet the other.

The action commenced with the cavalry and chariots, and soon became general throughout both lines, and sanguinary in the extreme. Arrian admits that the battle was for some time doubtful. The Scythian horse, well armed and remarkably brave, pressed hard on the Greeks, and even compelled them to give ground; but discipline and skill at length prevailed over numbers and courage. The Macedonian phalanx advancing to the charge, overthrew the Persian foot, and created so much confusion in their ranks, that Darius was carried off the field among the fugitives, and, according to Arrian, set an early example of flight and despondency.

The fortune of the day, however, was not yet quite determined, and the eagerness of Alexander to secure the person of their unhappy monarch, had nearly thrown the victory into the hands of the Persians. Having weakened his left wing in order to make a more efficient attack with his right, he instantly commenced pursuit at the head of his victorious cavalry; leaving the former wing exposed to a furious charge from a large body of the enemy's horse under Mazæus. This officer, who seems to have been one of the most active in the Persian service, broke through a double line of phalangites, commanded by Parmenio, and proceeded forthwith to take possession of the Macedonian camp, which, during the battle, was protected by a very small guard. Overcoming the resistance of this inadequate force, the troops of Mazæus betook themselves to plunder; and having set at liberty such prisoners as they found in the hands of the enemy, they encouraged them to take a share in the booty and massacre, to which they most inconsiderately confined their attention, even at a time when the main body of their army was involved in a total rout, and their king driven from the field.

Messengers were despatched after Alexander to inform him of the precarious circumstances in which Parmenio now found himself. Returning, therefore, with the utmost speed, he charged a body of Persian cavalry, which were still hanging on the left wing, and which had prevented the Macedonian general from sending relief to the camp. A conflict, singularly fierce and destructive, immediately ensued. Sixty of that famous corps called "The Companions" were killed, whilst fighting around the person of their prince; and Hephæstion, Cornus, and Menidas, generals of high rank in his army, were severely wounded. The tactics

Alexander.

From
A. M.
3648.
—
B. C.
356.
to
A. M.
3681.
—
B. C.
323.

Battle of
Gaugamela,
and flight of
Darius.

Biography. and valour of the Grecian cavalry, however, restored once more the balance of fortune: the Persians betook themselves to flight; upon which Alexander gave orders to Parmenion to take possession of their camp, whilst he, at the head of his indefatigable horsemen, instantly resumed the pursuit of the fugitive king.

From
A. M.
3648.
—
B. C.
356.
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A. M.
3681.
—
B. C.
323.

After the delay occasioned by his return to the relief of his left wing, it was not to be expected that the most rapid movement, practicable for troops at the close of an obstinate fight, could bring Alexander within reach of Darius. Arriving accordingly, upon the approach of night, at the river Lycus, which the Persian had already crossed in safety, the victor issued orders to his men to relinquish the pursuit, and refresh their bodies. He himself, however, seemed to require no repose. At midnight he set out for Arbela, and arrived so unexpectedly, that he obtained possession of the town without any opposition; finding in it the rich treasures which had been deposited there for the use of the army, together with a chariot, bow, and shield of the Persian monarch, the second set of spoils of the same description, which had fallen into his hands.

The numbers of the slain in the contending armies, as recorded by Arrian, are marked with so much improbability, that it is only surprising they should ever have been received by credible writers. The Persians, says he, lost three hundred thousand men in killed, and a still greater number in prisoners. The loss of the Greeks, according to the same authority, did not exceed a hundred men; a statement, not only grossly improbable in itself, when considered with a reference to the fierceness of the combat, but even quite inconsistent with the details of the battle, as narrated by Arrian himself.

Surrender
of Babylon.

Darius having collected some of the scattered remains of his army, turned his face towards the north, and prepared to make in the provinces of Media, a last effort for the preservation of the empire. Meanwhile, Alexander directed his march to Babylon, with the view of rendering himself master of the fruitful provinces of the south; and arriving there at the head of his victorious forces, was met by the whole population of that great city, who came forth unarmed; the nobles, and priests, leading a solemn procession, bearing presents in their hands to the conqueror of the east, and prepared to inform him that the town, the citadel, and the treasury, were already placed at his disposal. These fruits of his victory were much more ample than he had expected; and he knew well how to profit by them. He gratified his soldiers with sums of money; received the vanquished into his favour; appointed some of them to offices of trust; soothed the people with demonstrations of his respect for their religious rites; and even assisted at a festival held by his orders, in the temple of Belus, the chief of their gods.

During his stay in the capital of Assyria, information was conveyed to him, that the Armenians also were eager to acknowledge his sovereignty; and he was soon after favoured with the intelligence, that the inhabitants of Susa, the principal seat of the Persian government, were likewise willing to change their dynasty of rulers. Accordingly, proceeding thither with his army, he was met by the son of the satrap, accompanied by a messenger; who was authorised to assure him that the city would be surrendered imme-

diately on his arrival, and the treasury, containing about ten millions sterling, would be given up into his hands. On the twentieth day, says Arrian, after his departure from Babylon, he arrived at Susa, and entering the town, took possession of all the money, amounting to fifty thousand talents, besides the royal furniture. Many other things, he adds, were found there, which Xerxes had formerly carried out of Greece, and particularly the brazen statues of Harmodius and Aristogiton, those celebrated tyrannicides, so deeply venerated by the Athenians as the avengers of liberty. These works of art were ordered by Alexander to be sent to the people of Athens, as a testimony at once of his respect for their character, and of his own conquests over their ancient enemies.

Diodorus and Curtius agree in the statement that, Alexander when at Susa, placed the wife and family of Darius in the palace-royal, and committed the civil government of the town to a native Persian. Whilst here, too, a powerful reinforcement arrived from Macedonia, accompanied by fifty youths of the first families in that country, sent by their parents, and recommended by Antipater to be admitted into the king's young guard. Finding his army thus strengthened, Alexander made arrangements for pursuing his conquests in Persia Proper, the birth place of the famous Cyrus, and the strong-hold of the vast empire which that conqueror established in Asia. A range of mountains divided the territory of Susiana from that of Persia, inhabited by hardy and determined barbarians, who thought themselves able to check the progress even of the Macedonian commander, when shut in among the narrow and difficult passes of their rugged country. But they knew not the enemy with whom they had now to contend. The light troops of the invader, deceiving their vigilance, or anticipating their movements, secured the straits, before the rude mountaineers had perceived their advance; and thus, instead of obtaining payment of toll, which they had been accustomed to exact, even from the Persian kings, the Uxian villagers found themselves at the mercy of a foreign sovereign, who, for their insolence, threatened them with immediate extermination.

A severer conflict awaited Alexander at a pass in the Sogdian mountains; where the satrap Ariobarzanes awaited his approach with a body of troops, amounting, according to Arrian, to forty thousand foot and horse. The Persian had taken his ground so well, and defended it so resolutely, that the best soldiers of Macedonia were unable to make any impression upon his lines; and it was not until Alexander had found means to conduct a body of men through another pass, to fall upon his rear, whilst the main body attacked his forces in front, that the gate of Persia was secured in behalf of the combined army. The main object of the invader now, was, to get possession of the treasury in Persepolis, before the news of the satrap's defeat could induce the Persian officers commanding in that city, to remove or destroy it; and, accordingly, to prevent such a spoliation, (which, he had reason to believe, was actually intended,) he advanced with extraordinary rapidity to the capital, and completely defeated the designs of his enemies.

The fatigues and anxieties of war were here followed, as usual, with much festivity and rejoicing; and the destruction of the magnificent palace of the king of Persians, unfortunately commemorates the

Alexander.
From
A. M.
3648.
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B. C.
356.
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A. M.
3681.
—
B. C.
323.

Destruction
of the pa-
lance of the
king of Per-
sians, unfortunately commemorates the

Biogr-phy. the intemperance of Alexander, during his stay in Persepolis. The celebrated Thais, an Atheolian courtesan, was admitted to the banquet at which the Macedonian prince entertained his commanders; who, being bented with wine, and stimulated by the recollection of what she had heard concerning the demolition of Athens in former times, by the hands of the Persians, proposed to avenge the cause of her native land, by reducing to ashes the royal dwelling of its haughty enemies. Some of the Grecian officers, we are told, willing to check in their captain-general, the growing partiality, which they could not fail to observe, for Persian luxuries and manners, and afraid, perhaps, that he might be induced to establish his residence in the east, did not think it necessary to refuse their concurrence to the mad proposal of their countrywoman. The hero of the Granicus, accordingly, perceiving that his friends expressed no decided aversion to the frolic, sallied forth with a torch in his hand, and set fire to the gorgeous palace of the great king, the conqueror of Assyria, and lord of the Medes and Persians. He was however, immediately seized with repentance; and exerting himself to stop the progress of the conflagration, he fortunately succeeded in saving a part of the royal buildings, as well as in preventing the ravages of the flames from extending to the houses of the city.

Confederacy of his hereditary states, and their defeat by Antipater. We have already mentioned that Darius, after his defeat at Arbela, conducted the few troops which he was able to collect, into the country of the Medes; and it appears from the concurrent testimony of historians, that during the four months the victor spent at Persepolis, the vanquished monarch, in conjunction with the anti-Macedonian party among the Greeks, found the means of exciting an active war against Alexander in his hereditary states. The Lacedæmonians at the head of this confederacy took the field, and offered battle to Antipater, the viceroy of Macedon; who, descending into Peloponnesus with such a force as he could raise, attacked the enemies of his master, and, after a sanguinary conflict, secured for him a complete victory, dispersing the combined army of Spartans, Arcadians, and Achæans, and leaving Agis, the king of Lacedæmon, dead on the field. In consequence of this successful campaign, Alexander had the satisfaction to find, that the governors of Sparta, no longer hostile to the allied republics, made haste to send into Asia their contingent of troops, to assist him in the complete subjugation of the Persian empire.

R. C. 330. O. 112. 3. As soon as the season would permit, Alexander commenced his fourth campaign in the east, by marching into Media to attack Darius, who was said to have collected such a body of troops as to justify another appeal to arms, in defence of his northern dominions. The defeat of his partisans in Greece, however, and the rapid advance of his indefatigable adversary, produced a sudden change of determination on the part of the Persian, and he fled from Ecbatana, the capital, with an escort of about nine thousand men, carrying with him a mass of treasure, valued at a million and a half sterling.

The extensive territory of the Medes having thus, without a blow, been added to the conquest of Alexander, he became more desirous than ever to obtain possession of the fugitive monarch's person. Making a selection, therefore, of his most active troops, he set out from Ecbatana in pursuit of Darius; and

having during eleven days performed marches of incredible rapidity, he arrived at Rhage, near the celebrated pass, called the Caspian Gate, in the mountains of Caucasus; where he learned that the unfortunate king, despairing of successful resistance, had abandoned the strong hilly ground, and was now continuing his flight in the open plains of Parthia. Whilst the conqueror remained at the town just named, in order to refresh his men and collect provisions, information was brought to him by two Persian chiefs, who could no longer accompany their sovereign in his rapid retreat, that Bessus, the satrap of Bactria, with another satrap, and the commander of the cavalry, had conspired against the unhappy Darius, whom they were then dragging along as their prisoner; and whose life would, in all probability, be sacrificed to the accomplishment of their ambitious views, or personal safety.

Death of Darius. Such intelligence could not fail to prove a fresh stimulus to Alexander. Marching, accordingly, throughout the night, he found himself next day, at noon, in a village which the satraps, with their royal charge, had left but the preceding evening; and, again pushing forward across a waterless desert, which presented a nearer road than the one taken by the fugitives, he had the pleasure to discover, with the first light of the morning, the enemy hastening before him in a disorderly retreat. As he continued to gain upon their steps, a few of the more resolute attempted resistance; but finding that they could not possibly convey away their prisoner alive, and afraid, it should seem, that his name and influence might be turned against them, did he fall into the hands of Alexander, the barbarian satraps plunged their swords into the body of their ill-fated prince, and immediately rode off, leaving him mortally wounded. Before the pursuers could reach his chariot, Darius had expired; and nothing now remained of the mighty sovereign of Asia but a bloody corpse, presenting a silent appeal to the generosity of the youthful conqueror, about to be indebted for the rites of sepulture to the very band which had deprived him of all the power and splendour belonging to the greatest potentate of the east. Nor did Alexander refuse the claim that was thus made upon him. He ordered the dead body to be treated with honour and respect; and sending it into Persia, gave command that it should be deposited in the royal tomb, with all the pomp and ceremony formerly used at the burial of the kings of that country.

The death of Darius may be regarded as the conclusion of the eventful war which the confederated Greeks, under the Macedonian chief, waged with their ancient enemies, the rulers of Persia and Assyria. Bessus, indeed, that faithless and unfeeling satrap, who, upon the murder of his master, assumed the title of Artaxerxes, had the presumption to aspire to the sovereignty of the empire; and was, it is added, already busy in the attempt to gain over to his views the adherents of the late king, and particularly the Greeks who had served in his army. As, however, his ambition was not supported either by power or by talent, it only paved the way for his downfall; and, placing him in the hands of Alexander, ultimately brought upon him that severe punishment by which he atoned for the assassination of his sovereign.

Whilst engaged in reducing some of the northern provinces attached to the Median dominions, the

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attention of the king of Macedon was attracted to symptoms of disloyalty among certain of his officers. The first who was brought to trial was Philotas, the son of Parmenio, accused of having engaged in traitorous measures against him. The nature of the charge is no where clearly explained; but it appears to have satisfied the military judges who were appointed to inquire into it, for the young general was condemned and executed. The death of Philotas was soon followed by that of his father, Parmenio, the confidential friend of Philip, and reputed the ablest commander in the Macedonian army. This brave soldier was at the head of a body of troops in Media when certain officers were despatched thither to supersede him in his military authority, and to place him before a tribunal. What the crimes or suspicions were which rendered expedient so severe a measure against a favourite old general, we have no means even of forming a conjecture; the narrative of the historian being confined to the simple fact that, in pursuance of a sentence, Parmenio suffered death.

Determined to inflict punishment on the murderers of Darius, the Grecian hero once more directed his course eastward; and having obtained the submission of Bactria, Aria, and Aornos, he continued his progress, till, crossing the deep and rapid Oxus, he entered the province of Sogdiana, which was at that period under the command of the satrap Spitamenes. When on the eastern bank of the river now named, Alexander received information that Bessus had taken refuge in a small fort; after being deserted, if not even actually betrayed, by Spitamenes, on whose invitation he had been induced to intrust his life to the fidelity of the Sogdians. This strong-hold was summoned by Ptolemy, the son of Lagos, who promised security to the town and garrison, on the sole condition of their surrendering the assassin of Darius into the hands of the king of Macedon. The terms were accepted; and Bessus, after being cruelly mutilated, according to the fashion of the Oriental barbarians, whose practices Alexander now showed some inclination to adopt, was put to death, either in the capital of Media, or in that of the Bactrian satrapy, his former residence and seat of government.

The Bactrians and other inhabitants of the remote provinces which extend between the Caspian sea and the river Iaxartes, continued, notwithstanding the death of Bessus, and the nominal submission of Spitamenes, to occupy, during several months, the arms of Alexander. Naturally courageous, and smitten with the love of independence, these hardy barbarians yielded with much reluctance to the progress of Macedonian invasion. The fidelity of Spitamenes too was seduced by the prospect of kingly power; and he invited the natives of Sogdiana, as well as the roaming Scythians, who fed their flocks on the banks of the Iaxartes, to join his standard, in order to repel the Greeks from their territory, and establish an independent sovereignty in the north. The rude warfare of barbarians, however, proved unequal to the experienced tactics of their invader. Spitamenes was defeated by the Macedonian general Cœnus; and, flying into the desert, was put to death by his own people, who sent his head to the conqueror, as a token that they would no longer continue their resistance, or with the more immediate intention of securing their personal safety.

There now remained only two fortresses in Sogdiana, or in the adjoining province of Parthacene, which opposed the arms, and bade defiance to the engineers of Macedon. Into one of these Oxyartes, the Bactrian, removed his wife and children; and as the rock on which the Sogdian strong-hold stood, was very lofty, and so steep on all sides as to be almost inaccessible, the garrisons usually placed in it imagined they had nothing to fear, except the assault of famine. Having, however, on the present occasion, an abundant supply of provisions for a long siege, and deriving a copious supply of water from the snow which lay deep around their buildings, the Bactrians were so confident in their strength, that when summoned by Alexander to surrender, they contemptuously asked him whether his soldiers had wings. To this extraordinary man difficulties always proved a stimulus to exertion; and being determined, in this instance, to exhibit an instructive lesson to the rude soldiers of the Scythian wilds, he called into action all the means which he possessed, whether of skill or hardihood, in his army, in order to reduce the vaulted castle of Oxyartes. He offered a reward of twelve talents to the individual who should first mount the top of the rock on which it was situated, and smaller sums to those who should immediately follow him in the assault. The place was next day in the hands of Alexander; who found among the captives the beautiful Roxana, a daughter of the revolted chief, and who soon became wife to the renowned conqueror of Asia.

This union with the family of Oxyartes, though offensive to the prejudices of his Grecian subjects, was dictated not only by affection for the fair Bactrian, but also by political considerations, affecting the stability of his empire in the east. There is reason to believe that a large portion of his soldiers had been for some time recruited in the conquered states of the Persian dominions, and that his views were now directed to such alliances among his European and Asiatic subjects as might ultimately effect a complete consolidation of his power over the wide regions already traversed by his victorious army. In the mean time, the example of Oxyartes, who had submitted to Alexander; and the generous conduct of the latter to those whom he vanquished in war, induced Cherienes, the governor of the fort in the Parthacene hills, to listen to terms for capitulation, and to accept, in like manner, the friendship of the conqueror.

By such achievements the great empire of Persia, and of the Medes, was at length transferred to the Macedonians. The arms of Alexander were already touching the boundaries of India, and were about to disturb the repose of those ancient kingdoms in eastern Asia, of which imagination, and an uncertain tradition, had presented the most splendid pictures to the minds of Europeans. Mean time, we may be allowed to remark that, in the conduct of the eventful war which was now brought to a close, the transcendent abilities of this great commander were conspicuously displayed. His example taught the troops to despise hunger, cold, fatigue, and danger. Neither rugged mountains, nor deep rapid rivers, nor wounds, nor sickness, could interrupt his progress, or abate his activity. His courage indeed often exposed him to difficulties from which he could only be extricated by such new efforts of bravery as, in any other general,

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Reduces the Bactrians.

Biography. would have passed for unwarrentable rashness. Amidst all the perils and hardships of a military life too, he still respected the claims of humanity, and practised the mild virtues of forbearance and clemency. The conquered nations were all allowed to enjoy their ancient laws and privileges; the rigours of despotism were softened; arts and industry were encouraged; and the proudest governors compelled by the authority and example of their chief to observe the rules of justice towards their moment subjects. To civilise the fierce inhabitants of the hilly country he built a city, to which he gave his name, in the range of Paropamisus; and to habituate the roaming Scythians to the manners of cultivated society, he founded towns and planted colonies on the banks of the Oxus, and the Jaxartes. Even his operations in the field, and his extensive campaigns, usually ascribed to restless activity, or blind ambition, appeared to his discerning mind as not only essential to the security of the conquests which he had already made, but also as necessary preparations for those more remote and splendid expeditions which he still meditated.

From this period, indeed, his views have been described as less patriotic, and as being actuated almost solely by personal ambition, and the love of military glory. His resolution to invade India too, has been regarded as a measure of very doubtful expediency; but even by those who are the most severe in their strictures on the policy of his eastern expedition, the wisdom, humanity, and skill which he showed in the war with Persia, have been most unequivocally applauded.

Whilst in winter-quarters in Bactria, two occurrences took place which contributed not a little to disturb the enjoyments of Alexander, as well as to admonish him, that the maxims and habits of Orientals would ultimately alienate the affections of his Macedonian subjects, and thereby undermine the foundations of his power. We allude to the murder of Clitus, and the conspiracy of his young guard.

Murder of Clitus. The celebrated commander now named, indignant at the flattery which was poured into the ear of his prince, during an entertainment in honour of Castor and Pollox, thought proper to reprove the sycophants, who abused the rising vanity of the conqueror. The interference was disagreeable to Alexander. He remonstrated with Clitus, who heated with wine, turned fiercely on the king himself, and addressed him in very offensive terms. After a pause, the provocation was renewed; when the monarch, no longer able to restrain his fury, snatched a weapon from one of the guards, and killed the general on the spot. This unhappy event was, we are told, followed by deep remorse. Three days Alexander confined himself to his chamber, and would neither eat nor drink; and it was not until the rash act was ascribed to the anger of Bacchus, that he allowed himself to receive comfort, and to desist from his merited self-upbraidings.

Conspiracy of the hand of pages. The conspiracy among the hand of pages, as they have been called, originated in an affront, which one of them received from the king, during a boar hunt, in the neighbourhood of Bactria. Hermolus, a youth of the class now mentioned, struck the game before Alexander, who was at hand, and was, for this insolence or indiscretion, immediately chastised with rods, and deprived of his horse, in the presence of all his companions. The wounded pride of the page dictated

a terrible revenge. As the band to which he belonged, had the duty of keeping watch during the night in the royal bed-chamber, Hermolus induced four of the number to enter so completely into his vindictive purpose, as to agree to murder the king in his sleep. The plot was, however discovered, by means of an old woman, who dissuaded her master from going to bed that night; and the young conspirators being next day put to the rack, revealed all the particulars of their horrid plan, and declared that Callisthenes the philosopher, a turbulent and excessively rude personage, attached to the suite of Alexander, was their chief instigator. Punishment was immediately inflicted, according to the usage of the Macedonians; and the king, already tired of the inactivity incident to winter-quarters, began his preparations for a march into India.

The spring of the year being somewhat advanced, the coqueror of Asia set his troops in motion; and crossing the ridge of Paropamisus with an army of more than a hundred thousand men, he descended into the plains which divide Persia from the rich territory, that is watered by the Indus. Having reached the banks of the Cophenes, he divided his forces; and, placing a detachment under Hephæstion and Perdicas who were directed to advance to the river just named and make preparations for crossing it, he himself, with the main body, assumed the more laborious undertaking of subduing the barbarians who should happen to oppose his progress.

After many severe conflicts with a variety of tribes, whose names are now altogether unknown, and having reduced the strong fortress of Aornus, which was situated on a rock, nearly a mile and a half in height, Alexander led his army southward, in the country between the Cophenes and Indus; where stood of old, the celebrated town called Nysa, said to have been founded by Bacchus, in the fabulous ages of Grecian coquest. He immediately crossed the Indus, and received the submission of the several princes who dwelt on its eastern banks. Among these was Taxiles, a ruler of considerable eminence, who, besides other presents, brought to the Macedonian seven thousand Indian horse; offering, at the same time, the surrender of his capital, the most wealthy and populous city between the Indus and Hydaspes. Alexander, however, still actuated by the same generous motives which marked his conduct towards the vanquished chiefs of Persia, and desirous to have friends rather than enemies behind him, not only restored to Taxiles his dominions, but even added to their extent.

Preparing to pass the Hydaspes with the view of pursuing his conquests eastward, the king of Macedonia was informed that Porus, a powerful and warlike monarch, had advanced with a large army to the bank of the river, to dispute his passage. To expose his troops in the face of an enemy so numerous and determined, was a measure, which, viewed in connection with the ultimate objects now entertained by Alexander, and his increasing distance from his resources, he could not fail to regard as extremely hazardous. He therefore had recourse to stratagem. Feigning no attack on Porus, night after night, he at length so far deceived the vigilance of that commander, as to throw a part of his army across, before the break of day, a movement which brought on a general engagement, and obtained for the Macedonians a complete victory.

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Alexander's expedition to India

Biography. The unfortunate Indian lost both his sons, all his captains, twenty thousand foot, and three thousand horse, and was himself carried a prisoner into the camp of the conqueror. Alexander, it is said, admired his stature and the majesty of his person; but he admired still more his courage and magnanimity. Having asked in what he could oblige him? Porus replied, "by acting like a king." That, said Alexander with a smile, I should do for my own sake, but what can I do for your's? Porus replied, "all my wishes are contained in that one request." Struck with the firmness of the captive prince, Alexander declared him reinstated in his throne, and received him into the number of his allies and friends: and having soon after reduced a people, named the Gilanæ, who had thirty-seven popular cities on his eastern frontier, he added this valuable province to the dominion of his own confederate.

The conqueror, devoting some time here to the refreshment of his army, exhibited on the banks of the Hydaspes, the gymnastic and equestrian games of his native country: and before leaving that river he signified his victories by founding two cities, one of which he called Nicæa, in reference to the battle with Porus, and the other Bucephalia, in honour of his favourite horse, which died there, worn out by age and fatigue.

Intrusting to Craterus a division of his army, which was to be employed in building and fortifying the new cities, Alexander continued his march eastward. He crossed the river Acesines, which is said to be fifteen furlongs broad; and having subdued the feeble opposition of another prince called Porus—a word which seems to have imported a title rather than a mere name—he next passed the Hydrotæ, a stream of the same breadth with the Acesines, but flowing with a more gentle current. Arrived on the eastern bank, he received intelligence that several independent tribes were prepared to oppose his progress. A battle ensued, in which the undisciplined courage of the barbarians was, as usual, overcome by the experience and more perfect arms of the invaders; and the former being driven from the field took refuge in their city, Sangala, a place of considerable strength as well by nature as by very laborious fortifications. The Indians, unfortunately, resolved to abide the hazard of a siege, and their town, after an obstinate defence, was taken by assault. Seventeen thousand are said to have fallen on that occasion, and about seventy thousand to have been taken prisoners. The city itself was razed, and the confederates either submitted to Alexander, or attempted, by retiring to the banks of the Hyphasis, to find safety beyond the reach of his arms.

Refusal of his troops to proceed. The captain-general of Greece was now master of that valuable country which is at present called the Panjab, watered by the five great rivers, whose united streams form the Indus. The Hyphasis, the most eastern of the five, was not crossed by the victorious army; for it was whilst this indefatigable chief was preparing for the passage of that current, that his European troops adopted the resolution of returning into Europe, and relinquishing all further conquest in the east. It was with no small reluctance that Alexander yielded to their determination. Misled by inaccurate ideas of Indian geography, he imagined that he was at no great distance from the extreme bound-

daries of the Asiatic continent; and exhorting his soldiers to proceed, he assured them of a short passage homeward by sea, from the Indian ocean through the Persian gulph. All his arguments and remonstrances, however, were in vain: and at length finding that even his veteran Macedonians would accompany him no further, he made a pretence of consulting the gods, and announced to his army, that the will of heaven coincided with their wishes. Proceeding, then, to erect twelve altars on the banks of the Hyphasis, equal in height to the highest towers used in fortifications, he left them as monuments of his victories, as well as to define the extent of his empire towards the east. He committed to Porus, the command of seven nations, including, it is said, two thousand cities, and forthwith commenced preparations for sailing down the Hydaspes, to its junction with the Indus, and thence along that majestic stream to the ocean.

Alexander divided his army into three parts; one of which he intrusted to Hephæstus, another to Craterus, commanding them to proceed along the opposite bank of the river; whilst himself, at the head of the third, embarked in vessels prepared by his Phœnician and Cyprian followers, to drop down the stream in company with the forces ashore. This navigation employed several months, being frequently retarded by hostilities with the natives on either shore, particularly with the Malli, a tribe of warlike and resolute barbarians. Having landed, in order to chastise these active assailants, the king laid siege to their capital; and proceeding to storm it, he allowed himself to be betrayed by his courage into an exploit, which, in any other man, would have been accounted madness. The Mallians chased from their ramparts, had taken refuge in the citadel; upon which Alexander commanded the scaling ladders to be applied with all possible expedition; but the persons appointed to perform this service, not advancing with a rapidity equal to his impatience, he snatched a ladder, fastened it to the wall, and mounted in defiance of the enemy's weapons. The Macedonians alarmed for their king, followed in such numbers, that the ladder broke, just as he reached the top; and for some moments, Alexander remained alone on the wall, conspicuous by the brightness of his arms, and exposed to thick volleys of darts from the adjacent towers. Immediately he sprang into the place: and posting himself with his back to the wall, he slew the chief of the Mallians and three others who advanced to attack him. Meanwhile Abreus, Leonatus, and Peucestes leaped in, to assist his single arm, and, if possible, to save his life. The first was instantly wounded and fell; the two others, regardless of their own safety, defended the king, whose breast was already pierced with an arrow, until a larger body of his men succeeded in hoisting into the citadel to effect his rescue. The Macedonians at length carried the strong-hold, and procured without a moment's delay, such medical aid for their gallant leader, as placed his life beyond the reach of danger.

Having arrived at the ocean, and provided necessities for a long march, the Macedonians here determined to proceed towards the capital of Persia, through the barren wilderness of Gedrosia. His motives to this most arduous undertaking were not those of vain glory, or a wish to surpass in extraordinary exploits, the fame of Cyrus and Semiramis. On the contrary, as he had determined that his fleet under Nearchus,

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daughter of
Darius.

should sail on a voyage of discovery, along the shores of the Indian ocean, and the Persian gulph, it became necessary that a land force should proceed by the coast, to supply the ships with water, and to defend the crews when in search of provisions. The fleet and the army mutually assisted each other; and by the example of their heroic sovereign, both soldiers and sailors were taught to despise toil, danger, and the severest privations. On foot, and carrying his usual armour, Alexander traversed the parching sands of the Gedrosian desert, sharing the fatigue, hunger, and thirst of the meanest soldier; nor was it till after a march of two months, distinguished by unexampled hardships, that the army and their royal leader arrived at the cultivated province of Carmania.

The king of Media had much to reform, and not a little to punish, when he returned to the Persian dominions. The governors of Babylon, Persopolis, and Susa, had abused their power during his absence, and oppressed the people; and as all just complaints were listened to and redressed, such of the accused as did not save themselves by flight, were visited with a speedy and condign retribution. It was now, indeed, a leading object with Alexander, to conciliate by all the means in his power, his numerous subjects in all parts of his empire; and with this view he encouraged marriages between the Greeks and Persians, and also adopted in his own person, so much of the manners and habits of the latter people, as appeared necessary to recommend them to his court, and even to his army. We have observed that he left in the palace royal at Susa, the family of Darius, who had fallen into his hands at the battle of Arbela. He now married the eldest daughter of that unfortunate sovereign, though his wife Roxana, the daughter of Oxyartes, was still alive; whilst he gave to Hephæstion, his friend and favourite general, the youngest sister of his new queen, as a consort, who by her rank at least, was worthy of the fame and services of that noble soldier. In like manner he provided wives for about eighty of his distinguished commanders; and it fell to the lot of Nearchus, the celebrated admiral, to receive as his spouse, the daughter of Mentor, that able Grecian officer who so faithfully served the Persian monarch; and who, had he survived to aid the counsels of his brother Memnon, would in all probability, have not only sustained the throne of the great king, but even given a turn to the affairs of the civilised world. All the weddings took place in one day, and were celebrated after the Persian fashion: a compliment which could not fail to be agreeable to the families of the ladies. In short, by imitating the manners and using the language of the vanquished, Alexander gained rapidly in the affections of his eastern subjects; at the expense, however, it must be added, of forfeiting to some extent, the respect of the Greeks, who still continued to regard the barbarians with contempt, and to cherish a rooted dislike for their speech and domestic habits.

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Having arranged matters in Persia Proper, the conqueror proceeded to realise a plan which he had formed, for visiting the interior provinces of his empire. Sailing down the river Euleus, he ascended the Tigris with the purpose of ascertaining the capabilities of those streams, in a commercial point of view, and of introducing such improvements, as an actual survey by experienced officers might suggest to him, in the

course of the voyage. Upon his arrival at Babylon, he found the Euphrates obstructed with dams and mounds, drawn across the current; a precaution adopted by the kings of Persia, for defending their provinces from sudden incursions by water, as well as for confining the ambition of their Assyrian subjects to the trade and affluence afforded by the culture of their own fields. But Alexander having nothing to fear from hostile armaments, made haste to open his rivers for fleets of merchantmen. He repaired the harbours, constructed arsenals, and built at Babylon, a dock sufficiently large to contain a thousand ships. By these and similar improvements, he expected to facilitate internal commerce among his central provinces, while by opening new channels of communication, he hoped to unite the wealthy countries of Egypt and the east, with the most remote parts of the known world. Nor was his attention altogether confined to the commercial and military resources of his empire. He promoted likewise the important interests of agriculture. Finding that the Euphrates no longer supplied to the husbandman the usual quantity of water for the purposes of irrigation, whilst an extensive tract of the alluvial soil along its banks was, by the periodical floods, converted into a useless and unwholesome marsh, he employed a great number of men in erecting such works, as might secure to the inhabitants all the advantages of that magnificent river, both as an instrument of commercial intercourse, and as a source of fertility, beauty, and comfort to the extensive regions through which it flowed.

Having, after his voyage down the Euleus to the Mouth of the ocean, ascended the river Tigris, as far as the city of Opis, he gave rest to his troops, and celebrated the usual festival of the Macedonian Olympiad. Here too he had to sustain the assault of a mutinous disposition in his army; who, dissatisfied with his attention to his new subjects, and longing to revisit their native country, clamorously insisted on the relinquishment of his eastern conquests, or on obtaining a speedy discharge from the service. The speech, which Arrian reports as having been pronounced by Alexander on this occasion, is not less eloquent than affecting. He brought back his soldiers to a sense of their duty, and even revived in their hearts, that love with which they had so long regarded their youthful king, and that implicit reliance which they had so long reposed in the talents and courage of their unrivalled commander. He sent home to Greece, ten thousand veterans, loaded with rewards and honour, giving the charge of them during their march, to the sage and popular general Craterus, whom he at the same time nominated to succeed Antipater as viceroy, in Macedonia, and his representative in the assemblies of the confederated Greeks.

From Opis the conqueror marched into Media, with the intention of reducing to obedience a tribe of fierce, but very warlike mountaineers, who occupied the high grounds between that country and Persia, without owning a regular subjection to either. In the course of this march, Alexander was gratified with the sight of an Amazonian body-guard, supplied to him by one of the Median satraps; composed of a hundred women, mounted and equipped like troopers, but, instead of lances, carrying battle-axes. In the same expedition, too, he lost, by death, his dear friend and favourite officer, Hephæstion, who, ut

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Death of
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stion.

Biography.

From Ecbatana, sunk under the fatigues and privations of war, after an illness of seven days. The grief of the king was insupportable. He shut himself up three days, indulging in the most immoderate sorrow; and it was not until he had buried the deceased commander in a style of extravagant magnificence, and found occupation for his mind in the mountain warfare with the Cossees, that the attendants of the affectionate monarch ceased to have serious apprehensions, in regard to the effects of the uneasiness which preyed upon his spirits.

When in Media, Alexander formed a plan for ascertaining the extent and geographical relations of the Caspian sea. At the period of which we are writing, that large sheet of water was understood to be connected with the Arctic ocean, on the north, and to open into the Pacific in an easterly direction; the boundaries of the great continent of Asia being then very imperfectly known, and, as it appears, very much contracted, particularly towards the pole and the rising sun. To remove all doubt, therefore, respecting the limits of the Caspian lake, the king of Macedonia sent, under the command of Hemicles, a body of shipwrights into the forests of Hyrcania, with instructions to build vessels and provide equipments suitable for a voyage of discovery.

Meanwhile, the conqueror of Asia made preparations for his entry into Babylon, the chosen capital of his eastern dominions. The priests of the temple of Belus, to whose hands he committed the management of a large revenue, when he visited that city, after the battle of Arbela, and who were, perhaps, not quite prepared for a minute scrutiny into their disbursements, arrayed against him all the terrors of their superstition, and laboured, by the most frightful predictions, to dissuade him from approaching their walls. A deputation of these Chaldean soothsayers met him at the distance of thirty miles from the gates, and assured him, that he could not at present enjoy a propitious entrance into Babylon; but Alexander was too well acquainted with the various arts of priestcraft to be diverted from his purpose by omens and oracles. He satisfied himself with replying to their extraordinary admonition in the words of Euripides: "He the best prophet is, who guesses best."

Seated in the palace of the Assyrian kings, whence so many proclamations were issued to all people, nations, and languages of the earth, the victorious son of Philip, far from indulging in the pleasures and pageantry of eastern princes, directed all his thoughts to the improvement of his vast dominions. He resumed his project for improving the river, and for relieving the rich soil which spread out on its banks, from the destructive incumbrance of stagnant waters. He even spent whole days in an open boat under a burning sun, superintending the numerous works which he had planned for the convenience and beauty of his capital. Amidst all these operations, however, he still retained the purpose which he had formed, when on the shores of the Persian gulph, of surveying the coasts of Arabia and of eastern Africa, and of ultimately carrying his conquering arms to the remotest parts of that continent; and even, it is said, of adding to his dominions, the western nations of Europe, including the British isles. It is recorded by Arrian, that whilst at Babylon, embassies pre-

sented themselves to congratulate the king and to court his favour, from various parts of the African and European shores. He mentions envoys from Lybia, and from Brutium, Lucania, and Tuscany in Italy; and alludes, also, to similar representatives from Carthage, from Ethiopia, from European Scythia, and even from the people who inhabited Gaul and Spain.

As preparatory to this great southern expedition, Alexander announced a magnificent sacrifice to the gods, and a feast to his army; with his usual attention to the decencies of religious observance, and with that regard for popularity which no wise commander will ever neglect, the king bore a distinguished part in each; but, whether his health was already impaired by the severe duties of his military life, and by the constant exposure of his person to the excessive heat and marshy effluvia which tainted the climate of Babylon, or whether he had indulged to excess in the enjoyments of the table during the hilarities of that momentous day, it admits not of doubt that he was next morning seized with a fever, which in a short time, terminated his career of conquest and discovery. From a diary, called the *Royal Day Book*, to which both Arrian and Plutarch appear to have had access, a very particular account of the symptoms and progress of the disease is given by both these writers; and from the details there exhibited, it should seem that no fear of death was entertained till the eighth or ninth day of his illness. He bathed and attended sacrifice every morning, and even gave an audience to his principal officers, who were still employed in forwarding preparations for the projected expedition.

On the tenth day there was no longer any hope; and at this period the army, believing that he was already dead, and suspecting that the chief commanders had selfish views to realise, hostile to the common interest, became so extremely impatient to know the fate of their renowned leader, that they proceeded to threats of violence unless they were admitted to see his person, dead or alive. It was, therefore, conceded that a few of their number should, without arms, and in plain clothes, pass singly through the chamber where the king lay, and thereby receive the most satisfactory evidence that no deceit was practised upon them. Alexander was still able to return their looks with an eye of intelligence. He raised his head a little; held out his hand; but was unable to speak. He expired next day.

There were many absurd reports spread abroad relative to the death of this great prince, several of which are repented by Arrian; rather, however, as he himself expresses it, that he might not seem to be ignorant of their existence, than that he imagined them to be deserving of the smallest credit. It is said, for instance, that he was killed by means of a subtle poison, made up by his tutor Aristotle, and forwarded from Greece by Antipater, the protector of his native kingdom. A variety of other incidents was invented to feed the strong desire of credulous curiosity; but they are unworthy of mention, as having been long rejected by all writers of candour and research. We, therefore, hasten to conclude this long article by exhibiting, in a very abridged form, the character of the Macedonian hero, as given by the modest and judicious Arrian.

After stating that Alexander died in the hundred

5 A 3

Alexander.

From
A. M.
3648.
—
N. C.
356.
to
A. M.
3681.
—
N. C.
323.

His entry
into Baby-
lon.

His death.

Biography. and fourteenth Olympiad, at the age of thirty-two years and eight months, he goes on to remark, that his body was very handsome and well-proportioned, his mind brisk and active, his courage wonderful. He was strong enough to undergo the severest hardships, full of alacrity in meeting the most appalling dangers; ever ambitious of glory, and ever attentive to religious rites. As to those pleasures which regard the body, he shewed himself indifferent; but in the desire of fame and honour, he was altogether insatiable. In his councils he was shrewd and penetrating; and by the force of his natural sagacity, arrived at clear views in the most obscure and doubtful matters. In all the arts of a general he was thoroughly skilled; and in arming, marshalling, and commanding an army, he remains still unrivalled. He possessed the rare talent of exciting the courage of his soldiers, of animating them with the hopes of success, and of dissipating by his words and his example, all their inward fears. His resolution and vigour, too, were equal to the most desperate undertakings; whilst his unwearied vigilance secured to him every advantage that could arise from delay or ignorance on the part of his enemies. He was never imposed upon, either by craft or by perfidy; and never himself used these bad arts against any one. For his own private pleasures, he was sparing in the use of money; whilst in presents to his friends, and in rewards to the meritorious, his magnificence and liberality knew no bounds.

His character.

From
A. M.
3648.
—
B. C.
356.
to
A. M.
3681.
—
B. C.
323.

dress. His claim of kindred to Jupiter, a folly not uncommon in those ages, is ascribed to a political motive, the desire to elevate his wisdom and magnify his auspices in the eyes of his soldiers; whilst the compliment which he paid to his Persian subjects by using their language and natural costume, had an object at once so judicious and so obvious, as not to admit of being misunderstood. Long banquets and deep drinking, he adds, on the authority of Aristotulus, were none of his delights; neither did he prepare entertainments for the sake of the vice, (which he did not greatly love and seldom drank much of,) but to maintain a pleasant intercourse among his friends. The authors, therefore, who attempt to condemn or calumniate Alexander, do not ground their accusation on particular actions, which, though worthy of reproof in themselves, are yet capable of receiving some mitigation when connected with the circumstances in which they were performed, but, on the contrary, bring forward a sweeping charge against his character in general, and pronounce a sentence upon his conduct at large, a method of proceeding which precludes at once all defence and apology. But let it be considered who Alexander was originally; what success crowned all his enterprises; and to what a pitch of glory he ultimately arrived—that he governed indisputably as king of both continents, and that his name, even in his own life-time, was spread through every part of the habitable world; let these things be kept in mind, and it will readily be granted, that in comparison of his great character and astonishing exploits, his vices and infirmities were trifling, and ought hardly to be regarded as casting a shade on the bright annals of his eventful reign.

Alexander.
From
A. M.
3648.
—
B. C.
356.
to
A. M.
3681.
—
B. C.
323.

DIONYSIUS THE ELDER.

FROM A. M. 3577. B. C. 427. TO A. M. 3639. B. C. 365.

Biography.

From

A. M.

3577.

—

B. C.

427.

to

A. M.

3639.

—

B. C.

365.

THE island Omothermon, originally peopled by the enterprising voyagers of Phœnicia, and subsequently by a migration of the Siculi from southern Italy, was colonised from Corinth, under the auspices of Archias, of the Herculean family, and received the name, by which it is well known in history, of Ortygia, the island of the Quail, or of Latona. This island lying close to the main land, and extending itself half way across the great bay into which the river Anapus discharges itself, forms two of the finest and most commodious harbours in the world; an advantage highly appreciated by a maritime people, as the immediate source of political importance and commercial prosperity. The colony founded in so favourable a situation rapidly extended itself to the main land, where another and a larger town Achradina, and soon afterwards a third named Tyche, was built; and in a subsequent age, Neapolis was added to them. These four towns constituted the great city of Tetrapolis, or Syracuse, (so called from the rich fen pastures in its vicinity) which, with the fortifications of the Epipole, erected by the great Dionysius, covered an area twenty-two miles in circumference, and contained a population of about three hundred thousand free citizens, which, at a very moderate computation, would make the whole number of its inhabitants little less than two millions.*

Syracuse was doubtless indebted for much of its lateral prosperity and foreign influence to the policy and virtue of the patriotic Gelo; and for much of its beauty to the taste and magnificence of the Olympic conqueror Hiero; nor must it be forgotten how much the honour of the national character was advanced by the incorruptible virtue, and the extraordinary talents, of the brave, though unfortunate, Hermocrates.

But it was during the administration of the elder Dionysius, that the Syracusans attained that height of power and splendour which excited the admiration of surrounding nations, and has appeared incredible to some modern historians.

Of the real character and conduct of this illustrious prince, it is by no means easy to form a decided and accurate judgment. The greater part of those writers to whom we are indebted for the scanty and scattered materials of his biography, were warm advocates of the Ciceronian doctrine, that the whole genus of tyrants ought to be extirpated from the earth, and held up to universal execration; and tyrannicides are seldom scrupulous respecting the means of effecting either object. Yet amidst all the misrepresentation and fiction, to which the extravagant violence of the

democratic spirit pushed the party writers of Greece and Rome, the substantial truth of history survives; and a moderate share of industry and discernment has served to strip such patriots as Harmodius and Dion of their ill-earned popularity, and to wipe off many stains from the great objects of their ferocious hostility.

But whilst we make all due allowances for the effect of republican zeal in most ancient authors, and of republican dishonesty in not a few; and find a generous pleasure in detecting the inconsistencies and absurdities of those preposterous stories of folly and wickedness and cruelty which are related by them of almost all princes, whom they indiscriminately denominated tyrants; it is the duty of the historian to avoid espousing the cause avowed of the calumniated with too much eagerness; and to remember that he is not to become the advocate of any party, though that party may have been injuriously treated, but to adhere with strictness to the impartiality of his judicial character.

The greatest modern authority upon subjects connected with Grecian history appears occasionally to deviate from this obvious line of duty.

In his laudable zeal to vindicate the character of great and good princes, and the administration of monarchical or aristocratical governments from unmerited obloquy, Mr. Mitford has exercised his peculiar acuteness and uncommon learning in casting discredit upon almost every authority which records their vices and mismanagement; whilst he has adopted, with somewhat more eagerness than might have been expected from his soundness of judgment, the slightest testimonies in their favour: so that in availing ourselves of his able assistance to lift up the dusky veil of political prejudice, it will be well to remember, that he who thus displays the picture, throws upon it, from his own lamp, the lights which he esteems most advantageous. Of this disposition the most striking example occurs in the history of Sicily during the reign of the great Dionysius, whom Diodorus, and Plutarch, and other ancient writers, concur in representing as an unprincipled usurper, governing an unwilling people in the most arbitrary manner, by the most oppressive means, and stained with almost every vice of which human nature is capable: but whom Mr. Mitford considers as the popular leader of a commonwealth, brave, politic, and eminently virtuous; obtaining his authority by steps perfectly unexceptionable, retaining it solely through the affection and confidence of the people, and exercising it with unprecedented wisdom, mildness, and generosity.

An impartial review of facts admitted on all sides, will lead us to a conclusion more probable than either; and which is supported by a brief, but masterly sketch

Dionysius the Elder.

From

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B. C.

427.

to

A. M.

3639.

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B. C.

365.

Opinions

concerning

the character

of Dionysius.

* Diodorus says that at Agrigentinum the free population was only one-tenth of the whole.

Biography.

From
A. M.
3577.
—
B. C.
427.
to
A. M.
3639.
—
B. C.
365.
Early life.

Designs of the Carthaginians on Sicily.

Agrigentum.

of the character of Dionysius from the pen of Cornelius Nepos. "The first Dionysius of Sicily was conspicuous for personal prowess and military skill; and, what is rare in a tyrant, he was by no means profligate; neither was he luxurious, nor avaricious; covetous, in short, of nothing, unless of monarchical and permanent power, and only in pursuit of that object, cruel. For in the maintenance of his government he spared the life of no man, whom he supposed to entertain designs of treachery against him. He obtained the direction of affairs by his merit, and kept it with peculiar good fortune to the end of his life."^a

With his political career, indeed, the history of his life commences: for Diodorus tells us nothing but that he was the son of Hermocrates,† and other authorities are equally silent respecting his family and early life. It may be gleaned, however, from some casual hints, principally of the orators who have attacked or panegyrized him, that his birth was in no way remarkable, either for elevation or meanness. But that his fortune was ample, his education that of a young man of distinction, and his connections of the first in the state, is not denied even by those who would impute to him, as a reproach, the mediocrity of his hereditary rank. The political party, to which he was attached in early life, may be inferred from his having been severely wounded, and left for dead in the tumult, when the virtuous and gallant Hermocrates lost his life; as well as from his intimacy with Philistus the historian, and with the other opponents of Diocles, and of the democratic faction.

After the untimely death of Hermocrates, there remained no man who had the ability, if indeed any of the seditious party, then successful, had the wish, to provide for the safety of all Sicily, by uniting its numerous independent Grecian settlements, in a common confederacy against the ambitious designs of the Carthaginians, who partly by negotiation, and partly by arms, never ceased to aim at the subjugation of the whole island, till the overwhelming power of Rome laid both countries in the dust. No sooner was an opening offered, by the temporary triumph of the faction of Diocles, than a vast armament, naval and military, was intrusted to the command of Hannibal, to be employed in reducing Sicily to what was termed the alliance of Carthage; and in order to combine the vigour and maturity with the experience of age, Hamilcar, the son of Hanno, was appointed to act with them.

These preparations, though their destination was sufficiently understood, were met by no corresponding activity on the part of the Sicilian Greeks, distracted by factions, and discouraged by disasters. The Syracusans tried negotiation, and failed; the other states made no united nor effectual efforts to avert the storm; the African army landed without material opposition, and commenced at once a regular siege and blockade of Agrigentum, at that time second only to Syracuse in power and greatness, and scarcely its inferior in wealth and population.

The Agrigentines had long ceased, however, to

dispute the supremacy of the rival city, and a friendly alliance was maintained between them till the period of the assassination of Hermocrates, when the prevalence of the democratic party in Syracuse occasioned a coolness between the government in that city and the ruling powers at Agrigentum, who were in the Lacedæmonian, that is, in the aristocratic or oligarchical interest. But the alliance, though no longer cordial, remained unbroken; and the Syracusan leaders, at length awakened to the greatness of their danger, determined on sending prompt and effectual relief to the besieged. They accordingly summoned their other allies in Sicily and Italy to furnish troops, and despatched Daphneus with a collective force of thirty thousand foot, and five thousand horse. The operations of the siege had fortunately been delayed by the prevalence of sickness in the Carthaginian army, and by the death of Hannibal; and Daphneus arriving at this juncture, engaged the enemy, and obtained a decisive advantage.

But in Agrigentum, as in most Grecian towns, the opposition of parties was too nearly balanced to admit of any thing resembling consistency in public measures. The people rendered unready by the prospect of deliverance, rose upon their generals and murdered them; democratic influence was once more re-established, and produced its usual consequences; so that although the zeal of their Syracusan allies was sharpened by the revolution which had been effected, no due advantage was taken of the favourable circumstances which occurred; and after a siege of eight months, Hamilcar became master of Agrigentum.

This event caused the utmost consternation throughout Sicily. Many took refuge within the walls of Syracuse; and some embarked for Italy, carrying with them their families and fortunes. The Agrigentines who had escaped from their city, murmured loudly against the conduct of the Syracusan leaders; and a general discontent prevailed among the Sicilian Greeks, that men so unfit should have been appointed to the administration of affairs. A popular assembly being held at Syracuse, and no one, in the general dissatisfaction, venturing to make any specific proposal, Dionysius, who had acquired great popularity by his courage and activity under Daphneus against the Carthaginians, boldly accused the generals of corruption, and moved that the people should not await the period of their command appointed by law, (when their conduct would regularly come under consideration) but should inflict instant punishment upon their venality.

The government, in return, declared Dionysius guilty of sedition, and proceeded to impose a fine upon him; but the influence (or according to Diodorus, the suretyship) of his friend, the historian Philistus, procured for him a second hearing; and he urged the popular topics of invective against the men in power with so much effect, that the administration were compelled to resign, and Dionysius himself, as he probably anticipated, was elected among their successors, at the age of twenty-four.

From this moment he became, in fact, the autocrat of Syracuse; for his colleagues in office, whether willing to intrust the whole power of the state in his hands, or wanting the talents and popularity to oppose his measures, appear to have taken little part in the government, or in the military arrangements

Dionysius the Elder.

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B. C.
427.
to
A. M.
3639.
—
B. C.
365.

ol.
93. 3.
B. C.
406.

Election of
Dionysius
to the
supreme
power.

^a This passage is quoted by Mr. Mitford, who allows due credit to the impartiality of Cornelius Nepos.

[†] Some copies have *Hermocrates*. Dionysius having married the daughter of *Hermocrates* may, not improbably, have been called by *Diodorus* & *Apianus* through inadvertence. Yet *Wesseling* believes that there were two persons of the same name, one the father, the other father-in-law, of Dionysius.

Biography.

From
A. M.
3577.
—
B. C.
497.
to
A. M.
3639.
—
B. C.
365.

Raised to the govern-
ment of
Gela.
B. C.
406.

which followed; and it seems probable that an ambitious young man would not be unwilling that they should quietly sink into insignificance.

His first care was to recall the citizens who had been exiled, or who had fled from their country, at the period of the banishment of Hermocrates; and this being obviously a measure of sound policy, in the present exigencies of the state, as well as of justice and humanity, it was in vain objected by a few, who already dreaded the establishment of a tyranny, that Dionysius would thus surround himself with a powerful body of men wholly devoted to his interest, and of principles confessedly hostile to an unlimited democracy.

About this time, despatches arrived from Gela, soliciting an augmentation of the force sent for its defence against Hamilcar; and Dionysius went thither in person, with two thousand foot and four hundred horse. He found the town, as was usual, distracted by dissensions between the aristocratic and popular factions; and Dexippus the Lacedæmonian, who commanded the auxiliary forces, unable to procure the stipulated payment for his troops: an assembly of the people took place, and order was restored by the condemnation to death of some of the most seditious among the wealthier citizens; and Dionysius had influence enough to procure a decree, that the funds arising from the confiscation of their property, should be applied to discharge the arrears due to Dexippus; at the same time, to secure the fidelity of the troops he had brought with him, he promised them that he would, at his own cost, double their pay. The Geloans, thus restored to order, were profuse in their gratitude, and sent ambassadors to Syracuse to report their satisfaction with the conduct of Dionysius, upon whom they had conferred peculiar marks of honour, entreating him to continue among them till the apprehended danger from the Carthaginians should be over. Dionysius, however, had a more important charge at home; and promising the Geloans to watch over their safety, he departed for Syracuse.

On his arrival, it happened that the people were coming from the spectacles of the theatre, and a crowd was immediately collected about him, eagerly inquiring for news respecting the enemy. He took occasion to reproach them with their supineness and indifference in being occupied in festivities, while Hamilcar was actively engaged in preparing for the siege of their city; and he announced his own intention to resign his command on account of the incapacity and corruption of his colleagues, who, he insinuated, had been tampered with by Hamilcar, and with whom he should, in consequence, decline to act any longer.

It is probable that Dionysius had reserved this bold measure till he felt his own popularity sufficiently established to overwhelm any opposition which could be raised to him, either by the friends of the accused, or by the democratic party, who were always hostile to power in the hands of a single person, especially if that person were eminent for ability and virtue; and the result fully answered his expectations. So rapidly was the report spread of the approach of the enemy, and the treachery of the generals, and so universal was the panic excited by it, that upon his calling an assembly of the people the next morning, his colleagues were denounced as traitors to their country; were de-

prived of their office; and the consideration of their banishment reserved for a special meeting; the example of Gela, and the dread of sharing the fate of Agrigentum, sufficing to induce the people to commit the whole power of the state to Dionysius, with the title of general autocrat; an office, it should seem, less absolute, but more permanent than that of dictator at Rome, and comprising all the duties and authorities of a governor-general and commander-in-chief. Plutarch asserts that Hipparchus, a man of the highest rank and largest fortune in Syracuse, was associated with Dionysius in power; and the assertion appears to derive confirmation from the manner in which Aristotle speaks of their joint authority; but if it were so, Hipparchus played the part of the slave in a Roman triumph.

— Et sibi consul
Ne placeat, cetera sennis portante edem.

The responsibility, and the power belonged to Dionysius; his colleague served only to remind him that he was not a monarch; nor is the period of his death noticed in any extant history.

To secure himself in this invidious station, the favour of the populace, and especially of the army, was indispensable; and accordingly he began by proposing to double the pay of the soldiers; assuring the assembly that the revenue of the state could well afford it. Of the wisdom of this measure, on public grounds, it is difficult to form an opinion, in the uncertainty in which we are left, respecting the sources and amount of the public income, and the sum received by the soldiers; but it is not improbable that at Syracuse, as at Athens and other Grecian states, in proportion as the military system became more regular, and the service consequently more completely interrupted ordinary employments, the small stipend originally allowed, was found insufficient for the soldier's comfort.

His next measure appears more exceptionable, having imitated Pericles in his manner of ingratiating himself with the military, he adopted the artifice of Peisistratus to obtain, for his personal security, the invidious protection of a body guard; which though, perhaps, rendered necessary by the unusual mildness and liberality of his administration, which permitted his political adversaries to live unmolested in the city, was universally reprobated throughout Greece, as the badge and support of arbitrary power, and imposed upon him the unpopular appellation of tyrant; a word, in its origin, of no obnoxious signification, and simply denoting a chief;* but degraded by the democratic prepossessions of Greece and Rome, (as *villania* has been by an opposite prejudice in modern Europe) to become a term of reproach.

Having ordered all the troops under forty years of age to prepare a month's provision for a march to Leontium, which, though an independent city, was garrisoned by Syracusan refugees and other foreigners, he encamped for the night in the fields: in the dusk, a violent tumult arose; and the domestics of the general crying out that he had been treacherously attacked, he fled with all expedition to the citadel of Leontium, where he called to arms, and kept up

* Thus Jupiter, without any irreverence, was called tyrant of heaves.

Dionysius
the Elder.

From
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—
B. C.
497.
to
A. M.
3639.
—
B. C.
365.

Raises a
body guard

Biography. watch-fires till the morning; when an assembly of the people being convened, voted him a guard of six hundred men, to be selected by himself from among the soldiers most devoted to his person.

His enemies, of course, treated the whole affair as the contrivance of Dionysius, and represented him as having called an assembly of the people at Leontium, in order that it might be composed more of his own creatures than of the respectable inhabitants of Syracuse; but though it is not unlikely that he wished to give his enemies an opportunity of attacking him, and for that purpose thought proper to pass a night on the road, it appears that Daphneus and Demarechus, and some other leaders of the party in opposition, were at this time, actually implicated in a treasonable plot against him; and the two former suffered death by the laws of their country. The Lacedæmonian Dexippus, labouring under strong suspicion of having shared in their crime, was ordered to quit the city.

Dionysius certainly neglected no means of strengthening his authority, or of conciliating popularity; and he applied himself diligently to preparations for the expected contest with Hamilcar. The democratic writers, as usual, attribute every measure which his military skill and foresight adopted, (even the necessary expedient of engaging a mercenary force, and the advantageous position which he selected for his camp) to his determination of establishing himself in absolute power. But if his bold and active spirit was not insensible to the allurements of ambition, nor his virtue always proof against its temptations, there is at least abundant proof in his whole conduct, that his ambition was that of a great and generous mind, and was uniformly directed to promote the safety, the glory, and the prosperity of his country; all of which, in a great measure, depended upon his retaining the reins of government. To confirm his connection with the noblest and most popular families of Syracuse, he married, about this time, (a. c. 405) Arete, the daughter of that enlightened patriot, Hermocrates; and he bestowed the hand of his own sister, Thesea, upon another relative of the same family.

Hamilcar, meanwhile, having wintered his army in Agrigentum, continued to make great preparations for the reduction of Gela in the spring; and Dionysius was neither deceived in his object, nor remiss in his endeavours to obviate it. He enrolled every Syracusan capable of bearing arms; he called out the contingent forces of the Sicilian allies; and obtained succours from the Greek states in Italy; and still further, he augmented his army by engaging mercenary troops; the whole amounting, according to the most probable account, to thirty thousand foot, a thousand horse, and a fleet of fifty ships. With this force he marched to the relief of Gela, and on his arrival, pitching his camp near the sea, in order to maintain a communication with the fleet, he endeavoured to intercept the supplies of the Carthaginians by sea and land, and to reduce them to the necessity of abandoning their lines. And with this view he remained quietly in his position for twenty days.

But the temper and constitution of a Grecian army, trained to republican principles, and accustomed to submit to control only in active service, was ill adapted to protracted operations; and Dionysius became sensible that it was absolutely necessary to lead

his men into action with as little delay as possible. Watching his opportunity, therefore, he formed his infantry in three divisions, who were to advance by different routes, and to commence an attack on the three points of the camp at once; the cavalry had orders to act as a reserve, and the fleet to assist in forcing the lines next the shore. But although the plan was shrewdly arranged, either the distances had been miscalculated, or some disaffection among the troops occasioned a defect of communication, for the Italian allies, after conducting themselves with great gallantry, being unsupported, were repulsed with severe loss; and were only preserved from entire destruction by the protection of the fleet; the Sicilians, overpowered by numbers, retreated into the town, leaving six hundred slain on the field; and Dionysius himself, met with so many unexpected obstructions to advancing through the streets with the division under his immediate command, that he arrived only in time to witness the defeat of his army, and to retire within the walls.

A council of war was immediately held, and in order to gain time, a herald was sent to Hamilcar, with a request that the Greeks might be permitted to bury their dead. During the cessation of hostilities which this occasioned, Dionysius prepared to evacuate the town, now no longer deemed defensible; not leaving two thousand light troops to kindle the fires, and keep up other appearances of habitation, he withdrew the whole population of Gela during the night, and sent them forwards in safety towards Syracuse. He, himself, meanwhile, went to Camarina, and directed all the citizens, with their wives, children, and moveable property, to prepare for an immediate removal; and so cooived were they of the necessity of the measure, that the greatest promptness was manifested in obeying his orders; and in a few hours they also were on the road to the only place which now appeared to offer any security from the invading army.

But Dionysius was not exempt from the usual consequences of failure, though the measures which he adopted to save the inhabitants of the two cities from total ruin and destruction, were undeniably well planned and shrewdly executed. Some few, from age or sickness, or obstinacy, were left behind, and their complaints produced a strong sensation of pity, not unmingled with indignation; others, whose feebleness was ill calculated for a march, necessarily rapid, were overcome by fatigue and vexation; and there were not wanting disaffected persons in the army to inflame these natural discontents, and to represent the whole transaction as a scheme of the general for increasing the population of his own city, and establishing a despotic power over Sicily, by means of the Carthaginians. The Italian allies, fired at the idea that their exposure to extreme danger had been preconcerted, immediately crossed the island and returned home; and the Syracusan cavalry, by whose inactivity or treachery, the defeat at Gela seems partly to have been occasioned, and most of whom were of the violent democratic party, would have murdered Dionysius on the march, had not his body guard been vigilant and faithful. Failing in this design, they deserted and hastened to Syracuse, where forging a tale which suited their purpose, and asserting that the whole army had conspired against the tyrant,

Dionysius the Elder.

From A. M. 3577.

B. C. 427. to A. M. 3639. B. C. 365.

Preparation for a war with Carthage.

His army defeated by Hamilcar.

Biography. they obtained ready admission within the fortifications; and proceeding (with such friends to their cause as they could collect) to the house of Dionysius, not only pillaged and destroyed his property, but with true republican brutality, wreaked their vengeance on his innocent wife, the hapless Arete, who, like another Lucretia, disdained to survive her involuntary shame.

The general, meanwhile, informed of the desertion of so large a body of cavalry, and suspecting it to be their intention to raise a sedition against him, resolved, if possible, to anticipate their arrival in the city; taking with him his body guard of six hundred, and one hundred horse, on whose attachment he could rely, he marched fifty miles with extraordinary speed, and arrived about midnight at one of the gates of Acradina. Finding it closed against him, he set fire to it by means of some fuel which accidentally lay near, and while this was doing, collected together such of his followers as had been unable to keep up with him. The gate at length giving way, he rushed through Acradina, and finding a party of his principal enemies collected in the forum, and the people in general not disposed to interfere, he put them all to the sword; and passing immediately through the city, he executed, or forced into exile, the partisans of the atrocious conspiracy. Early in the morning the remainder of the mercenary troops, and all the Sicilian allies, arrived in good order at Syracuse; but the Geloni and Camarinean emigrants, alarmed by the suggestions of the disaffected, had turned aside to take refuge among the Leontines.

Syracuse thus weakened and distracted, appeared to offer an easy prey to the victorious army of Hamilcar; but unusual circumstances, among which was the spread of a pestilential disorder among his troops, induced the Carthaginian general to send a flag of truce to Dionysius, reminding him that the conqueror was making overtures to the conquered. His proposals were gladly received; and it being equally the interest of both parties to put an end to the war, a treaty was soon concluded, the terms of which considerably extended the dominion of Carthage in Sicily, whilst it deprived Syracuse of all her dependencies. The prisoners and ships taken in the course of the war, were exchanged; and Hamilcar immediately conducted home the remainder of his army, diminished, according to Diodorus, by half its number; carrying with him an infection which spread rapidly in Africa, and not only wasted the territory of Carthage, but depopulated the neighbouring states; and for many years weakened the power of the empire.

Dionysius thus freed from the pressure of a foreign enemy, employed all the activity of his extraordinary genius in confirming his government, and in augmenting the resources and power of his country; and in the measures which he adopted to secure these objects, he displayed that political sagacity and patriotic liberality, which led Scipio to rank him among the first of statesmen and commanders; and Isocrates to recommend his conduct for the imitation of Philip of Macedon. With a noble and enlightened ambition, he endeavoured to render himself master of Syracuse and of Sicily, by making himself necessary to its glory and prosperity; and it appears clearly, even in the accounts handed down to us by

writers devoted to the adverse faction, that he triumphed over them rather by means of a majority who were sensible of the advantages of his government, than by the vigour with which he repressed the designs of the disaffected, and punished those who could neither be gained by moderation, nor trusted with safety. Though he is accused of employing foreign influence to establish his despotic power, the charge is wholly unsupported by evidence, and is satisfactorily refuted by the line of conduct which he invariably pursued towards foreign powers, as well as by the system which he followed at home; the very reverse of that narrow and selfish policy, generally adopted by tyrants in Greece, who were afraid of encouraging among their people a spirit of enterprise, lest it should be employed in the recovery of their liberties; and who sacrificed the honour and welfare of the state, to the maintenance of arbitrary power.

The ascendancy of Syracuse over the other states of Sicily, and its safety from the invasion of the continental nations, obviously depended, chiefly, upon its marine, which Dionysius determined to place immediately upon a footing of unprecedented strength and magnificence. Surrounding the island of Ortigia, which separates the great and lesser harbours, with prodigiously strong and lofty walls surmounted by numerous turrets; he fortified both entrances to the Laccian port, which was shut by gates, admitting no more than one ship at a time; the interior was adapted for receiving sixty ships of war, and boat-houses were erected to shelter them from the weather.

The entrance on the land side was protected by a strong citadel, (called Pentapyle, or Five Gates) surrounded by splendid porticoes, calculated for the accommodation of a large army, in a climate where sudden transitions from the heat of the afternoon sun, to the chilling damps of the evening, are particularly injurious to men exposed to the open air. It is even said, that the bottom of the harbour was paved with large flat stones, and an aqueduct laid under it, which supplied the fortress with fresh water; but this story, as its authority seems questionable, and the utility* of the design doubtful, is scarcely deserving of credit. The whole fortification and naval arsenal were certainly so complete as to be impregnable by any arts of war then known; though, being commanded by higher ground in the district of Acradina, it has yielded to modern improvements in science. The younger Dionysius maintained himself within it, at a later period, long after the other divisions of the city were occupied by different enemies, each more popular and powerful than himself, and capitulated at last on favourable terms; and even the all-conquering Roman arms, under the conduct of the great Marcellus, having gained possession of the other parts of Syracuse, were indebted to treachery for the reduction of the citadel; and when once master of it, the prætor became so sensible of its strength and importance, that he compelled all the natives to remove to the other quarters of the town.

Having thus provided for the security of his navy, Dionysius employed a number of workmen in ship-building; and to increase his own popularity, as well as the strength and population of the place, he divided

* There are fresh springs in the island.

† It was taken by the Spaniards, A. D. 1735.

Biography.

From
A. M.
3577.
—
B. C.
427.
to
A. M.
3639.
—
B. C.
365.

Military
intersec-
tion.

the land which had eschewed to the state* among all classes of freemen, including resolute foreigners, and manumitted slaves, whom he admitted to the rights of citizens, under the appellation of Neopolites; and it is probable that this class of persons principally inhabited the district of Neapolis, which appears scarcely to have existed at the time of the Athenian siege, (see. 91.) but grew into a large and handsome town under the auspices of Dionysius.

In this division of land, as was natural, and by no means reprehensible, Diodorus asserts, that those who had been faithful and active in the service of the governor general obtained the fairest portions; and that in assigning the habitations of the new citizens, he took care to people with his most steady adherents, the strong fortress of the island, which he made his own residence, and decorated with beautiful sculpture and magnificent gardens; where his son afterwards erected a splendid monument to his memory.

These peaceful occupations, congenial to the taste and talents of Dionysius, were interrupted by a renewal of that factious spirit which so unhappily blighted the prosperity of almost every Grecian state. A detachment which had been sent against a marauding party of native Sicilians, having murdered their commanding officer, sent to the Syracusean refugees, whom the moderation of Dionysius had permitted to establish themselves in the garrison of Etna, on the south side of the mountains, for a troop of cavalry; and having readily obtained what, in all likelihood, had previously been promised, they marched back to Syracuse under the conduct of the assassins, with the intention of effecting a revolution. In the meanwhile they solicited from Rhegium, in Italy, and from Messina, (now, though an oligarchical state, brought over to the seditions party,) a naval force to co-operate in the recovery of their liberty; and a hundred and twenty ships of war were despatched to their assistance. The land force immediately seized the Epipolæ, a craggy and precipitous eminence, commanding great part of the city; and the measures of the rebels were conducted with so much promptitude and ability, that Dionysius thought it prudent to retire within the fortifications of the island, to which he thus early became indebted for the preservation, not merely of his power, but of his life. A large reward was proclaimed for his head, and every inducement was offered to his troops to desert him, and, if we may believe the democratic historian, not without effect. Blockaded now by sea and land, the hattering engines planted against his walls, and all communication with his own party in the other quarters of the city being cut off, the governor-general held a council of war, the result of which was, a proposal made to the rebels that he should surrender the citadel, on condition of being permitted to quit Sicily with as many of his followers, and as much of his property, as could be conveyed in five ships of the line. His real object, however, appears to have been to gain time, and to open the means of intercourse with his friends in the city, and with his Sicilian partisans. By this artifice he contrived to introduce reinforcements into the

island; and very shortly succeeded in expelling the insurgents from the remaining parts of Syracuse, and in completely re-establishing his authority.

In the tumult which unavoidably accompanied this counter-revolution, Diodorus himself admits that Dionysius rode up and down restraining his troops from bloodshed, and that he bestowed the honourable burial of citizens indiscriminately upon all who fell of both parties. An act of piety and generosity, as well as of liberal policy, which republican gratitude rewarded by praying that "his opponents might speedily have an opportunity of returning the favour." The governor-general, however, persisted in his endeavours to conciliate the people, offering free pardon to all who would return to their homes, and receiving such as availed themselves of his clemency with every mark of favour.

Dionysius thus restored to power, and apparently confirmed in it, was regarded by all the commonwealths of Greece with an eye of jealousy; and Aristus was despatched as ambassador from Sparta, with instructions, as it appears from the sequel, to engage the stronger party in the Lacedæmonian interest. With this view he at once flattered the court, and tampered with the people; till finding that the influence of Nicoteles, a secret agent of the Corinthian government, prevailed over his own among the disaffected party, he entered warmly into the views of Dionysius, assisted in detecting an extensive conspiracy which was forming with the sanction of Cnirith, and denounced Nicoteles as a traitor. The measures which followed partook strongly of Spartan severity; and though apparently called for by the dangerous spirit of the times, were rather submitted to than willingly embraced by the liberal temper of the governor-general. Nicoteles was condemned to death; several of the most violent partisans of sedition were banished; and, during the ensuing harvest, the mob of Syracuse, or, in the factious phrase, the people, were deprived of their armour. Most of the Grecian settlements, like some of our own colonies, were destitute of country habitations; and a system of tillage, imperfect indeed, but sufficient, in the fertile soil and genial climate of Sicily, to produce an abundant crop, was carried on by the inhabitants of fortified towns, who, except during harvest, seldom slept in the fields. But at that season, booths and arbours supplied the place of more durable shelter, and the whole labouring population evacuated the cities, and lived for a time in the open air. Advantage was taken of this custom to search the houses for arms, and thus to give a secure ascendancy to a military government.

The exiles taking refuge in Etna rendered that place so populous, and so formidable, that no permanent tranquillity could be expected, whilst an inveterate enemy should continue to hold a post every way calculated for the encouragement of plots and conspiracies in Syracuse. It was therefore resolved to level it with the ground, and to disperse the inhabitants. Most of them, it is supposed, found a welcome reception amongst the Rhegians, who persevered to the last in their hostility against Dionysius.

These vigorous measures produced a temporary cessation of war and sedition, and allowed leisure for the advancement of the extensive plans formed by the genius of Dionysius for the aggrandisement of his native city, in prosecution of his favourite object to

Dionysius
the Elder.

From
A. M.
3577.
—
B. C.
427.
to
A. M.
3639.
—
B. C.
365.

OL.
94. 1.

* There seems nothing in history to warrant the idea that any thing like an Agrarian law, or any invasion of private property took place.

† The accounts of what passed in the council bear, as Mr. Mitford observes, every mark of fiction.

Biography. make Syracuse the metropolis of Sicily, and the rival of Carthage.

From
A. M.
3577.
—
n. c.
457.
to
A. M.
3639.
—
A. C.
365.

That powerful state had been so weakened by the extensive desolation of the pestilence which drove Hamilcar from Sicily, as to be incapable, at this period, of interfering with effect in foreign affairs; and Dionysius eagerly availed himself of the opportunity, thus unexpectedly afforded, to bring many of the smaller Grecian and Sicilian towns again into alliance with Syracuse, and even to extend his influence among the independent states in Italy; and so rapid was the growth of political power and commercial prosperity which ensued, as to excite the envy and astonishment of contemporary nations, and the incredulity of modern critics.

It could not, however, escape the sagacity of the governor-general, that the supineness of the Carthaginians was not likely to continue long; and that the fame of his successes must speedily rouse them to avenge his infraction of the treaty, and his contempt of their authority. He was perfectly aware that the storm was not to be averted by concession, nor to be resisted by any thing short of the most extensive and complete preparations. Profiting by past experience, he determined to fortify the commanding site of the Epipolæ, (which had repeatedly been the source of danger to the town) and convert it into a fortress for its defence.

Fortifies
the Epipolæ.

The rock is precipitous, and nearly inaccessible on the north side; and the plan adopted was to crown it with a strong citadel, and by a long wall, surrounded with towers, to connect it with the walls of the town. An extent of building, altogether, of above thirty furlongs, (about four miles): the remains of which are still reckoned the finest existing specimen of ancient military architecture. "We were quite astonished," observes an intelligent English tourist, "at the magnitude of the subterranean passages, from whence both infantry and cavalry might make their sallies, and retreat again under protection of the fort. We admired the huge square towers of solid masonry; the excellent contrivance of its gateways for every purpose of defence; the vast blocks of its parapets, which lay upon the ground, bored with grooves, by which melted pitch or lead were poured down upon the assailants. Nor did the art and judgment fail to strike us with which the walls were built; constituted of immense blocks, without cement, they varied in thickness, according as the situation required: where nature herself had assisted in forming the rampart, they measured from seven to nine feet in breadth; but in more unguarded situations, they were fifteen, of that species of building which the ancients called *empletion*." * In order to accomplish this great work with as little delay as possible, Dionysius engaged sixty thousand citizens to labour unremittingly in building, exclusive of an immense number of artists of various descriptions, employed in squaring the stones, and fitting the materials, and a multitude of labourers at work in the quarries. † Six thousand oxen were required to draw the huge stones of which the wall was con-

structed; and it has ingeniously been conjectured, that the materials of the great works thrown up near this spot by Nicias during the Athenian invasion, contributed to facilitate the present undertaking. The new fortress obtained the name of *Hexapyle*, (Six Gates) and, though it does not appear to have been inhabited, occasioned the name *Tetrapolis* to be exchanged for *Pentapolis*.

From the eminence of the Epipolæ, Dionysius must have enjoyed a noble prospect of the whole city, with all its palaces, and temples, and gardens, its impregnable fortresses, and magnificent harbours, filled with the preparations for war, and the occupations of peace; and it is easy to conceive the exultation of spirit with which he viewed the scene of splendour and prosperity before him, so much the work of his own generosity and genius. In this enjoyment he passed much of his time during the building of the Hexapyle, mingling freely with all classes of the people, encouraging industry, rewarding talent, assisting personally on any emergency, and lying aside, like the great czar Peter, not only the guards and attendance, but the manner of royalty, to render his instructions to the workmen more familiar, and his design more popular; and so great was the zeal with which his people worked by night as well as by day, that the undertaking was completed in three weeks.

It is obviously impossible to reconcile the accounts of the conduct of the governor-general on this and similar occasions, with the stories related by Plutarch, and even by Diodorus, of his arbitrary violence, despotic system of government, and excessive dread of popular fury or private revenge. It is quite clear that he who could thus trust himself unarmed and unprotected among nearly an hundred thousand of the people indiscriminately assembled, must have felt assured that they were neither dissatisfied with his administration, nor aggrieved by private wrong; and it is not to be believed that a man so secure in the midst of the populace, could be cruel and suspicious at home. We are justified, therefore, in rejecting the anecdotes told of his having his hair and beard trimmed with a live coal, lest his barber should cut his throat; of his obliging all who approached him to strip and change their clothes in the vestibule of his apartment, lest they should have concealed some weapon in their dress; of his rage against his own brother for raising a spear to point out a distant object; and a number of similar tales, which republican bitterness delighted to heap upon a great and successful tyrant, not a few of which have been related of others besides Dionysius. To him alone, however, belongs the celebrated story of the feast of Damocles, which, if true, implies nothing more than that Dionysius, by a practical allegory, conveyed an important lesson on the troubles and dangers of royalty to a man who ignorantly envied the splendour and luxuries of the palace. It is certainly difficult to conjecture the design of that extraordinary cavern in the *lætæmæ* of Neapolis, generally known by the name of the *Ear* of Dionysius, and vulgarly believed to have been made by him for the purpose of listening to the conversation of the numerous prisoners confined in it by his jealous timidity; but there is no authority for referring its construction to the time of the excavation of the *lætæmæ*; and although the cavern possesses some amusing properties for the conveyance of sound,

Dionysius
the Elder.

From
A. M.
3577.

A. C.
427.

to
A. M.
3639.

A. C.
365.

OL.
94. 1.

Fictions of
historians
refuted.

* Hughes's *Travels in Sicily*, &c. vol. I.

† These *lætæmæ* were excavated so regularly as to form magnificent and secure prisons, (as the Athenians found to their cost) and excited the great admiration of Cicero, who calls them *opæ* *regium*—a truly royal work. They are open at top, and are now laid out into gardens and pleasure grounds.

Biography. it is incapable of answering the purpose for which the tyrant is said to have designed it.

There were, undoubtedly, some periods of his life when the violence and treachery of the republican faction must have rendered extreme caution indispensably necessary: and when an enormous reward was offered for his assassination, common prudence would oblige him to be circumspect in admitting strangers to his presence. But these precautions, whatever they might be, ceased with the occasions that gave rise to them; and Dionysius lived more unguardedly among the citizens of Syracuse than is usual with popular princes in limited monarchies.

After a short season of unexampled tranquillity and prosperity in Syracuse, when faction every where paused from its continual agitations, as if to become a spectator of the bold undertaking of Cyrus, and the wonderful return of his Grecian army, the Rhegian people — (the staunch promoters of revolution, stimulated by the Syracusan exiles who had taken refuge among them; and affecting to commiserate the fate of their kindred, the inhabitants of Naxos and Catania, who had entered into the alliance of Dionysius,) — fitted out a fleet of fifty ships of war, and embarked an army of six thousand infantry, and six hundred cavalry, in what was then, as now, denominated by the cant of party, “the sacred cause of liberty;” in other words, the overthrow of an established, peaceful, and flourishing state, by means of stimulating the worst passions of the lowest people.

The Rhegians contrived to engage in this attempt the oligarchical administration of Messen, who sent them a reinforcement of four thousand foot, four hundred horse, and thirty ships of the line; but the government of Syracuse was at this time so popular in Sicily, that the Messenian soldiers, on learning the object of the expedition, refused to obey their generals; and the Italians, deprived of their assistance, and unable alone to meet the forces which Dionysius had led out to oppose them, were glad to obtain peace on easy terms.

The consequence of this ill-conducted scheme was the extension of the Syracusan empire, (for so the Greek historians are accustomed to term the supremacy of the first state in a confederacy) not merely in Sicily, but also over several of the Greek settlements in Italy; so that Dionysius from this period was not unusually called “the tyrant of Sicily and Italy,” being at the head of the Greek nation, both in the island, and on the adjoining continent. Nor did he remit his exertions to strengthen his interest, and to combine the whole Grecian name in one league against the Carthaginian dominion in Sicily.

He had now leisure to resume those prodigious preparations against invasion which have excited the admiration of all succeeding ages, and of which the native historian observes, that each of his numerous undertakings appears sufficient to have absorbed the whole resources of the state. By what means he raised such enormous sums, without any apparent diminution of individual wealth among the citizens, any oppression of the allies, or any known opportunity for considerate plunder, no ancient writer now extant has left us a satisfactory account. We learn, however, that * one source of revenue was a kind of

poll-tax, the origin of which is deserving of notice. Dionysius, foreseeing that he might probably want large supplies of money on some future emergency, when his credit and popularity might be less productive, gave out that it was necessary to raise an immediate and general contribution for a secret service, the nature of which could not, consistently with its object, be disclosed. The tax was readily granted, and paid; and soon afterwards public notice was given, that circumstances having occurred to prevent the execution of the projected plan, the money which had been raised would be repaid on application at the treasury. So great was the confidence gained by this artifice, in the integrity of the administration, that, when the real necessity arose, the supply was obtained without any difficulty.

Such indeed was the universal popularity of the scheme for driving the Carthaginians out of Sicily, that the government received frequent voluntary contributions of labour, materials, and money. In the last essential supply Dionysius seems, by whatever means, to have bounded. He not only paid the numerous artisans whom he engaged from all quarters of the world in the most liberal manner, but stimulated their activity, and rewarded their ingenuity, by giving splendid prizes to the best executed designs. By these means he drew to Syracuse all who possessed either skill or industry in mechanical operations, and he displayed the most consummate genius in directing and superintending the works. The existing fleet of a hundred and ten ships was speedily put into complete repair, and two hundred additional vessels were built, some of which were upon a new construction, and on a larger scale than any yet known, and having two more banks of oars than the ordinary trireme, obtained the name of quinqueremes. To secure this powerful navy from the effects of the weather, the number of boat-houses in the harbour was doubled, and many of them made capable of containing two ships. While, with a policy utterly irreconcilable with the despotic system attributed to him, Dionysius used all his influence to engage the citizens of Syracuse in the naval service, and actually succeeded in half manning his fleet with a class of sailors whom no tyrant, ruling against the will of the people, could have trusted within the walls of the arsenal.

Dindorus asserts, that the battery (*το κατεστρωμένον*) was at this period first invented at Syracuse; meaning, not the art of battering fortifications by a variety of engines, which had been practised long before in Greece, and was carried to great perfection in Africa, but the contrivance of manning a naval force by machines planted upon the walls of a fortress, and discharging huge blocks of stone, and beams of wood, headed with masses of iron, which Archimedes afterwards improved, to the great discomfort of the Romans, under Marcellus. The most ingenious mechanics were assiduously employed in the construction of these batteries for the protection of the port; while an incredible number of armours filled every vacant space in the city with their forges and workshops; and so eager were the citizens in forwarding the wishes of the governor-general, that multitudes voluntarily contril their personal labour in the

* It is also mentioned by Aristotle, that Dionysius endeavoured

Disquisitions
the Elder.

From
A. M.
3577.
—
B. C.
427.
to
A. M.
3639
—
B. C.
365.

Architectural
plans of
Dionysius.

to establish a composition for the tithes of cattle as due to the state; but that the measure was too unpopular to be very productive.

Biography.

From

A. M.

3577.

—

B. C.

427.

to

A. M.

3639.

—

B. C.

365.

Confederacy of the

Sicilian

cities.

fabrication of arms; and upwards of an hundred and forty thousand suits of armour were soon ready for service.

Pursuing his view of uniting in one confederacy against Carthage the whole Grecian name in Sicily and Italy, Dionysius was particularly anxious to conciliate the hostile parties at Messene and Rhegium, who were more than suspected of inclining to take part with the enemy in the event of war. The former he secured by conceding to them a considerable tract of border land which had been the subject of dispute; and to the latter he made a proposal, contrary indeed to the narrow policy of the democratic states of Greece, (which forbade alliance by marriage with any other republic) but perfectly accordant with the more liberal notions which he had early imbibed from the excellent Hermocrates. He offered to grant the Rhegians an increase of territory* adjoining their borders, and to provide for the commercial interests of their city, upon receiving in marriage the daughter of a Rhegian citizen. Republican prejudice, however, prevailed; the proposed alliance was rejected by an assembly of the people; and, according to a report not apparently well authenticated, but by no means improbable, the refusal was accompanied with a vulgar insult. Persevering in his design, he instructed his ambassadors to make a similar offer at Locri, where it was well received, and Doris, the daughter of Xenetus, the most illustrious citizen of Locri, was espoused to him: one of the newly-built quinqueremes, richly fitted up with gold and silver furniture, conveyed her to Syracuse; and she became the mother of the second Dionysius. It is stated by Diodorus, Plutarch, and Elian, that on the same day the governor-general married Aristomache, (or Aristenete, as the last mentioned author calls her) the daughter of his colleague Hipparchus; and that he conducted her to the palace in an equipage no less splendid than the galley of Doris. It is even added, that both ladies were perfectly happy in his impartial kindness, one enjoying the advantage of being his countrywoman, and the other of blessing him with a son; and Plutarch affirms, that the mother of Doris, who had accompanied her daughter to Syracuse, being suspected of administering poisons to Aristomache to render her barren, was put to death by Dionysius; after which the birth of the younger Hipparchus completed the felicity of the family.

The whole of this account is rejected by Mr. Mitford, simply on the ground of its improbability; and he conjectures that Doris died soon after the birth of her son, and upon her death the connection took place with the daughter of Hipparchus. However this may be, the governor-general took the opportunity of his nuptials to ingratiate himself with the people by splendid entertainments, and by the most engaging familiarity and clemency; so that even those historians who generally represent him as an odious tyrant, maintaining himself in power by a mercenary force, are compelled to acknowledge that he was at this period extremely popular; though Diodorus, with singular inconsistency, attributes at the same time to the Syracusans a violent desire for a revolution.

His vast preparations being now completed, Dio-

nysius was unwilling to afford time to Carthage for recovering from the ravages of the plague; and assembling the people, highly delighted with the nuptial shews and banquets, he addressed them at great length in favor of an immediate war; a topic already popular, which he took care to enforce, by holding out such immediate as well as contingent advantages, that the measure was carried without hesitation; and an instant confiscation, or rather pillage, followed, of all the Carthaginian property in the town and harbour: the example was quickly adopted by the other Sicilian towns, not without some violence to the persons of the unfortunate Carthaginian traders; and in the towns which were subject to Carthage, the populace rising upon the garrisons, exercised upon them the most cruel revenge for the former plunder of their houses by Hamilcar. In the beginning of the succeeding year, (OL. 95. 4.) Dionysius sent a formal embassy to Carthage, declaring war, unless, upon condition, that the Carthaginians should evacuate all the Grecian towns in Sicily. The letter containing this alternative was read to the senate and people; and although the previous conduct of Dionysius must amply have prepared them to expect such a result, the declaration of it appears to have occasioned general alarm. No idea of concession, however, was entertained; and the dismissal of the herald was the signal for the commencement of actual hostilities.

The governor-general lost no time in effecting a junction with the allied forces of the Agrigentine, Gelouan, and other Grecian states, amounting, with his own army, to eighty thousand infantry, and between three and four thousand cavalry, and attended by a fleet of nearly two hundred ships of war; about five hundred transports followed, conveying some of his newly-invented batteries, and abundance of naval and military stores. Most of the cities in the Carthaginian interest, unsupported against so overwhelming a force, hastened to submit to Dionysius; but the inhabitants of Motya, always faithful to Carthage, and on that account entitled to expect little moderation from the Syracusans, made vigorous preparations for defence, hoping to protract the siege till the arrival of succours from Africa. Five other towns followed the example; and the governor-general, leaving his brother Leptines to prosecute the operations against Motya, hastened to plunder their territories, and laid vigorous siege to Ægesta and Entella.

In the mean time, Hamilcar was again appointed at Carthage to take the command in Sicily; and in the pressing circumstances of the Sicilian allies, he resolved immediately to attempt a diversion for their relief. Despatching a squadron of only ten fast sailing vessels, he directed them to enter the harbour of Syracuse by night, and to destroy the ships of war remaining there. His orders were executed with little difficulty, and the adventurous squadron returned in safety. But although the damage was considerable to the Syracusan navy, the plan did not operate to the advantage of the Motyans; on the contrary, raising the siege of the two inferior places, Dionysius applied his whole force to the reduction of Motya, trusting to the vigilance of the garrison in Ortygia to prevent a repetition of the surprise at the arsenal.

Hamilcar, thus disappointed, and destitute of means

Dionysius

the Elder.

From

A. M.

3577.

—

B. C.

427.

to

A. M.

3639.

—

B. C.

365.

Declares

war against

Carthage.

—

OL.

95. 3.

* It is no where stated by what means Dionysius had the disposal of this land.

Hamilcar

conducts

the war in

Sicily.

Biography. for openly opposing the powerful fleet and army of the Greeks, employed all the resources of his active and enterprising genius to supply the deficiency. Collecting an hundred ships, he sailed by night, and doubling the Lilybaean cape, hove in sight suddenly off Motya at daybreak. Attacking the guard-ships, which were aloft without the harbour, he burnt and sunk most of them; and passed on into the fort before Dionysius had time to man his fleet, which was drawn up on the beach, or to push a single ship into the water. Perceiving at once the extent of the danger, and the disadvantage to which his vessels would be exposed in a naval action, from the narrowness of the channel, the Syracusan general instantly ordered his men to draw the ships over the mole into the sea, on the other side; and covering the pier with his land forces and portable batteries, he did such execution, and spread so much alarm among the Africans, to whom these engines were new and strange, that Hamilcar found it necessary to retire to Africa, and leave Motya to its fate.

Capture of Motya. The siege was consequently pressed on every side; and though the Motyans made a most gallant defence, and fought to the last with desperate valour, they were in a few days overwhelmed by superior numbers, aided by the extraordinary machinery and military stratagems of Dionysius. The slaughter was immense; and the inhabitants would in all probability have been exterminated, had not the general sent an herald to proclaim that they might take sanctuary in the temples of the gods worshipped by the Greeks: an act of humanity which the prejudiced historian attributes to the most sordid motives. The city was given up to plunder; and all the inhabitants who had escaped from the sword were sold into slavery: a Greek named Damenes, and some others of the same nation who had sided with the Carthaginians, suffered crucifixion, as traitors to the country; which, under all the circumstances of the case, must be deemed a cruel policy. The governor-general, leaving a fleet of an hundred and twenty ships, under the orders of his brother Leptines, to guard the coast, and to keep in check the people of Ægesta and Estella, and having garrisoned Motya with Syracusan and native* Sicilian troops returned home with the main body of the army.

Success of Dionysius. Early in the following spring, Dionysius marched to the scene of action, and having accepted the submission of the Halicanes, he opened the campaign by investing Ægesta, and laying waste its territory where he met with no opposition. But the Ægestans, warned by the fate of Motya, resolutely defended their town, and sallying by night, surprised and set fire to the camp of the besiegers. A small party hastening to extinguish the flames, were cut off, and the conflagration spreading rapidly, destroyed a number of houses.†

This check was followed by intelligence which could not surprise Dionysius; but which, after success so little corresponding with his own great preparations, and with the comparatively defenceless condition of the enemy, at the commencement of hostilities,

* *Zachos.* Sicilian Greeks, *Zachosarai.*

† Mr. Micford has judiciously corrected the error of Wesseling, who renders *arvum, equitum*, as if the men were burnt in their tents: a most impetuous supposition, and no way supported by any authority.

must have occasioned him serious alarm. The Carthaginian government resolved to vindicate its dominion in Sicily by a great effort, collected an army, (according to the most credible authority*) of an hundred thousand men well equipped, who were joined, as soon as they landed, by thirty thousand Sicilian allies, and a fleet of four hundred ships of war, and six hundred transports. The armament was commanded by Hamilcar, who was on this occasion raised to the rank of *Boastem* or commander-in-chief: an officer, under the ancient constitution of Carthage, invested with unlimited civil and military powers during the continuance of his command, but accountable, at its termination, for his conduct to the senate and people.

The Carthaginian fleet sailed with a fair wind, the commander of each vessel bearing sealed orders from Hamilcar, which were not to be opened till they should be under weigh. According to these orders, the ships of war coasted along shore, while the transports sailed directly across the channel, both however bound for Panormus. Dionysius, who was on the watch for any favourable occurrence, observed that the transports profiting by the breeze, had run too much ahead of the convoy, and he despatched Leptines, with thirty ships of the line, to sink as many of them as possible. The gale continuing to rise, the Syracusan men of war, built for fast rowing, and unmanageable in a heavy sea, could not easily come up with the round-built transports, which sailed best before the wind when it blew hard; but even with this disadvantage, the admiral succeeded in running down fifty of them, having on board five thousand troops, and two hundred chariots, the whole of which were lost.

Hamilcar, however, landed safely and without opposition at Panormus, with a force which Dionysius could not venture to meet, either by land or at sea; and he recovered with little opposition, the places formerly in the Carthaginian alliance. The governor-general of Syracuse having endeavoured by liberal offers, but with very indifferent success, to recruit his forces from among the Sicilian natives, retired hastily, to prepare for the defence of Syracuse. The Carthaginian general, thus left in undisputed possession of the western district of the island, resolved to make his first attempt upon Messina, with a view to the shelter which would be afforded by its fine harbour to his fleet, consisting altogether, of between six and seven hundred sail.

In his way thither, he made himself master, by voluntary submission, or by force, of all the petty states on that side of the country, exacting subsidies from those who offered any resistance. Messina, meanwhile, always distracted by faction, was now divided by a warm dispute respecting an ancient prophecy, "that the Carthaginians should draw water in the city;" which one party interpreted to foretell the triumph, another the defeat and consequent slavery of the enemy. The latter prevailed, and hasty preparations were made for a vigorous defence; the women and children were sent away, with the most valuable moveable property, to places of security; and troops occupied the shore, to prevent the landing of the enemy's

* Timæus, cited by Diodorus. Other accounts make the African army alone, to have consisted of above three hundred thousand infantry, four thousand cavalry, and four hundred armed chariots.

Dionysius the Elder.

From A. M. 3577.

B. C. 497.

A. M. 3639.

B. C. 365.

Hamilcar lands at Panormus.

Biography. foraging parties. Hamilcar immediately perceived their error, and took advantage of it; profiting by a favorable wind, he sailed boldly into the port without previously attempting to land any of his forces; and the town ill fortified towards the sea, and weakly garrisoned, fell an easy prey.

Of the inhabitants, some sought a noble death in hopeless resistance; some were interrupted in an attempt to escape over land, and were put to the sword; a few succeeded in reaching friendly fortresses; above two hundred flung themselves into the sea, with the desperate design of swimming to the opposite shore; and it is asserted, that nearly a fourth part of the number reached Italy in safety. The towers, however, which defended the city on the land side, remained impregnable, and Hamilcar, eager to push his advantages, would not consume time in their reduction; but he levelled the walls with the ground, and so completely razed and burnt the houses, that, in the words of the historian, "it was difficult to ascertain where the town had stood."

^a Success of the Carthaginians. The native Sicilians, as well as the Sicani, had now, with very few exceptions, gone over to the Carthaginians; and so many of the Grecian towns were either subdued or gained, that Hamilcar commanded much more than half the island, and the resources of Dionysius were proportionally narrowed. In this emergency he was not, however, discouraged, nor waiting in exertion, to make the most of the means yet remaining to him. He manned sixty ships with unarmoured slaves, thereby making up the number of his fleet an hundred and eighty sail, of which but a small proportion were ships of the line; and having obtained a reinforcement of a thousand heavy-armed mercenaries from Sparta, or more probably from some neighbouring Lacedæmonian garrisons, he had a disposable land force of about thirty thousand infantry, and three thousand cavalry, with which he resolved to occupy the strong line of country between mount Ætna and the coast, and there either to arrest the progress of the enemy, or compel Hamilcar to attack him to disadvantage.

The Carthaginian general meanwhile continued his march along the coast, so as to preserve his communication with the fleet; but his progress was suddenly stopped by an eruption of the volcano, and the descent of a large stream of burning lava into the sea, which rendered it impossible for the army to proceed. Obligated therefore to take the difficult and tedious circuit of the mountain, and dreading the event of a naval action in his absence, he ordered Mago, his admiral, to proceed directly with his fleet to the harbour of Catania, about half way between Messina and Syracuse, and there to await his arrival. Dionysius, ever on the watch, and urged by the impatience of some of his allies, and the doubtful fidelity of others, to strike a decisive blow, made a bold attempt to intercept the enemy's fleet, and marched with a strong division of the army, to support the attack made upon Mago, by the squadron under Leptines, and to oblige the Carthaginians to keep the sea.

Apparently, the arrangement of the Syracusan admiral, was not judicious. Selecting thirty of his best ships he rushed impetuously into the enemy's line, which he threw into disorder, and sunk several of their largest vessels; but being soon surrounded and pressed by the multitude of their men of war, he lost the advantage of his superior naval tactics, and his men, compelled to fight hand to hand, were overpowered by numbers. With great difficulty he broke through the crowd of shipping, and escaped to sea, at the expense of leaving the main body of his fleet to the enemy, who sunk and captured more than half the Syracusan navy, and killed twenty thousand men. Their own loss was considerable, both in ships and men; but they succeeded in securing the port, where they ostentatiously displayed and repaired their numerous prizes.

Hamilcar soon afterwards, having completed his arduous march round the foot of mount Ætna, reached the fertile plains of Catania, and immediately took advantage of the success which had been obtained in his absence, to form the siege of Syracuse. While Mago entered the great port, and covered its ample space with ships of war and transports, the army invested the city on the land side, and plundered the country for thirty days, in the most barbarous manner; endeavouring by every possible provocation, to induce the Syracusans to attempt a sally, either by sea or land. This design was frustrated by the prudence and firmness of Dionysius; but he could not prevent the Carthaginians from possessing themselves of the suburb of Acradina, less strongly fortified than the other divisions of the city; where Hamilcar suffered his soldiers to plunder the temples of Ceres and Proserpine. "Of which crimes," says Diodorus, "he speedily and providentially suffered the due reward; for immediately his affairs grew daily in a worse condition;" "the Syracusans," he adds, "made a successful sally; nightly panics alarmed the camp; and the plague again made its appearance among the men." Hamilcar, however, only advanced his operations, and in the progress of his works destroyed the tomb of the illustrious Gelo and his consort, an offence which we should be disposed to visit more severely than the pillage of the temples.

In the meanwhile, Dionysius continued to use every exertion for the preservation of his country. His relative Polyxenus, was despatched through Italy to Lacedæmon, and Corinth, to solicit supplies, and to represent every where the impolicy and cruelty of suffering the Grecian name to be exterminated in Sicily; commissioners were sent to Greece, with orders to engage mercenary troops at any price; and merchant ships were engaged to transport corn from Sardinia and Africa. It was probably at this time that necessity suggested many of those financial expedients, which are referred by Aristotle and other writers, to the administration of Dionysius. He is said to have adopted the scheme, in modern times so familiar, of a forced circulation of tokens, coined of a base metal; and the more questionable measure, of doubling the nominal value of the current coin of the realm. He passed a decree, that all the jewels of the ladies should be consecrated to Ceres, and that they who would continue to wear them should pay the hire of them, according to their value, into the treasury of the goddess, for the use of the public; and the first example of

Dionysius the Elder.

From
A. N.
3577.

B. C.
427.
to

A. M.
3639.

B. C.
365.

OL.
96. 1.

^a Among these is mentioned a tribe of *Assurians*, a name evidently of Oriental extraction: the Sicani and Sicilians migrated into Sicily from Italy, driving out the older inhabitants, who were a colony of Phœnicians, and of whom the Assurians were probably descendants.

Biography. compliance is reported to have occurred in his own family; he had recourse also to what in our country have been termed "*benevolences*;" but finding the excuse of poverty often pleaded against the claim for voluntary contributions to the public service, he declared that his own private resources were exhausted, but that he would set some of his property to sale: the best hidders, as he had anticipated, were among the recusants, and by general acclamation, in this instance fairly exerted, the money was exacted for the treasury, but the goods were restored to the governor-general.

At this period, also, Dionysius had recourse to the precious metals deposited in the temples; and possibly to some of the rich ornaments with which the piety of more prosperous times had decorated the shrines of the deities. It is reported that he endeavoured to reconcile the people to these liberties, by facetious though somewhat irrelevant jests: such as, that "the golden robe of Jupiter was too cold for winter, and too heavy for summer, and that a woollen cloak would be more comfortable at all seasons;" and that "it was very unbecoming in Æaculypus to sport a long golden beard, whilst his father Apollo was still a beardless youth."

It is not to be supposed that there existed among the Greeks that awful respect for the objects of their degrading worship, which Christians naturally feel for every thing pertaining to the service of our pure and sublime religion. The rites of heathen idolatry, and the personal character of the divinities, were permitted subjects of the grossest ridicule, not to say of the most offensive ribaldry, on the stage, as well as in the jocular intercourse of the mob; and it would not have been regarded as any mark of impiety, if Dionysius had really seasoned an unpopolar act with the undignified drollery, which has more probably been invented by some compiler of anecdotes, like Plutarch or Ælian.

The truth is, that the treasures in the ancient temples were deposited there as in places of security, and dedicated to the gods, by way of additional precaution; but it was generally understood, that they might be in part, or wholly withdrawn, to relieve the necessities of the depositor: the practice of extending this right, even to the costly decorations of the sacred edifice, was not only sanctioned by most respectable precedents in Greece, but by the example of the truly great king of Israel, the pious Hezekiah,* under circumstances very similar to those of Dionysius.

The siege still continued with little progress, when Polyxenus returned from his embassy with thirty ships of the line, under the command of a Lacedæmonian admiral; Dionysius and Leptines took the opportunity afforded by the arrival of an officer of so high rank, to leave the city, and sail with a squadron to convoy the expected supplies of corn. During their absence, the citizens observed a vessel laden with wheat, hastening to the enemy's landing place, and boarding her with five boats, took her. The Carthaginian admiral, endeavouring to retake the prize, was beaten off by the whole Syracusean fleet hastily launched to relieve the boats; twenty-four of his men of war were sunk, and the flag-ship was taken. The victorious fleet towed their prizes triumphantly into port, and offered battle to the enemy; who, astonished at the boldness of their attempt, declined to hazard an action. In the

moment of exultation, Dionysius entered the harbour, and immediately calling an assembly of the people, congratulated them warmly on their achievement, and assured them that the city should soon be delivered from its besiegers. Having made this confident assertion from private information which he had received of the state of the Carthaginian army, he was about to dismiss the assembly, when Theodorus, a man holding some command in the cavalry, and possessed of considerable influence among the lower class of citizens, rose, and addressed the assembly, in language, which, if it at all resembled the report of Dionysius, an opposition member in the British House of Commons would scarcely venture to use towards a popular minister. After taxing the governor-general with the most arbitrary and oppressive tyranny, under which freedom of speech was absolutely denied, he exercised the privilege, of which he thus deplored the loss, with the utmost license, in heaping upon Dionysius to his face, every scurrilous epithet which party rage could dictate. He enlarged upon the unsuccessful expeditions which had been undertaken; the ruinous wars that had been brought upon the country; the chicanery and impolicy by which money had been raised to supply a lavish expenditure; the interests of the state sacrificed to private ambition; the disastrous coalition to which they were reduced; the incapacity, in short, and the personal cowardice of the general, who thus commanded them against their will; nor did he fail to represent, that, no sooner was Dionysius absent, than the ancient glory of their fathers had again graced their arms. "Wherefore, my countrymen," he concluded, "if the tyrant will voluntarily abdicate his power, let us permit him with his family to quit the city un molested; if not, we have now a glorious opportunity for recovering our liberty. We are all met together; arms have been unavoidably put into our hands; we have friends who are ready to assist us, not only in the Italian Greeks, but in the allies from Peloponnesus. And let the provisional government be formed either from Corinth, our mother country, or of the Spartans here present." To this audacious proposal, Phænicus, the Lacedæmonian admiral, rose to reply; and the friends of Theodorus were not without hope, that he would take part with the opposition. But he stated, with the dignified simplicity of a Spartan, that his commission was to assist the government against the Carthaginians, not to coöperate in a revolution which would, probably, terminate in the loss of the city. And the friends of Dionysius appearing to have a decided majority in the meeting, the assembly was peaceably dismissed; nor was any other notice taken of what had passed, except that some of the disaffected party received marks of kindness and favour from the governor-general.

The plague, meanwhile, increased rapidly in the Carthaginian army, and became so dreadfully infectious, that few could be found to administer to the sick; none to bury the dead; the putrefying corpses corrupted the water, and tainted the air; and the celebrated pestilence of Athens, described with such touching fidelity by Thucydides, and so beautifully painted by Lucretius, seems scarcely to have exceeded in violence, that which now spread dejection and death through the gallant and triumphant army of Hamilcar. Dionysius availed himself of this distress in the

Dionysius the Elder.

From A. M. 3577. — B. C. 427. to A. M. 3639. — B. C. 365.

Sicily continued.

Appearance of the plague among the Carthaginians.

* Vide 2 Kings, xviii. 15, 16, 17.

Biography. enemy's camp to make a sally with his whole force by sea and land. Leptines and Pharcides succeeded beyond their hopes in destroying and burning great part of the fleet; and the governor-general, who commanded the army in person, gained a considerable advantage over the enemy, and took possession of two strong places, which enabled him to entrench himself beyond the Carthaginian lines, and to place them between his own camp and the fortifications of the town. In the rencontre, by which this was achieved, a Syracusan detachment, consisting chiefly of the disaffected party, was cut off to a man, not without suspicion of having been designedly exposed to danger.

Hamilcar thus pressed on all sides, and seeing his numerous forces daily sinking under the ravages of disease, sent an officer to Dionysius, proposing to give up his military chest, still worth three hundred talents, (about £60,000) for permission to withdraw with his remaining troops and fleet to Africa. Diodorus labours to represent this as the offer of a private douceur to the governor-general, and attributes his subsequent conduct to a desire of preserving a remnant of the Carthaginian army, in order that the apprehension of hostilities might enable him to keep his command. For the former suspicion there is not the smallest ground; the military nature of the office, and the constant state of military preparation or actual warfare, in which Dionysius kept the people employed, will be thought to afford some colour to the latter supposition. The jealousy of the Corinthia or republican party, rendered it extremely difficult to treat on liberal terms with a fallen enemy, or even to observe the conditions of any treaty which might be concluded. Dionysius, however, agreed that on payment of the three hundred talents, the Carthaginian citizens alone should be suffered to depart; and accordingly the mighty Hamilcar stole away by night, with the miserable remains of his proud ornament, pursued by the insults of the Syracusan rowers, and the execrations of his deserted allies; and meeting at home with nothing but scorn and neglect, he ended a miserable existence by voluntary famine; "a signal example," observes the historian, "of the just indignation of the deities, whose temples he had profaned; nor did the Carthaginian nation cease to feel the vengeance of Ceres and Proserpine, till the crime was publicly expiated."

The native Sicilians, who had joined Hamilcar, taking advantage of their local knowledge, shifted for themselves, and reached their respective towns in safety; the African allies, attempting to escape, were either cut off, or being overtaken, threw down their arms, and begging for quarter, were seized for slaves. The Spaniards alone, true to each other, and to the gallant spirit of their country, continuing embodied under arms, demanded honourable terms; and were received into the alliance and pay of Syracuse.

So great, however, had been the expenses of the war, that the three hundred talents paid by Hamilcar, did not enable Dionysius to satisfy the demands of the Grecian mercenaries, whom he had hired on their own terms; and these men, generally bitter republicans,

were ready, on the slightest discontent, to join with the disaffected party in promoting a revolution. Devision in this case was necessary—violence would have been dangerous. The governor-general perceiving that the insubordination of the troops was secretly encouraged by their commander Aristotle, a Lacedæmonian, he ordered him to be arrested, and sent home to be tried by his own country. He then offered the mercenaries the town and territory of the Leontines, left desolate by the enemy, as a compensation for their services; which the fertility of the soil, and the advantages of the situation, induced them readily to accept.

Tranquillity being thus restored, Dionysius immediately employed himself in repairing the wreck of his empire, and in restoring the prosperity of his country. He rebuilt ruined towns, and repopulated deserted countries; offering an asylum to the numerous exiles, the victims of faction in the republican states of Greece. Among the rest, he settled six hundred families of the ancient Messenian race, expelled from Peloponnesus by the cruel oppressions of Sparta, in the Sicilian Messene; being particularly anxious to plant a powerful and friendly colony there, as a check to the hostile machinations of the Rhegians on the opposite shore. But the inveterate malignity of Lacedæmon, pursued the Messenians even across the seas; and Dionysius was obliged so far to comply with their prejudices against the revival of Messene, as to remove the whole people to a fertile territory on the northern coast of the island, where they founded Tyndaris, and extending their influence, partly by conquest, and partly by negotiation, among the neighbouring tribes, became a considerable and flourishing state. Dionysius, meanwhile, by no means relinquished his plan of rendering the port and fortifications of Messene formidable to Rhegium; and he endeavoured to establish a connection between the garrison there and the new settlement of Tyndaris. The Rhegian government meanwhile was not inactive: collecting the exiles, whom Dionysius had expelled from Naxos and Catana for revolting to the Carthaginians, they fixed them at Mylae, so as to intercept the communication between the colonies friendly to Syracuse; and they encouraged a party of Naxians who had seized the strong-hold of Taurominium, to persevere in maintaining it against Dionysius. Having by these means, as they supposed, engaged the attention of the Syracusan troops nearer home, they ventured upon open hostilities, and laid siege to Messene. But Dionysius saw at once the advantage thus opened to him; and marching without delay, he defeated the Rhegian general; took Mylae, and established a friendly intercourse between the new colonists, and his own allies on the coast; so that the measures of the Rhegians only tended to confirm the strength opposed to them.

Returning to the petty but venacious contest at Taurominium, Dionysius blockaded the place, in the expectation that the enemy would evacuate it on the approach of winter; but these brave people, looking upon the Greeks as invaders, who had robbed the native Sicilians of their fertile plains, were resolved to be masters at least of the wild mountain fastnesses; and they held out against all the efforts of the Syracusans, though their fortifications were covered with snow.

Dionysius trusting to the darkness and inclemency

Dionysius the Elder.
From
A. M.
3577.

B. C.
427.
to
A. M.
3639.
—
B. C.
365.

Measures
of Dionysius
to repair the
ravages of
the war.

OL.
96. 3.

Defeated
at Taurominium.

* This seems the fair construction of the passage, lib. xiv. c. 75, which Mr. Miford understands very differently, as if Diodorus supposed that Dionysius was supported in power by the direct influence of Cathage.

Biography. of a mid-winter night, resolved on attempting to carry the fortress by storm. The storming party, conducted by the general in person, having with great toil and difficulty surmounted the craggy path, rendered almost impassable by the depth of snow, succeeded in surprising the citadel, and opening the gate to their comrades. But unfortunately, Dionysius received a wound in his face, and his eyes became suddenly inflamed by the frost : at this moment the garrison made a sudden and successful attack upon him ; he was thrown down by a blow upon his gorget, and narrowly escaped being taken prisoner ; the assailants alarmed, and missing their commander, made a precipitate retreat, with the loss of above six hundred men, and leaving behind them most of their accoutrements. Dionysius himself, it is reported, brought away no part of his armour but the gorget, to which he owed his life. The intelligence of this disaster made an unfavourable impression throughout Sicily, and occasioned a change of administration in Agrigentum, which seceded from the Syracusean alliance.

Upon this, Mago was despatched to head the Carthaginian party in Sicily ; and assembling an army of natives, he ravaged the territory of Messena,* and after collecting a great booty, he pitched his camp near the friendly city of Abacnum. The active governor-general of Syracuse, however, soon came up with him ; and defeating him in a pitched battle with considerable slaughter, obliged him to leave the island without delay. Not many days afterwards, Dionysius sailed with an hundred ships of war, to chastise the Rhegians ; and arriving unexpectedly, set fire to the city, and applied his scaling ladders to the walls. The inhabitants eager to save their houses from the flames, left the defence of the walls to a very insufficient force, and the place would unquestionably have fallen, had not Heloris their general exerted himself to prevail on them to let the conflagration take its course, and to unite in repelling the enemy. Dionysius, by these means, disappointed of his object, plundered and laid waste the country ; and, concluding a truce for a year, returned to Syracuse.

In the next spring, the Carthaginian government renewed their efforts in Sicily ; and Mago with an army of not less than eighty thousand men, overrunning several Sicilian states of the Syracusean confederacy, encamped in the territories of the Agriguntines, near the river Crysa. Aggris, however, at this time, next to Dionysius, the most powerful prince in Sicily, remained proof against intimidation or allurements ; and Mago thought it prudent to advance no farther. Dionysius hastened to the assistance of his ally, and concluded a treaty with him, by which Aggris was to be put in possession of a considerable territory at the close of the war ; and engaged in the meanwhile to support the troops from Syracuse at his own expense.

The two princes, having intelligence that Mago was destitute of supplies, and in great distress for provisions, determined not to risk a battle ; upon which a large detachment of the Syracusean army, ever impatient of a protracted campaign, mutinied and returned home. Dionysius, not discouraged, supplied their place as well as circumstances would allow, by arm-

ing their slaves ; and the Carthaginians soon afterwards furnished an ample justification of his conduct, by sending to treat for peace, on terms quite as favourable as could have been expected from a decisive victory : namely, that the belligerent powers should stand as they did by the former treaty, excepting, that the native Sicilians were to be annexed to the confederacy under Dionysius, and that he should be put in possession of Taurominium.

It deserves remark, that on his return to Syracuse, the governor-general appears to have instituted no proceedings against his refractory soldiers ; on the contrary, he restored to them their slaves whom he had enlisted to serve in their place. His mercenary troops, to whose steadiness the success of the war was in a great measure attributed, were rewarded with the town and territory of the exiled Taurominians.

During the short season of tranquillity which followed these transactions, the influence, or as it was called, the empire of Syracuse, extended itself not only throughout Sicily, but also once more to a considerable extent over the Grecian settlements in Italy. Relying upon support from some of these states, Dionysius fitted out an armament for the reduction of his ancient enemies the Rhegians ; and though his attack upon the town failed, and a storm which arose occasioned some loss of ships and men, it was more than compensated by the plunder of the country, and by a treaty of alliance formed with the Lucanians, a native Italian people, between whom and the Rhegian confederacy, the most bitter animosity existed.

About the same time, the Syracusean interest was further strengthened in Italy, by the liberal conduct of the admiral Leptines, towards a body of unfortunate Thurians, allies of Rhegium, who had been defeated and driven into the sea by the Lucanians. He not only permitted them to take refuge in his fleet, towards which they had fled, under the idea that it was a squadron of their allies, but ransomed them at a considerable sum. Thurium was consequently detached from the league against Dionysius ; but the Rhegians and Crotonians continued to manifest the most determined hostility to his government. Diodorus insinuates that Leptines, in consequence of this humane action, was superseded in his command, and his brother Thearidas appointed to succeed him ; but the behaviour of the admiral was not only consonant to the line of policy generally pursued by the governor-general, but was imitated by him very shortly afterwards on an occasion, which the same historian calls the most glorious of his life. It must have been for other reasons, therefore, that we find Thearidas commanding the fleet, which, in the succeeding year, attended another expedition against the Rhegian confederacy. After some successes at sea, Dionysius invested Caulonia ; and the Rhegian and Crotonian governments intrusted the command of the allied army to Heloris, a banished Syracusean, who had before been defeated in the battle of Messena, and whose principal recommendation appears to have been his inveterate hatred of the tyrant. With superior numbers he marched immediately to oblige the Syracuseans to raise the siege ; but advancing with more eagerness than skill, he was easily routed, and lost his life fighting bravely to the last. A considerable slaughter ensued : at a detachment of ten thousand men

* Mr. Mitford observes, that this fact proves the error of our copies of Diodorus, which join Messena with Agrigentum in the preceding sentence.

Dionysius the Elder.

From A. M. 3577.

—

A. C.

427.

to

A. M.

3639.

—

A. C.

365.

OL.

97. 1.

Interval of tranquillity.

OL.

97. 3.

Syracusan influence in Italy.

OL.

97. 4.

War continued by Carthage.

OL.

97. 1.

Biography.

From
A. M.
3577.
—
n. e.
427.
to
A. M.
3639
—
B. C.
365.

taking refuge on an eminence, where they were surrounded by the Sicilian army, demanded to surrender on conditions. The general insisted upon their surrendering at discretion; and distress, and want of water obliged them to comply; they marched down, therefore, with the sullen resolution of men, who disdained to supplicate where they expected neither generosity nor forbearance. But in proportion as their hope of mercy had here forlorn, their joy and thankfulness were extreme, when Dionysius, having counted their number, informed them that they were all free to depart unransomed, whithersoever they thought fit. Golden crowns were sent to him as tributes of gratitude, from the friends and countrymen of the liberated prisoners; and the fame of his popularity contributed to alarm the Rhegians, now in a great degree deprived of their allies, and onable to resist the victorious army which was daily expected to surround their walls. They sent, therefore, to offer submission, and to solicit that he would impose upon them moderate terms. Dionysius exacted a fine of three hundred talents; deprived them of their whole navy; and took an hundred hostages. Then, razing Caulonia, he assigned its lands to his friends the citizens of Locri, and removed the Caulonians to Syracuse; where he admitted them to the freedom of the city, and exempted them for five years from bearing any share in the public burdens.

Ol.
97. 4.

Dionysius
passes into
Italy.

Ol.
98. 1.

In the next year, Dionysius again crossing to Italy, adopted the same measure with the Hipponians, and gratified the Locrians with their land. A dispute having arisen with the Rhegians, respecting a supply of provisions, with which they were bound to furnish the Syracusan army, the last hope of establishing any permanent treaty with that obstinate people vanished, and it was resolved to make a fearful example of them. Disdaining, however, every unmanly advantage, the governor-general set their hostages at liberty before the commencement of hostilities.

The siege of Rhegium immediately followed, and was pressed day and night with unremitting exertion; but the inhabitants, ably directed by their general, Phyto, and despairing of any treatment from the enemy better than slavery or death, defended themselves with astonishing perseverance, for eleven months; till they had eaten, not only their horses and other beasts of burden, but had even boiled down their leathern hides for food, and ventured out by stealth to collect the herbage that grew wild beneath their walls. Of this last resource they were deprived by the vigilance of Dionysius, who, though suffering from a severe and dangerous wound, remitted nothing of his activity; and hoping now to reduce the town by famine, he destroyed every trace of vegetation around it. The miserable Rhegians at length opened their gates, and displayed to the conqueror a horrid spectacle of numbers dead or dying of hunger, while the survivors presented a scarcely less squalid and emaciated appearance. Six thousand prisoners were sent to Syracuse, where those who could redeem themselves at a silver mine, (about £3) for each man, were permitted to reside as freemen; the rest were sold for slaves. Phyto and his son alone, suffered death; by circumstances, according to the democratic writers, of atrocious barbarity. The town itself was given to the small party in it who had been friendly to Dionysius, and the population being

Ol.
98. 2.

augmented by colonisation, Rhegium shortly became a flourishing ally of Syracuse.

It was during the operations of this siege, according to the Sicilian historian, that Dionysius made his first unsuccessful attempt to rival his magnificent predecessor, Hiero, at the Olympic games; and sent his brother, Theoridas, in a style of unusual splendour, to superintend the recitation of his prize poems, and the running of his horses in the chariot-race. The imposing effect of royal grandeur was, however, no match for the vehement eloquence of the Athenian orator, Lysias, who endeavoured to excite a tumult against "the presumption of the impious tyrant;" and either by some contrivance of the hostile party, or from the mismanagement of the drivers, some of the chariots were driven out of the course, the rest were broken by running against each other, and the horses failed of obtaining the honour which their swiftness appears to have merited. The same prejudice occasioned the rejection of his verses with marks of the most insulting contempt; though we may infer, from his having succeeded in the more arduous contest for a tragic prize at Athens, that he could not be altogether deficient in poetic talent.

But Dionysius devoted his leisure to pursuits more beneficial to his country, and more conducive to his own lasting fame. In the interval of peace which followed the reduction of Rhegium, he began to extend his connections, and to found colonies along the coasts of the Adriatic and Ionian seas; and deriving from these sources vast commercial advantages, and a plentiful supply of materials, he repaired and enlarged the city wall, so as to make it the greatest work of the kind then known in the world; he greatly improved the docks; and erected the magnificent gymnasium on the banks of the Anapus. The city was, at the same period, enriched and adorned with numerous temples and other public edifices.

The extended commerce of Syracuse suffered greatly from the pirates of Tuscany; and in the following year, Dionysius undertook an expedition against them; which Diodorus attributes to his desire of plundering a rich temple at Agrigola, (as he does the commercial connection with Epirus and Illyria, to a preposterous scheme for pillaging the temple at Delphi.) The probable truth is, that the Agrigolan pirates made use of the temple of Leucothea as a depository for the produce of their predatory excursions; and that Dionysius was perfectly justified in pursuing the recovery of his own property, even within the limits of the sanctuary. The spoil found in it is said to have amounted to five hundred talents (£100,000) and to have been very acceptable to him in the exhausted state of his treasury.

On this occasion, suspicion arising that some of the soldiers had secreted part of the precious utensils, the general, in order to discover the delinquents, issued an order, that every one who had taken part of the spoil to his private use, should pay half its value. The soldiers concluding that this payment would operate to secure the remainder, came forward to avail themselves of it, and were immediately seized and deprived of the whole.

On his return home, Dionysius continued to pursue his favourite policy of uniting all Sicily in the alliance of Syracuse; and by negotiation and benefits, succeeded in detaching several small states from

Dionysius
the Elder.

From
A. M.
3577.
—
n. e.
427.
to
A. M.
3639.
—
B. C.
365.

Endeavours
to unite
the Olympic
games.

Ol.
98. 4.

Ol.
99. 1.

Endeavours
to unite
the Sicilian
states.

Biography.

From

A. M.

3577.

—

B. C.

427.

to

A. M.

3639.

—

B. C.

363.

OL.

99. 2.

OL.

99. 2.

Peace con-
cluded.Private life
of Diony-
sius.

the Carthaginian interest. The government of Carthage, having in vain expostulated with him on the injustice and impolicy of renewing hostilities, raised Mago to the same high office of commander-in-chief formerly enjoyed by Hamilcar, and instructed him to carry his attack upon the allies of Syracuse, into Italy and Sicily at the same time. This obliged Dionysius, also, to divide his forces, and a variety of skirmishes ensued, with no very important results. At length a decisive action took place, in which the Carthaginians were routed with the loss of ten thousand slain, and five thousand prisoners, and Mago himself, after signalling himself by his personal bravery, fell covered with wounds. The army deprived of their leader, and disheartened by their defeat, desired conditions of peace; but Dionysius would hear of nothing less than the complete evacuation of Sicily, and the payment of all the expenses of the war by the Carthaginians.

In this instance he appears to have miscalculated the resources of the enemy, who had no other intention than to gain time for the reinforcement of their troops, and the re-organisation of their materiel, under the able management of the son of Mago, who was chosen to succeed his father. So that while the Syracusans were exulting in the expectation of becoming sole masters of the island, they were attacked and defeated with great slaughter; and the gallant and generous Leptines lost his life in the action.

The Carthaginian general, as prudent in using his victory as he had been skillful in obtaining it, withdrew immediately to Panormus, and sent to propose peace on reasonable terms: namely, that with some trifling exceptions, the respective territories should remain in statu quo ante bellum, and that Dionysius should pay a thousand talents (£200,000) for the expenses of the campaign.

Both powers were now convinced of the impracticability of reducing the whole of the Sicilian states under one dominion; and for the first time, a peace was concluded, which neither intended immediately to violate. Dionysius, secure in power, and fatigued with incessant warfare, eagerly embraced the opportunity of cultivating those arts of peace, which displayed his talents to the best advantage. The great undertakings already mentioned for extending the commerce and political interests of his country towards ancient Greece, flourished under his superintendence; the city became the rival of Athens in extent and in magnificence; and the Syracusan empire presented the singular spectacle of a Grecian confederacy in the full enjoyment of prosperity, uninterrupted by domestic faction or foreign hostilities.

In his private life, during this happy period, the ambitious and active spirit of Dionysius sought for exercise in those literary and gymnastic contests in which he is said to have engaged, even amidst the toils and dangers of war. He was assiduous in improving the breed of horses, and had establishments for that purpose in Italy as well as at home; and he continued to court the Muses, though, it is reported, without very general success. In the conversation of men of letters, he passed much of his time; and, according to the custom of an age when printing was

unknown, and writing laborious, he frequently recited his poetry to his friends, and availed himself of their criticism. Their judgment would, of course, generally be favourable; and a prince of his temper would not much relish severe animadversions. Yet though he was, perhaps, sometimes offended by the frankness of his intimates, his anger was easily appeased by submission, or averted by some facetious excuse. When Philoxenus, himself a poet, was sent to prison for speaking contemptuously before company of the prince's verses, he was almost immediately released and restored to favour; and so little did he apprehend any serious consequences from the offended vanity of his master, that on the next recitation, being asked for his opinion, he called out to the attendants—"To prison with me;" and the implied censure was well received. On another occasion, the same friend ventured to say of some elegiac complaint, composed by Dionysius, that the verses were "truly pitiful," and the pun met the approbation of the royal author.

The authority for these, and for similar tales respecting Philistus, Leptines, and others, is, however, of a questionable nature. The literary men of that age, were for the most part, hostile to monarchical governments; and, like the savans of France, while they gladly sheltered themselves under the patronage of the court, were always eager to embrace any occasion of insulting the sovereign, or bringing his administration into disgrace. Mr. Mitford is disposed to attach no credit to the story, that Plato himself was repeatedly entertained by Dionysius, who took particular pleasure in his conversation; but finding that he was diligent in propagating republican doctrines, and had warped the allegiance of Dion, the son of his late colleague, Hipparchus, (afterwards the assenter, as Pintarch calls it, of the liberty of his country,) he seized and sold him as a slave, that he might learn the difference between real and imaginary grievances. But the men of letters resident at court, subscribed to redeem him, and sent him home in safety.

The domestic comfort of Dionysius, and the prospect of transmitting his power to his posterity, were eluded by the thoughtless profligacy and wild freaks of his son, who inherited his father's taste and magnificence, without his military talents, or political virtues. As he was reprimanding him one day for his excesses, and observing that he had set a very different example, the youth replied, "True, sire; but you were not the son of a prince."—"Even so," said the father, "nor will you be father of one."

During sixteen years, Dionysius took no part in the commotions which agitated the rest of the world, except that on two pressing occasions he sent some assistance to his constant allies the Lacedaemonians. But about, *OL.* 103. 1, he was once more tempted by the state of affairs in Africa, to attempt the expulsion of the Carthaginians from Sicily. The plague had again desolated the territories of Carthage; the tributary states had taken advantage of its distress to assert their independence; and a conflagration had destroyed the greater part of the navy. The Syracusan army and fleet, therefore, proceeded for a time with little opposition to possess themselves of some strong places, and to collect plunder. But the genius of the Carthaginian government, ever fertile in resources, assembled an hundred and thirty ships of

Dionysius

the Elder.

From

A. M.

3577.

—

B. C.

427.

to

A. M.

3639.

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B. C.

363.

OL.

99. 2.

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* Cicero.

Biography. war before Dionysius was aware of their preparation, and unexpectedly attacking his fleet of more than double that number, took the greater part, and dispersed the rest. A truce was immediately concluded for the winter; and Dionysius, returning to Syracuse, fell sick, and died, in the thirty-eighth year of his administration, and the sixty-second of his life.

From
A. M.
3577.
—
B. C.
427.
to
A. M.
3639.
—
B. C.
365.

With him expired the vigour and glory of the Syracusan empire; and although the strength and wealth which it had acquired, by his extraordinary talents and industry, preserved it from immediate and sudden decay, its decline may be dated from the year in which it lost its noblest ornament—in the genius, the valour, and the patriotism of Dionysius.

Dionysius
the Elder.
From
A. M.
3577.
—
B. C.
427.
to
A. M.
3639.
—
B. C.
365.

DIONYSIUS THE YOUNGER.—TIMOLEON.

FROM A. M. 3639. B. C. 365. TO A. M. 3669. B. C. 335.

Biography. Dionysius the first, commonly called the tyrant of Sicily, left at his death two sons, Hipparchus and Nisæus, and two daughters, Sophrosyne and Arete, by his third wife, Aristomache, the daughter of his colleague Hipparchus, and sister to the celebrated Dion. The former of these princesses had been given in marriage to the younger Dionysius, the son of Doris, and the latter to her uncle, Dion. (Corn. Nepos.)*

From
A. M.
3639.
—
B. C.
365.
to
A. M.
3669.
—
B. C.
335.
O.L.
103. 1.

When the illness of the tyrant became alarming, and the physicians gave little hope of his recovery, Dion was anxious to represent to him the claims of his sister's children to a share in the succession, expecting, probably, as they were yet very young, to secure for himself the reins of government; but in this design he was anticipated by the vigilance of the eldest son, who prevailed upon the medical attendants to prevent the interview. Hence arose a jealousy between the two branches of the family, which though suppressed for the present, occasioned ultimately the revolution, in which Dionysius the second lost his power; and Syracuse and all Sicily suffered for many years the ruinous consequences of anarchy.

Accession
of Dionysius
the Younger.

At first, however, all went on smoothly. Dionysius, assembling the people, informed them of his father's death, and pleaded his own cause with so much success, that he succeeded to power without opposition; and after celebrating the funeral with becoming solemnity, entered upon the dignities and duties of his high office, and became master of the most flourishing and powerful empire then in Europe. His first measure was to conclude a peace with Carthage; and though he is severely censured by Diodorus and Plutarch for deserting the policy of his father, and making terms with barbarians, the impartiality of posterity has done justice to the wisdom of his administration, in avoiding an unnecessary rupture with the only power from which danger was to be apprehended, and which had so often been more than a match for his active and warlike predecessor.

In a petty war with the Lacanians, in Italy, Dionysius shewed that he was neither deficient in personal courage nor in military skill; and the vigour

with which he repressed the pirates who infested the Adriatic, did honour to his government.

But for the maintenance of his authority, and the regulation of affairs, he appears to have been much indebted to his able counsellors, Philistus (the venerable and accomplished friend of his father) and Dion, who, to a princely fortune, added great dignity of manners, and uncommon talents for command, both in the council and in the field. The former was a warm advocate for the continuance of the monarchy, subject, as the supreme power was, to the ultimate control of a popular assembly; and the latter was a determined aristocrat, equally adverse to power in the hands of an individual, or vested in the democracy. The prince, fond of ease and pleasure, but by no means deficient in ability, contrived, for a time, to reconcile the discordant views of these eminent statesmen; and throwing upon them the principal weight of business, gave himself up to literary leisure, and to voluptuousness; and, assembling round him all who were most distinguished for wit and conviviality, he lost, in the gaieties and excesses of a luxurious life, that respect and confidence with which the Syracusans had been accustomed to regard his father.

The decline of his popularity opened a prospect which the penetrating ambition of Dion did not fail to improve. Severe in his own morals, and haughty in his manners, he encouraged the growing disgust against the licentiousness of the court, and the thoughtless familiarity of Dionysius; and gradually withdrawing from his government the support of public opinion, prepared the way for its entire subversion. In these views he was seconded by Heracleides, who had the command of the cavalry, and was in high favour with the lower class of citizens, to whom the austere dignity of Dion was less engaging than the courtly urbanity of the master of the horse.

It is generally believed that these discontents were inflamed by the arrival of Plato, on a visit to Dionysius. The habits of the philosopher were more congenial with the sober gravity of Dion, than with the riotous dissipation of the prince; and he is reported to have entered warmly into his interests, and to have offended the courtiers by the boldness of his lectures, and the undisguised avowal of his political principles. Dionysius, however, delighted with his

Dionysius
the
Younger.
From
A. M.
3639.
—
B. C.
365.
to
A. M.
3669.
—
B. C.
335.

Arrival of
Plato at
Syracuse

* The account of Plutarch differs from that of Cornelius Nepos and Diodorus in some particulars.

Biography. learning, eagerly cultivated his society, treated him with every mark of favour and distinction, and, from respect to his character, imposed a decent restraint upon the libertinism of his companions. It is even said, that he became a convert to many of the maxims of government then prevalent among men of letters in Greece; and Philistus, perceiving the dangerous tendency of this new influence, exerted himself to support the sinking power of the prince, almost equally endangered by the machinations of his ministers, and by his own vacillating facility.

Dion, having in the beginning of this reign been sent as ambassador to Carthage, had used all his art to ingratiate himself among the leading men in that state, with the purpose of strengthening his interest in Sicily by so powerful a connection. And now, hoping that his ambitious schemes were in a promising train, he renewed his correspondence with his friends in Africa, through the medium of their dependencies in the island. Some of his letters, accidentally intercepted, were brought to Dionysius, and served, for a time, to open his eyes to his danger, and to rouse him to something like vigour and decision.

Ruinishment
of Dion
and Hera-
cleides.

Sending for Dion, to speak with him on the rampart of the citadel next the sea, he upbraided him with his treachery, and observing that it was impossible they could both continue in safety at Syracuse, obliged him to embark in a ship which lay under the wall prepared for the purpose, and to go into exile at Corinth; where he permitted him to receive the vast income of his Sicilian estates, and to live in a style of splendour before unknown in Peloponnesus. At the same time, from information probably contained in the intercepted letters, he banished Heracleides from Sicily, and bestowed the vacant offices in the state among the friends of Philistus.

But neither the proud unbending temper of Dion, nor the unprincipled duplicity of Heracleides, were likely to be won with the generosity and clemency of Dionysius. The first object of both was to employ the large resources left in their power to raise troops in Greece for the purpose of effecting a revolution at Syracuse; and though there could be no cordial co-operation between two men who agreed in nothing but in enmity to the existing government of their country, they were each unremittingly active to engage in their interest banished Sicilians of the revolutionary party, and malignant adventurers of all countries, and in hiring mercenaries for the expedition.

As soon as intelligence of these proceedings reached Sicily, Dionysius confiscated the property of Dion; and obliging his wife, Arete, to repudiate him, gave her to another; and took her son under his own care, admitting him to share in his excesses, at an age when his education ought to have been religiously severe. Himself, accompanied by Philistus, went to Italy, to provide against the approaching conflict.

Dion and
Heracleides
invade
Sicily.

Meanwhile the success of Dion in Peloponnesus was not answerable to his great means and active exertions. Of the Sicilian exiles only twenty-five, chiefly Naxios, from Taurominia, engaged in his service; and the whole force collected by him did not exceed eight hundred men. These he embarked in two transports, accompanied by three small craft, and avoiding the usual track, arrived in safety at the Carthaginian settlement of Minoa, of which the governor Syntalus, or Pylarus, received him with every demonstration of

friendship, and assisted him by all the means in his power.

"With less means," observes Diodorus, "than any one ever employed before him, he most unexpectedly overthrew the greatest dynasty in Europe. Who would believe that a man sailing with two transports should subdue a potentate who possessed four hundred ships of the line, and commanded an army of an hundred thousand foot, and ten thousand horse; having such supplies of arms and provisions, and all other necessities as were suitable to one enjoying such power and wealth; besides occupying the greatest of Grecian cities, with ports and arsenals, and impregnable fortresses, supported too by numerous and powerful allies."

The wonder, however, in some measure ceases, when we read that Dionysius and Philistus were still in Italy; and the despatch sent to recall them, through treachery or accident, miscarried, so that they did not return to Syracuse until Dion, by means of the disaffected party, had been several days in possession of the city on the main land. On their arrival in the citadel negotiations were attempted, and for some time hopes were entertained of an amiable arrangement; but the haughty temper of Dion, exasperated by domestic injury, and inflamed by good fortune, precluded the possibility of peace on reasonable terms; and the seige of Ortigia continued to be pressed, with various success, but in every rencontre with the loss of many citizens, and with great injury to the town.

Heracleides, in the mean time, arrived with a force very superior to that which had accompanied Dion to Sicily, and possessing great advantages, from his popularity among the lower classes, who were offended by the aristocratic manners and sentiments of his competitor.

It became immediately evident that neither of these chiefs would submit to act a subordinate part; and though present necessity obliged Heracleides to be content with the rank of admiral, while Dion commanded the city, he was equally active in undermining the popularity and power of his colleague, and in co-operating with him for the destruction of Dionysius.

In one of the numerous skirmishes by sea and land, which now daily depopulated and ruined Syracuse, Philistus was killed; and his body falling into the possession of his enemies, was treated with those gross and brutal insults which mark the popular party in civil wars. Dionysius, shocked and disheartened, once more attempted to negotiate; and it is said, that Dion was desirous of hearkening to terms; but it was now the flood-tide of revolutionary violence, and Dion's influence was overborne by Heracleides, the unprincipled flatterer of the mob. The overtures of the prince were accordingly rejected; but he succeeded in eluding the vigilance of the admiral, and escaped to Locri, the native city of his mother, in Italy, leaving the citadel under the command of his son, Apollocrates. His influence among the Greek states, in Italy, enabled him to send a powerful reinforcement to Syracuse, under the conduct of an able commander; and after some temporary, but important successes, Apollocrates surrendered the citadel to Dion, upon honourable terms; and with his friends and private property followed his father to Locri.

The natural consequences of rebellion and anarchy

Dionysius
the
Younger.

From
A. M.
3639.
—
B. C.
365.
to
A. M.
3669.
—
B. C.
335.

Success of
Dion.

OL.
106. I.

OL.
106. 9.

Death of
Philistus.

Biography.

From

A. M.

3639.

B. C.

345.

to

A. M.

3609.

—

B. C.

335.

fell heavily upon the unhappy Syracusans. Having paid so dearly for the name of liberty, they could trust neither of the competitors for power, by whose means they had overthrown the government.

Heraclides plotted against Dion, and evinced the basest treachery and ingratitude. Dion, after some forbearance, finding his popularity on the decline, murdered Heraclides; and suffering a remorse of conscience, which disordered his understanding, was himself, not long afterwards, assassinated by an Athenian, Callistratus, or Calippus, whom he had received into his confidence. Calippus was successful in his attempt to seize the supreme direction of affairs; and, like the blood-stained demagogues who preceded him, exercised his power with the most oppressive tyranny, and taught the citizens, in late repentance, to call the days of Dionysius the golden age of Syracuse. After a very short reign, whilst he was absent at the siege of Catania, the city was seized by Hipparrinus, son of the elder Dionysius; and Calippus was soon afterwards murdered by the partisans of the family at Rhegium.

Dionysius
in Syracuse

The condition of Sicily was not improved by the accession of Hipparrinus to power; he held it only about two years; and an interval of complete anarchy followed, such, that the lately flourishing and populous island became a scene of universal wretchedness and desolation; commerce was suspended; agriculture at a stand; property plundered; palaces and temples fell to decay, and were tenanted by wild beasts and venomous reptiles. The mercenary troops, in the absence of all regular government, finding neither employment nor pay, subsisted by the most audacious robbery, and infested every district in the island with hordes of banditti.

Authority of
Dionysius
re-established.
etc.

108. 3.

During all this period, Dionysius remained peaceably in Italy, enjoying great consideration and influence, if not legitimate power, among the Greek states attached to his family; but at length, solicited by a large party among his countrymen, who were wearied with the endless succession of revolutions, and encouraged by the readiness of his Italian friends to engage in his cause, he returned, after an absence of ten years, and was restored to a dominion, exhausted indeed by intestine discord, and curtailed by the revolt of the allies, but rendered much more absolute than before by the lawless violence of republican leaders. The democratic party, however, were by no means disposed to acquiesce in the re-establishment of the former dynasty; nor were there wanting numbers who, either from personal vanity, or political prejudice, or from a dislike to the restraints of regular government, were ready to join in any scheme for renewing the reign of tumult and sedition. Of the neighbouring chiefs, the two most powerful, Ictes, of Leontini, the friend of Dion, and Andromachus, who had assisted in the expulsion of Dionysius, and had made himself master of Taurominium, were staunch friends to that nominal freedom, under which they exercised unlimited authority; and were eager at all times to lend their assistance to the revolutionary faction, who exclusively called themselves the people. Ictes, in particular, had acquired such an ascendancy among the Syracusans, many of whom had taken refuge under his protection, that he is called by Diodorus, "the dynast of the Syracusans," at the

very time that Dionysius is said to have been "lord of Syracuse."

But the dread of a Carthaginian invasion, which at this time threatened the entire subjugation of the Grecian states in Sicily, gave rise to a proposal by no means agreeable to the ambitious views of Ictes, though he found himself under the necessity of appearing to concur in it. The idea is said to have originated with the Taurominians; but it was eagerly embraced by all parties, the friends of Dionysius alone excepted; and, accordingly, an embassy was despatched to Corinth, the mother city, and fountress of Syracuse, to desire that, according to ancient Grecian custom, a Corinthian general might be sent out to take the command of their armies against the enemy, and to settle their domestic disturbances by the establishment of a permanent and free constitution. Ictes, meanwhile, indifferent by what means he promoted his own designs, privately treated with the Carthaginians, and offered to put Syracuse into their hands, on condition of being appointed to the government; and he held out hopes that the difficulties under which Corinth was known to be labouring at home, might prevent the administration from attending to the claims of the colony. In this expectation he was deceived; the Greek republics, proud of their colonies, and deriving great advantages from them both in war and peace, were always glad to avail themselves of every opportunity to keep up their connection, even with inconsiderable settlements formed of their own citizens; and it was the obvious policy for the Corinthians to preserve their influence in Syracuse, whose power and resources were so much greater than their own. The Sicilian embassy was, therefore, well received; and a decree passed, "that it was the duty of Corinth to send succours to her colony." The question was then put, who should command the expedition; and a person in the crowd proposing Timoleon, the son of Timanctus,* he was unanimously appointed to the office.

In the amusing romance which Plutarch has given us, under the title of Timoleon, he describes that bold and active genius as having, for twenty years previous to this event, moped in his own garden, "under the shade of melancholy boughs," broken in health and spirits by the displeasure of his mother, who could not be persuaded that the assassination of a brother was "a glorious achievement."† The truth rather appears to be, that very shortly before the arrival of the Sicilian ambassador, Timoleon was instigated by the fury of political zeal, either to stab his elder brother Timocrates with his own hand, or at least to assist the conspirators who took away his life. Timocrates bad, by the means most usual in Grecian republics, by courting the populace and the military, attained the supreme direction of affairs, and acquired the appellation of tyrant at Corinth; and Timoleon having vainly attempted to persuade him to relinquish his power, was led by the doctrines then current in Greece, to conclude, that patriotism required the sacrifice of private affections, and that it was his duty to deliver his country from slavery. That there was

Dionysius
the
Younger.

From

M. A.

3639.

—

B. C.

365.

to

A. M.

3609.

—

B. C.

335.

Embassy to
Corinth
from the
Sicilian
states.

Timoleon.

* Plutarch says that his father's name was Timodemus, that of his mother Demariste, both of noble family.

† Corn. Nepos.

Biography.

From
A. M.
3639.A. C.
365.
to
A. M.
3669.
—
B. C.
333.OL.
108. 4.Timoleon
sails for
Corinth.Lands at
Rhegium.

no personal enmity between the brothers, appears likely, from its being related that the younger had, not long before, saved the life of the elder, at the imminent risk of his own, in a battle with the Argians; and it is by no means consistent with the determined temper, and sanguine energy which characterise all the actions of Timoleon, to suppose that he ever suffered himself to repeat of what he had once resolved on public motives to execute. Nor is it material, whether Timocrates fell by the dagger of his brother, in the forum,* or whether a remnant of decent respect for kindred blood, induced the author of the deed to hide† his face, or to be absent‡ from the apartment, while the assassins committed it in the palace. Whatever might be the sentiments of the family and their friends, it is clear that the majority of the Corinthian people regarded Timoleon as the deliverer of his country, and concurred with his Greek and Latin biographers† in heaping praises on the patriotic fratricide. It is indeed most probable, that to this horrid crime he was entirely indebted for his appointment to command the Sicilian expedition; for he was told, that the construction to be put upon his late act, must depend on his displaying, in his new station, the same remorseless hatred of tyranny which was pleaded as his justification.

Timoleon immediately set about the preparations for his arduous undertaking; and with the spirit of a man resolved to devote himself to a life of adventure, embarked the whole of his property in his outfit, and bade a final farewell to Greece. The zeal of his countrymen was heightened by intelligence from Ictes, who endeavoured to dissuade them from the enterprise, alleging that he would himself, with the assistance of the Carthaginians, undertake to expel the tyrant from Syracuse. The Corinthians had no intention to permit either to supersede the parent state in the deliverance of their colony, and they hastened the departure of Timoleon, to check the ambitious designs of Ictes. But Coriath was at this time, by no means rich or powerful; faction at home, and wars in Peiopolonensis, had so much drained its resources, that Timoleon sailed with only seven hundred mercenary troops, besides volunteers, on board four ships of war, converted into transports for the occasion, and conveyed by three more cleared for action: passing Corcyra, he was joined by two Corcyrean and one Leucadian man of war, and with this little fleet of two ships, he ventured to cross the Ionian channel. He was too good a general to have omitted to call in the powerful aid of superstition: the oracle at Delphi had promised him success, and a crown of victory had fallen upon his head as he was quitting the temple; Ceres and Proserpine signified their approbation of accompanying the expedition, and accepted the dedication of the flag-ship; and when the fleet got under weigh by night, the presence of the goddesses was indicated to all on board, by meteors or fireworks in the heavens, which continued to move before the admiral, directing his course, and reconciling the crews to the bold measure of keeping the open sea.

Timoleon was already off Metapontum in Italy, when he fell in with a Carthaginian man of war with num-

bersadors on board, who hailed him, and delivered their commission, protesting against his interfering in the affairs of Sicily, or landing upon the island. Upon this, he hastened to Rhegium, where he was secure of a friendly reception, and took refuge in that port till he could ascertain the state of things at Syracuse, and form his own plans accordingly.

His prospect was sufficiently discouraging. The Carthaginian general, Hanno, commanded an army of fifty thousand men, well furnished with supplies and engines of war, and attended by a fleet of an hundred and fifty line-of-battle ships; he had been joined by the forces under Ictes, and the siege of Syracuse was regularly formed. Dionysius continued to hold out against the allied army, till observing Ictes withdraw towards Leontium for supplies, he made a sally, and pursued him; the enemy turned upon him, and after considerable slaughter, the Syracuseans fled in confusion into the city, and the allies rushing through the gates at the same time, became masters of the whole, excepting the impregnable fortress on the island, three days before the arrival of Timoleon at Rhegium, where his little squadron was presently blockaded by twenty Carthaginian ships of war: they prohibited all egress from the harbour, but were instructed to offer no violence to the Corinthians, unless they should attempt the passage to Sicily.

Timoleon having many friends to the city, soon arranged his plan, and executed it with great promptitude and good fortune. An assembly of the people being called in the forum, the crews of both fleets, as was usual, left their ships, to assist in the deliberations. Timoleon spoke at considerable length, while his men, one by one, left the meeting, and quietly embarked pushed out from the harbour; the flag-ship alone remained, but under weigh, the men lying on their oars. When the Carthaginian commodore rose to reply, Timoleon gently sank down among the friends who surrounded him, and, creeping under their garments, slipped away, and in a few minutes was safe at sea.

The Carthaginians did not immediately discover the stratagem; and in the pursuit which they afterwards attempted, they failed to come up with the Corinthian fleet, which reached its destination without interruption, and was received with open arms by the friendly Taurominians. The Carthaginian commodore, immediately sent an officer to Andromachus his chief, requiring him to give up his allies "on pain of having his town blown up;" but the envoy was ordered instantly to quit the port "on pain of having his ships blown up;" and here the affair rested. Ictes finding in the mean time that he could make no impression upon the citadel of Syracuse, where Dionysius made good his defence, led about five thousand men to besiege Adranum, a Syracusean colony, founded by the elder Dionysius, and consecrated to the tutelary deity Adranus, but now disposed to side with the Corinthian party. Timoleon having information of his movements, set out by night with only a thousand* or twelve hundred† men, and marching above forty miles with extraordinary speed, fell upon the enemy at dinner the next day, and putting them completely to the rout, took possession of their camp, and was joyfully received by the Adranites, who declared that prodigies had announced the

Dionysius
the
Younger.From
A. M.
3639.
—
B. C.
365.
to
A. M.
3669.
—
B. C.
333.Arrives at
Tauromi-
nium.

* Diodorus † Plutarch. ‡ Corn. Nepos.
§ Plutarch and Corn. Nepos.

* Diodorus. † Plutarch.

Biography.

From

A. M.

3639.

—

B. C.

365.

to

A. M.

3669.

—

B. C.

335.

OL.

109. 1.

will of heaven in his favour. Scarcely allowing time for refreshment, he led his troops immediately to Syracuse, and arriving there before Ictes, seized Tyche and Epipole, almost without opposition.

The Syracusans were now reduced to despair, seeing their city occupied by three belligerent powers, each hostile to the other, and the harbour blockaded by a fourth: for Dionysius still held the fortress of Orygia; Ictes was in possession of Acradina and Neapolis; Tyche, and the fortifications of Epipole, were garrisoned by the Corinthians; whilst the Carthaginian fleet filled the port, and their army lay encamped along the shore. Nor could they look with confidence to any of the contending parties for protection; but after suffering the multiplied ravages of so complicated a war, expected to become at last the prey of the victor.

The star of Dionysius was, however, evidently on the decline, and it was fortunate for Syracuse, that circumstances arose which determined him to surrender his remaining power into the hands of Timoleon, from whom he expected better treatment than he could hope from the treacherous Ictes, or from Hanno, the hereditary enemy of his family. The rapid successes and able conduct of the Corinthian general, and his known abhorrence of tyranny, had prevailed with many of the small garrisons held for Dionysius, to make overtures to him; and he thus obtained the command of great part of the country surrounding Syracuse. Masareus, chief of Catana, a man of great military talents, well supplied with troops and money, openly declared in his favour, and marched to reinforce him. About the same time, nine* or ten ships of war well manned, arrived from Coriath, with a considerable reinforcement. These favourable events enabled Timoleon to press his advantages with great vigour; and the Carthaginians, without striking a blow, embarked their troops, and retired within the territories of their ancient allies. The Messenians, thus left to themselves, immediately entered into the alliance of Coriath, and Ictes, unable to contend with the extensive combination forming against him, took refuge in Leontia. A negotiation ensued, by which the port and citadel were given up to Timoleon, who sent Dionysius to Corinth in a merchant ship of no great burden, with few friends, and but a scanty provision for his future maintenance. Of what then befel him, the accounts remaining to us are neither authentic nor consistent. His literary talents enabled him, for a time, to make a considerable figure in the first society of Greece; but finding himself an object of the most vigilant jealousy, he prudently shrouded his powers and his means under the guise of childish frivolity, and sordid poverty; by which artifice he escaped the fate of his family, who were all cut off in the indiscriminate and relentless licentiousness of republican fury. He is said to have supported himself at last, by keeping a school, (an occupation congenial to his love of letters, and to his habits of command) and to have ended his days in the wilds of Epirus.

Timoleon, thus master of Syracuse, immediately declared the constitution to be a commonwealth, and promised that the supreme power should be lodged in the hands of annual magistrates, chosen by the people, and that all the strong-holds of tyranny should be de-

stroyed. But in the present exalted and distracted state of the city, he could neither carry his measures into effect, nor provide the means of supporting his army, which it would have been impossible to disband. He undertook, therefore, a kind of crusade against tyrants; hoping by the plauds of the petty chieftains, who exercised monarchical powers in many of the Grecian towns, to satisfy the demands of his mercenaries, and to gratify his volunteers; and willing to confirm the character which he had brought with him into Sicily, as the determined enemy of kingly power.

His first attempt was upon Leontia; but Ictes was in too great force to afford him any hope of speedy success; and Timoleon, aware that his circumstances would not bear delay, raised the siege, and marched hastily to Engyum, and, in his own phrase, delivered it from the tyranny of its governor Leptines, whom he despatched to Corinth as a second specimen of a deposed tyrant.

Apollonia, which was dependent upon Engyum, submitted at the same time to the conqueror.

But the Grecian states, harassed by incessant wars and revolutions, were at this period too poor to repay the labour of their liberation; and in the fraternal spirit of a true republica, Timoleon resolved to extend the blessings of freedom to the colonies of Carthage. As this measure would unavoidably lead to a war with that formidable power, it appeared desirable to begin by securing the means of conducting it; and detachments were accordingly despatched under trusty leaders to plunder the richest provinces of the Carthaginian alliance. The produce of this predatory warfare, enabled the general not only to settle with his troops, whose pay had been long in arrears, but to provide abundantly for the siege of Entella, which he took with less difficulty than might have been anticipated, from its strength, and from the resolute defence, which had formerly baffled all the power and skill of the first Dionysius.

Fifteen of the principal inhabitants were sentenced to death, for their faithful adherence to their masters; the rest were informed that "they were free," under the military despotism of the Corinthian general. Numerous other towns, foreseeing little prospect of successful resistance, hastened to avert from themselves the fate of the fifteen Entellians; and even some of the native settlements accepted liberty at the hands of Timoleon.

But the government of Carthage, always high spirited and fertile in resources, was not likely to acquiesce in the encroachments of an adventurer whose power was as yet so little confirmed. The provincial commanders who had tamely suffered his aggressions, were superseded; and a powerful armament was fitted out to recover the lost credit and territory of the empire.

The army is stated by Diodorus to have amounted to seventy thousand men, chiefly barbarian mercenaries; and the fleet consisted of two hundred ships of war, with a proportionate number of transports. Timoleon had in his pay no more than four thousand mercenary soldiers, and the number of Syracusan citizens was so much reduced since the reign of Dionysius, that, instead of thirty thousand, able and willing to bear arms, scarcely three thousand could be prevailed on to march against the Carthaginians. The democratic historians, unwilling to admit the

Dionysius

the

Younger.

From

A. M.

3639.

—

B. C.

365.

to

A. M.

3669.

—

B. C.

335.

OL.

109. 3.

* Aristotle.

† Diodorus.

Biography. desolating consequences of liberty, attribute the deficiency to a general panic; but the admission of Plutarch that hay was made in the forum, accords but ill with his flourishing account of the population at this period.

From
A. M.
3639.
—
N. C.
365,
to
A. M.
3669.
—
N. C.
335.
O.E.
110. I.

Whilst Timoleon was engaged in the siege of En-gyrum, Ictes had made an unsuccessful attempt to surprise Syracuse, and was obliged to retire hastily with great loss; from that time he appears to have relinquished the hope of making himself master of the city, and to have dropped his connection with Carthage. In the present emergency, therefore, the Corinthian general sent a proposal for an accommodation, which was so well received, that Ictes marched to reinforce him with five thousand men.

His whole force, thus augmented, scarcely amounted to twelve thousand men; yet, relying on his own talents, and the superior discipline and courage of his troops, he held out to them the most confident hopes of success, which could only be realised by carrying the attack at once into the enemy's country, and by watching opportunities to harass and surprise their large army during the march: a mode of warfare in which the Greeks particularly excelled, and to which Timoleon was indebted for all his victories.

Advancing rapidly with this design, he had reached the Agrigentine territory when a tumult was raised among the mercenary troops by one Thrasius, a valuable and impudent fellow, who had been guilty of sacrilege in Greece, but had escaped the punishment that overtook most of his accomplices; this man, addressing his comrades, declared that "the general must be insane, to lead his men thus to inevitable destruction. The enemy's army is six times as numerous as ours, and point-de-vie in all their arms and accoutrements; yet he talks of winning a battle, as if he had a right to set our lives on the cast of a die; and because he is bankrupt and cannot discharge our arrears of pay, our blood is to be gambled away at his convenience. No, comrades, let us return to Syracuse, and quit this mad expedition."

The seditious harangue took effect, and a tumult arose among the mercenaries, who began to demand satisfaction; but Timoleon, whose peculiar excellence appeared in the readiness with which he provided for sudden emergencies, immediately repaired to the meeting, and after pointing out in strong language, the probability and advantages of success, assured the soldiers, that all who were of a different opinion, and were willing to relinquish their share in the expected booty, were at liberty to depart, and that he would give them an order on his treasurer at Syracuse, for the pay due to them. About a thousand availed themselves of this offer, and ranged themselves under the conduct of Thrasius; Timoleon, turning to the rest, declared that he heartily rejoiced at what had happened, since he was now rid in good time, of all those, whose want of courage and enterprise, might have impeded his designs.

His ardour rapidly communicated itself to the army, and they returned to their ranks in high spirits, eager to be led against the enemy; but when they began their march, a trifling incident threatened to damp that sanguine temper upon which all the expectations of the general were founded. A company of muleteers met them, conveying loads of parsley, which was used in the camps as litter for the servants and cattle. As

it was usual to crown the sepulchres with that herb, and the custom had given rise to a proverb, "He has nothing to look for but parsley," implying that certain death was to be expected, Grecian superstition readily interpreted the meeting with such a quantity of the sepulchral herb on the eve of battle, as a fatal omen, and the soldiers were immediately reminded of the prediction of Thrasius. But Timoleon, seizing a handful, and hastily twisting it into a chaplet, crowned himself with it, crying out exultingly, "The gods, the gods themselves have sent us Isthmian crowns of victory!" The Corinthians present, being familiar with those games where the victors were at that time crowned with wreaths of parsley, eagerly embraced the interpretation; and the soothing concurrences in it, the tide of feeling was instantly turned throughout the army, by the ready recollection of the general, and every man was shortly adorned with a similar garland.

In this happy temper they gained an eminence, from which they looked down upon the deep and marshy vale divided by the river Crimessus. The day was showery, and a heavy cloud threw the Greeks on the hill into shade, while the sun glittered on the burnished armour of the Carthaginians below, who were in the act of crossing the stream. Timoleon's plan was quickly formed; he halted till as many of the enemy had passed the ford as he chose to engage, and then giving the signal for attack, fell on them as they were turning on the bank of the river, and after a sharp conflict broke and defeated them. While this was doing, the Carthaginian general had passed over the rest of his army, and was advancing in good order, to take Timoleon in flank; but at this moment a violent storm came on, accompanied with thunder and hail, driving directly in the faces of the Carthaginians, who could neither see nor hear, whilst the Greeks who had the wind on their backs, rushed upon them with redoubled fury. All order was presently lost; the word of command was drowned in the rage of the elements; the African breastplates, ill-contrived, held quantities of water, which added to the weight of their heavy armour, and the deep and slippery soil, occasioned them to slide, and to throw each other down, as they attempted to make good their retreat across the river. Under these disadvantages they offered a very ineffectual resistance, and great numbers were slain by the Greeks; more were drowned; many prisoners were taken; and multitudes, throwing away their shields, fled from the field. The total loss must have been very great if it be true, as stated by Diodorus and Plutarch, that over three thousand of the legion of honour, consisting entirely of Carthaginian nobility, lay dead on the plain; but if the number was computed by the shields taken, which appears not improbable, the circumstances of the action will account for a large proportion of them, without supposing the slaughter to have been so prodigious.

The victory, at all events, was decisive; the enemy's camp became the prize of the victors; and the spoil richly rewarded all who had borne a part in the action; a magnificent trophy, the work of three days, was erected; and specimens of the enemy's armour, remarkable for its richness and workmanship, were sent round to all the allies in the island: the choicest selection, bearing an appropriate inscription, was dispatched to decorate the temples of the gods at Corinth.

Dionysius
the
Younger.
From
A. M.
3639.
—
N. C.
365,
to
A. M.
3669.
—
N. C.
335.

O.E.
110. I.

Geography.

The shattered remains of the African army fled in disorder to the strong-hold of Lilybæum, whence they sent home an account of their defeat, not venturing, from some motive of superstition, to trust themselves on board the fleet. The news is said to have created a greater alarm at Carthage than any disaster which had ever befallen the state; but, with their accustomed energy and prudence, while they sent ambassadors to treat for peace, the administration exerted themselves to prepare for a renewal of hostilities; Gisco, the son or brother of Hanno, an officer of consummate ability, was recalled from banishment; and having experienced the inferiority of their own troops to the Grecian mercenaries, they employed commissioners to engage in their service an army of Greeks.

Timoleon leaving his mercenary troops to watch the motions of the enemy, returned to Syracuse, where the glory and wealth which he had acquired gave him increased influence, and enabled him in the absence of their comrades, to call to account the detachment who had left him at the instigation of Thrasybulus. He was satisfied with dismissing them from his service for desertion, and commanding them to quit Sicily; a sentence, which, as it branded them with the character of deserters, excluded them from being received into the pay of any other state; so that being reduced to subsist by plunder, they were all, not long afterwards, executed as robbers on the coast of Italy. In the mean time, a number of settlers from Corinth arrived at Syracuse, and receiving from Timoleon allotments of the vacant houses and lands on condition of military service, added greatly to the strength of his army, and to the population and prosperity of the city.

Mamercus and Ictes now too late discovered that nothing but temporary necessity had induced Timoleon to seek their alliance; and that in his indiscriminate zeal for the abolition of tyranny, he designed to effect a revolution in Leontini and Catana, as well as in all the other monarchical states, and to make every Grecian town in Sicily a free republic, dependent on the supreme commonwealth of Syracuse. Incensed at his perfidy and ingratitude, they withdrew from his confederacy, and again entered into negotiation with Carthage: but Timoleon, aware of the formidable force collected under Gisco, and of the extensive league formed against himself by the petty chieftains of the Sicilian towns, concluded a peace with the Carthaginians, by the terms of which he relinquished to them the province beyond the Lycus,* on condition that they should permit all the Grecian settlements to be governed by their own laws, and should take no part in the war of extermination, which Syracuse had declared against tyrants.

It was probably at this time that an incident occurred, referred by Plutarch to an earlier period. While Timoleon was engaged in offering a sacrifice, two men mingled with the crowd intending to stab him. Just as they were exchanging signals to commence the attack, a bystander cut one of them down with his sword, and instantly fled to an eminence, from whence he earnestly begged to be heard; the confederate assassin, clinging to the altar for protection, confessed the purpose for which they had been hired by Ictes. When the tumult was somewhat appeased,

the person who had slain the assassin obtained a hearing, and declared that having recognised him as the man who had not long since murdered his father at Leontium, he had struck him dead to avenge the blood of his parent, without any suspicion of the preset design. So singular an escape was regarded as a manifest interposition of the gods, to preserve the life of Timoleon; and the man whose private feud, had in a fortunate moment arrested the hand of treachery, was liberally rewarded for a very questionable action.

While these things were passing at Syracuse, Hippe, the chief of Messæna was expelled, or, according to Plutarch, massacred by the garrison placed by Timoleon in that city; and Mamercus also appears to have obtained some advantages over the Corinthian troops stationed in his neighbourhood; though the whole matter is hastily passed over by the partial biographer, in that confused manner, which results from his anxious desire to conceal the disasters which befell his hero, and at the same time to provide an excuse for his subsequent violence towards his enemies. Timoleon lost no time in preparing to punish these insults, and to extend, on all sides, the Syracusan confederacy. Even the republican town Ætna, refusing to acknowledge the supremacy of the imperial city, was razed, and its inhabitants either put to the sword, or sold into slavery. Nicodemus, chief of the Centuripini, terrified by the threat that he should suffer the fate of a tyrant, fled from his fortress, and Centuripa was declared free, under the usual conditions of alliance with the superior state. The Corinthian general next compelled Apolloniades to abdicate his power over the Agrigians, and conferred upon that people the freedom of the city of Syracuse, in consideration of their ready adoption of his political system. In prosecution of the same design, he was besieging Calauria with a small force, when Ictes took advantage of his absence to plunder the Syracusan territory; and returning loaded with spoil, passed within sight of the Corinthian lines. Timoleon, whose favourite manner of fighting was by a sudden onset, suffered him to pass without permitting his men to move from their posts; but when the enemy had ceased to apprehend an action, he called out his cavalry and light infantry, and unexpectedly fell upon their rear. Ictes, by a skilful manœuvre, formed his line so as to interpose a small stream with steep and rugged banks between himself and the enemy; but nothing could damp the ardour of the republican army; they crossed the ravine with eagerness, each contending to be first; and the Leontines, astonished at their boldness, took to flight and were pursued with considerable slaughter.

This victory led almost immediately to the capture of Leontini, where democracy was, of course, proclaimed. Ictes, his son Eupolemus, and Euthymus his master of the horse, were all put to death, "as traitors against the sovereignty of the people."[†] It is said that the last, a brave soldier who took little part in politics, would have been spared, had not some person maliciously reported a sarcastic joke, formerly passed by him on the effeminacy of the Corinthian soldiers. Ictes was buried with military honours; the unhappy females of the family were reserved to gratify the barbarous fury of the Syracusan populace, to whom it

Dionysius

the

Younger.

From

A. M.

3639.

—

E. C.

365.

to

A. M.

3669.

—

E. C.

335.

* Or Halycus. He is the Phœnician Æa.

† Plutarch. *vit. Tim.*

Biography. was industriously represented, that these were the wife and daughters of the very man who was suspected of procuring the shipwreck, in which the family of Dion had perished. On this account they were condemned to die, nor did Timoleon interfere to prevent the execution of the sentence.

Mamercus was destined to be the next victim. He is reported by Plutarch to have received a considerable reinforcement from the Carthaginian general, Gisco, and in make this offence against the Grecian interest appear probable, and thereby to palliate the severities exercised upon him, the treaty between Timoleon and the Carthaginians is represented as subsequent to the battle of the Abolus; in which the Catanians were defeated, and Mamercus compelled to take refuge on board his fleet. The democratic spirit prevailing among the crews occasioned a mutiny, and with some difficulty he escaped to Messina; where disaffection still spreading, and Timoleon investing the place by sea and land, he attempted to embark with Hippo for Italy; but the infuriated mob seized both princes, and delivering Mamercus to Timoleon, exposed their own chiefs naked in the public theatre; a holiday was granted to all the schools in Messina, and the children were assembled in the theatre, where, to imbue them early with a relentless hatred of monarchy, they were encouraged to scourge the miserable Hippo to death. Mamercus was permitted, at his own earnest desire, to plead his cause before the national assembly at Syracuse, where he strongly represented to the people the service he had performed for Timoleon, and the cruel treatment with which his friendship had been requited. But the many-headed tyrant was deaf to remonstrance; and the appeal to justice and generosity called forth only groans and hooting. Upon this he endeavoured to anticipate the malice of his enemies, by dashing his head against one of the columns in the forum; but he was merely stoned by the blow, and his body being taken up and nailed to a cross, he expired amid the savage acclamations of the surrounding crowd.

Andromachus alone, of all the tyrants of Sicily, was permitted to enjoy his power with the favour of Timoleon, because, as it is asserted by his son the historian,* "he governed his people with mildness and equity, and allowed them to live under equal laws." He had the sagacity to perceive, that while avowed monarchy would not be endured, a popular demagogue might easily acquire and exercise the most despotic power.

It cannot fail to excite surprise that Plutarch should conclude his account of the atrocious, and often unprovoked cruelties, sanctioned if not encouraged by Timoleon, with remarking, that he was the only man among all the worthies of Greece, whose glory was untarnished by a single action which could afford room for censure or repentance; and he quotes after Timæus a verse of Sophocles, which appears singularly inapplicable to the subject of his panegyric.

* What goddess of beauty, what spirit of love, inspires him in every deed."

When all the tyrants were expelled, and the free towns had submitted to the Syracusan alliance, Timoleon employed his activity in remodelling the constitution, and in restoring the prosperity of the confe-

deracy. His first measure was to assemble the people, and with every demonstration of public rejoicing, to demolish the citadel and palace of Ortygia, and every fortress in which a tyrant could be likely to defend himself against the will of the people. The superb sculpture with which Dionysius and his predecessors had decorated the city shared the same fate, the statue of Gelo alone being exempted from the general destruction: upon the ruins of the royal residence was erected a common hall, for the accommodation of the national assembly; the houses and lands not already disposed of, were declared public property; the former were allotted to the mercenary troops, and to the Coriethian and other Grecian colonists; and the latter were put up to sale, (a preference being allowed to any of the ancient proprietors who might desire to return to Syracuse) and the produce was paid into the treasury.

But the spirit of faction had so possessed the Syracusans, that the slightest cause was sufficient to excite the most violent commotion. The old citizens were dissatisfied with the preference evidently bestowed by the Corinthian general upon the new settlers; tumults and bloodshed ensued; Lophyllus, a revolutionary demagogue, entered an action against Timoleon for malversation in his office, and required bail for his appearance to take his trial; the Corinthian party interfered in a violent manner to quash the proceedings; but Timoleon very prudently compelled them to desist, alleging that he had sustained so many labours, and faced so many dangers, only in order that every citizen might be equally amenable to the laws. The people were flattered; and the trial, of course, came to nothing. But the old Syracusan faction was not so easily suppressed; another accuser was found, and the general was impeached for tyranny; he escaped a second time to a similar manner, disdaining to reply to the virulent invective of Democritus, otherwise than by thanking the gods that his endeavours were at length crowned with success, since complete liberty of speech was evidently established in the commonwealth.

But although these were the public sentiments of Timoleon, his vigilance and sagacity were by no means remitted; and he continued fully determined to control the seditious temper of the original inhabitants by the strong hand of power. His plan was ably devised, and readily carried into effect: proclamation was made throughout Greece, that Timoleon would bestow dwellings and estates, with the freedom of the city, upon all adventurers, who would settle in Sicily. Fourteen thousand colonists immediately embraced the proposal, and the population of Leontini was at the same time transferred to Syracuse. By these means the Corinthian party acquired such an ascendancy, that we hear no more of any attempt on the part of the ancient citizens to assert their rights; they sunk into poverty and insignificance; and all the offices of the state, civil and military, were bestowed upon Coriethian emigrants.

Having thus provided for the tranquillity of the republic, Timoleon announced his intention of sending for his wife and children, and of settling for life at Syracuse: this intimation was received by the citizens with unbounded joy; and the national assembly not only sent a deputation to conduct the family in the most honourable way from their native country, but

Dionysius
the
Younger.

From
A. M.
3639.

B. C.
365.
to
A. M.
3669.

B. C.
335.

OL.
110. 2.

* Timæus, quoted by Plutarch.

Biography. assigned Timoleon a magnificent* villa in the district of Neapolis, with a suitable deme, in consideration of his services to the state.

From A. M. 3639. — B. C. 365. to A. M. 3669. — B. C. 335. At the same time he requested that commissioners might be sent out from Corinth, to assist him in the revision of the ancient laws of the Syracusan constitution; but whether this committee merely revived the code of Diocles, the regulations of which, as far as they related to the distribution of property, had never been formally abrogated, or whether they introduced any innovations founded on the policy of their own state, is not distinctly explained. The penal statutes appear to have undergone considerable changes, and to have partaken largely in that severe spirit which invariably characterises the criminal enactments of a popular government. The constitution seems to have been reduced to a very simple form, of which the outline is so slightly traced, that it is scarcely distinguishable from other democracies: its only remarkable feature was the election of an annual officer as president of the assembly, whose title was minister of Olympian Jupiter; and the office continued to exist, through many changes in the state, for nearly three centuries.

Timoleon now became, without any definite title, or any power recognised by the constitution, as completely master of Sicily as the first Dionysius had ever been; and some writers have not hesitated to call him tyrant or king of Syracuse. He had the art, by disclaiming all authority, and affecting the utmost deference for the will of the people, to enforce all his edicts without exciting popular jealousy, or sharing in the odium of severe measures; whilst he was so fortunate as to gain credit and popularity by every vote which tended to promote the prosperity of the city, or the indulgences of the citizens. Under his auspices, the temples and other public edifices were repaired and beautified; an effective police was established; commerce was restored; agriculture flourished; and the blessings of peace rapidly brought back to Syracuse much of the wealth and splendour of former times. As the people became accustomed to order and tranquillity, the severity of the administration was imperceptibly relaxed; and the declining days of Timoleon were spent among a grateful nation, who loved and honoured him as a father; so that it became customary to point him out to strangers, as the glory and ornament of Syracuse. During the latter part of

his military career, a cataract was observed to be forming in one of his eyes; and for some time before his death he became totally blind: this infirmity, however, neither damped the energy of his character, nor prevented his taking an active part in all the public deliberations, and directing by his influence the votes of the assembly. He was carried to the town-hall on the shoulders of the citizens, who contended with each other for the honour of bearing his litter; and he frequently spoke at considerable length on the subject in debate.

The precise period of his death is uncertain. By Diodorus it is placed in the last year of the 110th Olympiad, but the numerous events in which he is recorded to have borne a part, subsequent to the second year of the same Olympiad, lead to a suspicion, that there must be some error in the MSS. and that he lived considerably longer. His popularity continued to the last, and he expired of a gentle decay of nature, in the bosom of his family. The national assembly voted two hundred mina (about £700) for the expenses of his funeral, which was solemnized in the most sumptuous manner, the whole body of citizens joining in procession, and carrying the corpse round the city, through the scenes of his most popular actions. His sepulchre was built in the forum at the public cost; and a magnificent portico, palestra, and gymnasium, named altogether the Timoleonteum, were erected in honour of his memory, where annual games were celebrated, after the manner of similar institutions in Greece, on the day of his nativity, which was said to be also the anniversary of his most important victories.

Timoleon possessed more consistency of character, and was less actuated by vanity and ostentation, than any of the revolutionary demagogues of Greece, who attained to despotic power under the pretext of establishing liberty and equality. He was not naturally cruel, nor destitute of liberal affections; but he never hesitated to commit any atrocity in furtherance of his objects. His talents were unquestionably of the first order. As a general, the rapidity of his movements, the novelty of his stratagems, the singular boldness and vigour of his attack, enabled him to oppose numerous and well conducted armies with a very inconsiderable force; to baffie Carthage, and subdue Sicily, without ever having led into the field more than ten thousand men. He was a keen and sagacious politician; an enlightened and prudent legislator; and though not scrupulous in the means of acquiring power, he was public-spirited and moderate in its exercise.

* Now an episcopal palace.

† The first minister was Callimenes.

‡ Corn. Nepos, &c.

Dionysius

the

Younger.

From

A. M.

3639.

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B. C.

365.

to

A. M.

3669.

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B. C.

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to

A. M.

335.

HISTORY.

CHAPTER XVI.

DISSERTATION ON THE CREDIBILITY OF THE EARLY ROMAN HISTORY.

History. In laying the foundation of those general rules which induction has established in natural philosophy, the multitude of reported facts which present themselves to the inquirer, are carefully weighed and distinguished. Some may seem utterly at variance with all former theories; others may bear a character of internal probability; while a third class may be of a neutral kind, neither inviting nor repelling belief. But the true philosopher presumes not to judge of their truth by their internal evidence; he proceeds to examine the external testimony on which they severally rest. Some, then, which in themselves were most likely to gain credit, he finds reported on mere hearsay, by one who had neither the means to come at the truth, nor yet judgment to sift the stories which others related to him. These may, hereafter, be confirmed by competent witnesses; but at present, nothing can be drawn from them; and for the purposes of establishing a theory, they are utterly useless. On the contrary, some of those facts which seemed most improbable, are found to rest on the most unexceptionable evidence, that of intelligent eye-witnesses, or of men impartial, and judicious, and inquisitive, well practised in the art of scrutinising the loose reports of common informers. The philosopher, therefore, wisely admits them; they are recorded in the journals of science, and serve to modify the theories which a less universal experience had too hastily formed, and to excite a general desire for additional facts, illustrative of the same subject, on whichever side they may be likely finally to turn the scale.

But if the student in natural philosophy, for philosophy we could not call him, should class under one common name all reports of facts, from the mere rumours of a newspaper, to the positive affirmation of the most judicious and scientific eye-witness, and should speak collectively of their credibility or want of credibility; what should we think of his powers of discrimination that could thus confound together things the most dissimilar; or of the soundness of that understanding, which in its reasoning should ascribe to a whole made up of parts so discordant, the peculiar character of one only of its constituent members?

Yet this which we have imagined as a merely possible case in natural philosophy, has actually occurred in examining the facts which relate to the actions and fortunes of men. One common name of history

has been applied to all accounts of the past deeds and condition of mankind; and while some, maintaining the authority of history, have considered as true the tales of the most incompetent witnesses; others, with equal simplicity, have set up their own limited knowledge as the judge of truth, and have rejected the statements of men most honest and most sensible, because they have not been in accordance with their own previous opinions of probability.

These are not imaginary errors; an indiscriminate belief of all testimony caused the writers of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries to report, as authentic, the tales of *Livy* and *Plutarch*, and of many of the ecclesiastical historians. And *Voltaire*, fancying his own wisdom could of itself distinguish truth from falsehood, presumed to ridicule the statements of *Herodotus*, of *Arrian*, and of those writers who record the creation of the *New Forest* by *William the conqueror*.

These faults should be carefully avoided, if we wish to establish the great doctrines of history on the same sure base with those of natural philosophy. Every portion of the annals of mankind should be judged of by an examination of the credibility of its relaters. If this be very great, we may delay the decision how far internal improbability should overpower external evidence, till it can be shown what facts there are, reported by really good witnesses, which appear improbable upon a due consideration of all the circumstances. On the other hand, if the external evidence be very low, internal probability must not lead us to mistake a vague report for a fact. It may be true, but there exists no sufficient testimony of its truth to allow us to use it as a ground for any general conclusion. This to a sanguine and generalising mind, may be a painful sacrifice; but it is one which the principles of true philosophy fully demand.

Without further preface, we proceed to apply the method above stated, to such facts as are reported of the Romans, from the foundation of the city, to the beginning of the first Punic war. That is, we shall call before us the witnesses by whom they are related, and examine both their means of acquiring information, and their capacity and disposition to make the best use of them.

The only detailed and connected account of the first centuries of the Roman history, is to be found in *Livy* and *Dionysius of Halicarnassus*. Particular

Rome.

History. periods are described by Plutarch, in his lives of Romulus, Numa, Publicola, Coriolanus, Camillus, and Pyrrhus. Incidental mention of particular facts, occurs in Polybius, and in various parts of the works of Cicero. Other writers it is needless to mention, as they mostly either lived at a much later period than any above named, or were poets, and, therefore, concerned themselves little with the truth of their descriptions. Of all this number, we will first examine the pretensions of Livy. This writer flourished in the time of Augustus Cæsar, about 250 years later than the very close of the period with which we are now concerned. He, therefore, must have derived his accounts solely from the information of other writers, assisted, perhaps, by inscriptions still remaining on ancient monuments, by the genealogical records of private families, and possibly by some public registers preserved under the care of the officers of the state. Here then are four distinct sources of information of very unequal value; yet it is only in one or two instances that Livy explains from which of them he is copying; still less does he acquaint us when he is not copying from any one, but writing merely on his own authority. This neglect at once destroys the weight of his whole evidence; as it leaves us with no means of distinguishing between that which is well, and that which is ill supported. But we will go a little further. The principal writers whom Livy quotes in the first ten books of his work, are Fabius, Pictor, Calpurnius Piso, Claudius, L. Cincius, and Valerius Antias. Of these, Claudius and Valerius Antias appear, by Livy's own testimony, to have exaggerated on several occasions, even to extravagance. Cincius is only once quoted in the first ten books, and he is then praised as a careful antiquarian; but this praise is somewhat neutralised by a passage in the twenty-first book, *c.* xxxviii, where he is described as guilty of a strange confusion in a matter that happened in his own times, and which he might readily have understood. Piso is recorded as the author of one exaggeration of the most monstrous kind; (*lib.* i. *c.* 55.) and Fabius, the most ancient of them all, and the one whom Livy prefers to all the rest, is noted by Polybius as a writer of low credit, owing to his excessive partiality towards his own countrymen. (*Polyb.* lib. i. *c.* 14. lib. iii. *c.* 8. 9.)

Inscriptions remaining on ancient monuments are undoubtedly an excellent authority in many respects; but we should be well assured of their genuineness and correct transcription before we can place full reliance in them at second-hand. Livy, however, does not often appeal to them, and where he does, as in *lib.* 2. *c.* xxxiii. *lib.* 6. *c.* xxix., we may allow their evidence; although it does not appear that either of the monuments were extant in his time, and the plate in the capitol, *lib.* vi. *c.* 29., probably perished when the capitol was burnt, *A. U. C.* 670. But the facts which can be thus reported are necessarily few, and can be given with none of the accompanying circumstances.

The genealogical records of private families are useful to an historian in settling the chronology of events; and as they contained an account of the offices which each individual had filled, we might expect them to furnish a faithful list of the persons who at any given period had the direction of public

Rome. affairs. But even here we have no sure ground to rest on. Family vanity, it seems, had corrupted these memorials to such a degree, that fictitious honours and exploits were ascribed by each family to their own ancestors; and this affords an argument that none of these genealogies were really handed down from early times; for the most unshaking evidence would not embolden a contemporary to impute to any man, imaginary titles and victories. Nor is there greater certainty in many of the public documents preserved in the temples or public offices, such as the lists of consuls and other magistrates for every year. For, first it does not appear that those books or records of magistrates, which were formerly kept in the temple of Juno Moneta, were extant when Livy wrote; at least he only refers to the reports of their contents in earlier writers; and as he mentions one instance, *lib.* iv. *c.* 23., in which two of these writers quote them differently, without telling us which was the correct reading; we may fairly conclude, that he either could not, or did not, examine them himself. In the next place, not only must these books have been very unfaithfully examined by one or both of those writers, whose report Livy has transmitted to us, but in one memorable instance, the authority of the books themselves seems highly questionable. They, with all other early annals, represent A. Cornelius Cossus as not having been consul when he killed Tullianus, the king of Veii, *A. U. C.* 318.; yet Augustus Cæsar declared that he had read the inscription on the very spoils of Tullianus, in the temple of Jupiter Feretrius, and that Cossus there asserted that he had won them as consul. Either then the books must be of doubtful authority and of later date, or there must have been such a general uncertainty in the records of earlier times existing in the days of Augustus, that none of them are fairly entitled to that belief, which is commonly given with justice to such official memorials.

Amidst this chaos, it was, perhaps, possible for a well-informed and patient antiquarian, with such facilities for examining every ancient record, as his situation in the emperor's family must needs have given him, to have distinguished between what was genuine and what was forged, and to have told posterity all that was known, on good authority, of the early history of his country. But it is too plain that Livy has done nothing of all this. Although aware of the scantiness, if it were not rather the non-existence, of all contemporary records, and the unfaithfulness of the compilations of later times, his narrative is as detailed as if he were relating the events of his own age. How much of this was his own invention, and how much he copied from the invention of his predecessors, we cannot exactly tell; but that it must be for the most part invention, is even certain.

Again, Livy did, by no means, well understand the early state of his country: in proof of this may be given, his leaving, without explanation, the extraordinary fact, that the Romans, so familiar with bloodshed in all their wars, and so perpetually inflamed by the most violent provocations to engage in internal seditions, should yet, in the first centuries of the republic, have been so careful of taking away each other's lives. Again, his ignorance of the ancient manner of warfare, appears clearly in his account of the engagement of the Cremera, in which all the

History. Fabii were slain. According to him, the whole Roman force, on this occasion, amounted to no more than three hundred and six men, all of them, he tells us, patricians of the Fabian family; and as the same number is mentioned to have been killed at the Cremera, which originally set out from Rome a year before, we must suppose that in repeated actions with the Veientians, during a whole year, not a single man had been lost. He seems to have forgotten that the three hundred and six Fabii, constituted only the heavy-armed men of the army, and, therefore, were alone counted by early writers; but that they would be attended by a great force of their vassals, or poor clients, who all carried missile weapons, and though not thought worthy of notice as soldiers, were yet very effective auxiliaries in a plundering warfare. Long before Livy's time, the use of the sword and large shield having superseded the old distinction of heavy-armed and light-armed troops, the nominal and real force of an army, was the same as with us at this day; but in Greece, as in the early times of Rome, it was not so; and we must always make a large addition to the numbers mentioned by the cotemporary historians, if we would estimate the real strength engaged on either side. A cotemporary historian, writing about a thing perfectly familiar to him, naturally omits to offer an explanation of it, except it be given incidentally; but when a writer in after ages copies his language, without such an explanation as is become necessary to his readers, it is a sure sign that he does not understand it.* But the most remarkable instance of Livy's combined ignorance and carelessness, is to be met with in his details of the battles fought in the first periods of his history. In his description of the divisions and arms of the Roman army, lib. viii. c. 8., he says that anciently, before pay was given to the soldiers, that is, before the year of Rome 349. (Vid. Livium, lib. iv. c. 59.) they used the round shields, clypei, and the close phalanx of the Greeks; their principal effective weapon being the long spear, hasta; as we learn, both from the universal practice of troops drawn up in the order of the phalanx, and also from Livy's express words, lib. l. c. 43., where he is describing the arms of the several classes instituted by Servius Tullius. Yet, in all his history, there is not the slightest allusion to the use of such arms or tactics in the description of a single battle; on the contrary, he writes as if the divisions and weapons of the legion had always been employed; and talks continually of legions, manipuli, triarii, centurions, names which have no connection with the order of the phalanx; nay, he describes the soldiers as throwing their pila or javelins, and then coming to close action with their swords; a manner of fighting practised, indeed, in the Punic wars, but utterly unknown to troops who fought in compact array, and decided their battles by charging with their levelled spears. This, alone, affords a decisive proof that Livy's accounts are not only unfounded, but clumsy and ignorant inventions;

being got up with much less pains to preserve probability, than would now be tolerated, even in the descriptions of past times, which are given by the poet or the novelist.

It is only in deference to the character which Livy has obtained among the learned, because they think him eloquent and picturesque in his narrative, that we have thought it needful to quote so many proofs of his insufficiency as an historian. One more only shall be added. The pretended defeat of the Gauls by Camillus, and the recovery of Rome by the sword, instead of a ransom, which Livy has given in the utmost detail, are in all probability, mere inventions of Roman vanity, to palliate the disgrace of having bought their safety by the payment of money to their victorious enemies. Polybius, mentioning the subject incidentally, says, that the Romans made a treaty with the Gauls for the termination of hostilities on such terms as the Gauls thought good; and, afterwards, (lib. ii. c. 18.) speaking of it more expressly, informs us, that the cause of the retreat was an invasion made by the Veneti on the territories of the Gauls, during their absence, upon which they concluded an agreement with the Romans, and gave them back their city, and returned home; nor was it till forty-two years after this event, although the Gauls had, in the interval, made a formidable irruption as far as Alba, that the Romans were able to meet them in the field. No competent judge can hesitate for an instant in preferring the authority of Polybius, in such a matter, to that of Livy; so that we have here an instance of a signal falsification of one of the most memorable events of Roman history, followed by a series of other falsehoods, where Livy ascribes to his countrymen, no fewer than five victories over the Gauls, some of them of the most splendid kind, won within that period in which they were not strong enough in reality, even to venture a battle.

Considering then the deficiency of all good materials, the very indifferent character of those which were in his power, and the instances given of his own ignorance, carelessness, and deviation from truth in points of importance, it is not too much to assert, that Livy's evidence, as far as concerns the ten first books of his history, is altogether unworthy of credit. Many of the facts reported by him may be true, and many are probable; but we have no right to admit them as real occurrences on his authority. The story of many well-written novels is highly probable, yet we do not the less regard it as a fiction; and the narrative of Livy, even where its internal evidence is most in its favour, is no substitute of external evidence, that although we would not assert that it is every where false, we should act unwisely were we any where to argue upon it as if it were true.

The testimony of Dionysius of Halicarnassus is next to be considered. As he was cotemporary with Livy, his means of information must have been nearly the same; and as we have already seen how imperfect these were, we need say no more on that subject. We must inquire then whether his personal qualifica-

* Even Dioctrius of Halicarnassus shows on this occasion, a knowledge and situation which are wanting in Livy; for he expressly tells us, that the army of the Fabii consisted of four thousand men; the majority, he says, consisting of their clients and followers, but of the Fabian family itself, there were three hundred and six men. *Antiq. Rom. lib. ix. c. 15.*

* Compare also Polybius, book ii., chap. 22., where he makes one of the Gaulish chiefs encourage his countrymen to attack the Roman territory, by reminding them of the glorious and profitable issue of their first invasion.

History. tions were such as to render him a more respectable witness than the Roman historian. And here a strong presumption against him arises on a mere survey of the bulk of his work: the minute detail in which Livy indulges, was stated as an argument against his credibility; but this is applicable to Dionysius in a more than three-fold proportion, for the events, which, in the Roman writer, occupy three books and a few chapters of the fourth, are by the Greek expanded, so as to fill no fewer than eleven; so that he must have supplied himself from his own invention, or that of others, even more plentifully than Livy. Then for his judgment, it is worthy of notice, that he is the author of a criticism on Thucydides, which has never been surpassed for its absurdity: and that while he charges Polybius with writing carelessly and inaccurately upon mere hearsay, he names, among the writers from whom his own work is borrowed, that of Valerius Antias, of whom Livy himself is obliged to confess, that he knows no limit to his falsehoods. He also shows the same ignorance of the early state of the Roman army, that we have before observed in Livy: speaking of legions, centurions, triarii, &c., long before such divisions, or titles, were in existence. His whole work bears the marks of having been written in order to extol the character of the Romans, and to give the most favourable account possible of their origin and early history: and on the whole, his evidence does not deserve to be placed on a higher rank than that of Livy, which we have already pronounced to be insufficient.

Plutarch lived more than a century later than Dionysius or Livy, and was consequently still further removed from the original sources of information. Besides, as he wrote the lives of individuals, and not the history of the nation, he contented himself with following the commonly received accounts, selecting from them such stories as would most adorn the characters of his several heroes. Thus, in the life of Camillus, he adopts Livy's tale of his defeating the Gauls, and delivering his country from the disgrace of paying a ransom: for had he examined into the truth of the facts thus related, the result would have reduced the subject of his biography nearly to insignificance. Moreover, we have the means of judging, from his Grecian lives, of the indiscriminate manner in which he compiles his narrative from the best and the worst authorities; so not unfrequently giving the preference to the latter. So that he must needs be a very unsafe guide, where we have no remaining standard by which we can try him, and thus separate what is worthless from what is true.

Had Cicero ever performed the task which his friends it seems wished him to undertake, and had he given us the fruits of a careful examination into the early history of his country, his evidence would have deserved our most respectful attention. But as it is, he has only introduced particular facts, as they were commonly reported, to illustrate his argument; without by any means giving us reason to think that he had thoroughly ascertained their truth. Nothing is more unsafe than to rely on the correctness of historical facts quoted by philosophers, in illustration of their immediate subject. Not writing as historians, they take them as they find them related, and use them for their own purposes, without strictly inquiring upon what foundation they rest. In referring to

Rome. Bacon's *History of Henry the VIIIth*, we may consider his judgment to have been passed deliberately in favour of the truth of his statements: but we should do him a great injustice, if we were to expect the same accuracy in all the historical examples introduced in his *Instauratio Magna*.

The authority of Polybius is of a very different kind from that of any of the writers hitherto considered. Living at a much earlier period, he might have had fuller means of information; and those which he had, he certainly seems to have weighed far more sensibly. The fables which in after times obtained general circulation, were for the most part confined to the misrepresentations of family traditions, or to the pages of a few writers, whose assertions had not yet been copied often enough to pass for truth. But Polybius does not profess to explore the antiquities of Rome. Its actual state, both civil and military, he had carefully studied; and the events of his own age, or of the one immediately preceding it, he has investigated fairly and fully. Of more remote times, he has spoken briefly and incidentally, and he has shown, in several instances, that the traditions respecting the early state of Rome were far less corrupted when he wrote, than they became shortly afterwards. We may particularly remark this in the famous story of Horatius Cocles. Polybius, book vi. chap. 55, after noticing his brave resistance to the enemy, and his desiring his friends to cut away the bridge behind him, adds, that when he saw the bridge destroyed, he threw himself, armed and wounded as he was, into the river, and willingly died for his country. Livy, on the contrary, reports that he swam across unhurt, and lived to receive the applauses and rewards of his countrymen. It is in such additions as this that we perceive how the real glory of the Roman people has been in fact injured by the clumsy falsehoods of their own historians. The story of Cocles, as Polybius tells, is a striking instance of heroism, but is in no way improbable, and may be paralleled in the authentic history of other nations. As told by Livy, the marvellousness of the escape of Cocles throws a suspicion on the whole achievement, and might incline us to regard the whole as a mere romance. But a foreigner, whose time was busily employed on other pursuits, could not hope to unravel the various records, always imperfect and often contradictory, which professed to relate the origin of the city, its early fortunes, and the causes which led to the foundation of some of its principal institutions. On these points, then, Polybius has said nothing, as other writers have said nothing that is satisfactory.

It results from this view of the authorities on which the early part of the Roman history rests, that they must be considered quite insufficient to establish its credibility. Much of it is doubtless true; but we have no clue to enable us to distinguish between the true and the false; and when we find that so remarkable an event as the first invasion of the Gauls has been so totally misrepresented, a general suspicion and uncertainty is thrown over the whole narrative. Able men have endeavored to find some sure ground in the midst of this treacherous morass, by tracing themselves of the authentic histories of other nations; and from seeing what has been the progress of society elsewhere, they have conjectured what it was at Rome. But such reasoning, although they may be highly useful in supplying a knowledge of particular points,

History. where the general state of a country may be learned from positive evidence, become, we think, rather hazardous, when they must furnish the whole of the picture, almost to its faintest outline. We too could form our theories, and present to our readers speculations which seem to us recommended by much internal probability. These, however, are not to be offered in the place of history: and while there has been

given in this work a transcript of the popular account of the first four hundred and ninety years of the Roman story, we shall content ourselves with having shown its utter want of trustworthiness, and shall leave our readers to select from it such portions as they may choose to think probable, instead of offering ourselves as their guides on an undertaking so desperate.*

Rome.

* It was not till the preceding pages were completed, that the writer of them met with an essay by M. de Beaufort, "On the Uncertainty of the Roman History, during the first Five Hundred Years;" as well as with the attempt made by Hooke, in the fourth volume of his *Roman History* (two edic.) to answer M. de Beaufort's arguments. In the former work the author has gone somewhat further than appeared necessary to the argument maintained in our *Encyclopædia*: for without entering into the question, whether Livy and Dionysius, had they been sensible men, could, from the materials existing in their days, have compiled a credible narrative; it is sufficient for all practical purposes to show, that the narrative which they have actually left us is not credible: their own ignorance, carelessness, and want of judgment being so excessive, that their testimony can give us no reasonable ground of assurance. Another signal proof of this, in addition to those we have adduced, may be here given from M. de Beaufort. The two most memorable events in the early military history of Rome, are the wars with the Gauls and with Porsenna. How completely the former has been falsified by the Roman historians, we have already shown; and it appears that the latter has been reported so less truly. M. de Beaufort quotes Fliny to prove that Porsenna

dictated terms of peace to the Romans, one of which debared them from the use of iron, except in agriculture: a remarkable condition, which evidently implies the dependent state to which the Romans were reduced; and which is exactly the same with that imposed by the Philitians upon the Israelites, recorded in the *First Book of Samuel*, chap. xiii. v. 19, &c. Fliny quotes this stipulation expressly from the treaty itself; (*in fœdere nominatione comprehensum invenimus*) and it is strongly confirmed by a passage in Tacitus; where that historian, speaking of the burning of the capital in the reign of Vitellius, deplores the event as one which neither Porsenna had accomplished, when the city was surrendered to him, (*delitit urbs*) nor the Gauls, when it was taken by assault. Now, if the two most notorious wars in which the Romans were engaged in the early periods of their history, are reported to us by Livy, in a manner totally false, what credit can be attached to his authority in any thing! We repeat again, that we do not pretend to assert the whole contents of Livy's first ten books to be untrue, but merely that Livy's relating them, is no reason at all that they should be true; in other words, that the facts, being quite unsupported by good evidence, should not be admitted among historical truths.

HAMILCAR BARCA.—FIRST PUNIC WAR.

FROM A. M. 3741. B. C. 263. TO A. M. 3764. B. C. 240.

Biography. THE fame of Hamilcar and Hannibal has so far surpassed that of all the other individuals engaged on either side in the contest between Rome and Carthage; that although both were at last unfortunate, they naturally attract our chief attention at the period of history on which we are now about to enter. On the side of Carthage indeed, they stand not only most prominent, but almost alone: the struggle was supported by the genius of one family, with little assistance from the institutions or exertions of their country, and still less from the ability of its government. The Punic wars afford one memorable instance of extraordinary individual character, contending long with doubtful success against the power, zeal, and united ability of a great nation: and the result in this, as in a more recent case, has shown that so such a contest although the individual may win the brighter glory, yet the final triumph will rest with his enemies.

We would fain learn what was the state of Carthage when she first encountered the adversary by whom she was to be afterwards destroyed. We would anxiously inquire what were the manners of her people; what progress they had attained either in the great arts of government and legislation, or in those which add comfort and refinement to our daily life. But our curiosity cannot be gratified. Time, or the jealousy, or carelessness of their conquerors, has deprived us of all the information which Carthaginian writers might have afforded us; and what remains in

the works of Greeks or Romans is mostly of so late a date, and comes from so fettered or so prejudiced a source, that it is little worthy of our attention. We shall content ourselves therefore with combining the scattered notices of Carthage, that are to be found in those early Greek writers, who were near in time, although remote in place, and who certainly appear to have had no temptation either to exaggerate or diminish the fame of the Carthaginians.

We know that Carthage was a Phœnician colony, and the maritime habits of the mother country, as well as its enterprising commercial spirit, were fully inherited by the new settlement. With the usual ascendancy of a civilised people over barbarians, the Carthaginians soon extended their power to a great extent over the surrounding country; and at an early period carried on a profitable trade, and had established colonies on the coast of Sicily and Sardinia. They had penetrated through the Straits of Gibraltar, and had not only a familiar acquaintance with the western coast of Africa, for many leagues to the southward, but had accomplished, or at least asserted that they had done so, the circumnavigation of the Cape of Good Hope; and had ascertained that Africa was on every side surrounded by water, except where it is united by the narrow Isthmus of Suez to the adjoining coo-

Hamilcar

Barca.

From

A. M.

3741.

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B. C.

263.

to

A. M.

3764.

—

B. C.

240.

* Herodotus. *Thalia*, c. 19. † Thucyd. lib. vi. c. 2.

‡ Herodot. *Melpomene*, c. 196. § Herodot. *Melpomene*, c. 43.

Biography.

From
A. M.
3741.

R. C.
263.
to
A. M.
3764.

R. C.
240.

tinient of Asia. When the Persians, under Cambyse, first effected the conquest of Egypt, Carthage* became one of the next objects of their ambition: but they were disappointed by the refusal of the Phœnicians to lend their assistance against their own descendants; and the attempt would have been hopeless, when the support of the Phœnician navy was withdrawn from it. Yet Carthage at this time, or within a few years afterwards, possessed itself an empire that might have seemed secure against the attacks of the most powerful enemy. For we read of their sending an immense army into Sicily, at the time of the invasion of Greece by Xerxes, which consisted of native Africans, Spaniards, Ligurians, Sardinians, and Corsicans, in addition to the citizens of Carthage. Their military discipline, however, and probably their naval tactics also, were at this period very inferior to those of the Greeks; and thus we are told by the high authority of Thucydides,† that had the Athenians effected the conquest of Syracuse, they would have soon turned their arms against Carthage; and Herimocrates‡ encouraged his countrymen to hope for the assistance of the Carthaginians, because they, as well as themselves, regarded with alarm the restless ambition of Athens. But this was probably a fear peculiarly awakened by the extraordinary successes, and unrivalled reputation of the Athenian navy: exaggerated, moreover, it is likely, from the effect of distance. Certainly the Carthaginians had no fear of the power of Syracuse, which had destroyed the finest expedition ever sent forth from Athens; on the contrary, within five or six years of the defeat of Nicias, they were busily employed in carrying on schemes of aggression upon the Greek cities in Sicily; and had taken two of the greatest of them, Agrigentum§ and Selinus, the latter the close ally of Syracuse, before the end of the Peloponnesian war.

The operations of the Carthaginians in Sicily, during the reigns of the two Dionysius, and the administration of Timoleon, have been already related. It will be sufficient to observe, in reference to our present subject, that at the commencement of the first Punic war, the possession of the island was divided between the Carthaginians, who occupied the western parts of it, and the Greek kings of Syracuse, who were sovereigns of the greater part of the eastern coast.

But the connection between Carthage and Rome deserves to be traced more carefully. As early as the reign of Cyrus,|| that is to say, about twenty or thirty years before the establishment of the commonwealth at Rome, the Carthaginians and Tuscan possessed the joint dominion of that part of the Mediterranean which is bounded by the coast of Italy on the east, and embracing the islands of Corsica and Sardinia, extends southward as far as the northern coast of Sicily. The interference of the Greeks within these limits seems much to have resembled the first enterprises of the English in Spanish America: on the one hand there was probably much oppressive jealousy, and a spirit of piracy on the other. Thus the Phœnicians, when on their way to the foundation of their famous settlement of Marseilles, provoked the two great powers of Tuscany and Carthage, by their

piracies, to attack them with their united fleets; and a few years later, another small Phœnician squadron, flying from the second conquest of Ionia, in the reign of Darius, carried on a regular buccannering warfare in the Sicilian seas; abstaining from attacking their own countrymen, but plundering the Tuscan and Carthaginian without scruple. (Herodot. *Evato*, c. 17.) A power then like Carthage, whose fleets were so familiar with the coasts of Italy, would be soon led to form some connection with the more considerable of the Italian states, and this would be the more friendly, if there was nothing in those states to excite any fears of naval or commercial rivalry. Rome, it appears, as early as the first year of the commonwealth, enjoyed considerable influence, and was strong enough to be the head of a confederacy of dependent neighbouring allies, the well-known mark of national importance in the political relations of the ancient world. A treaty was accordingly concluded between the Romans and Carthaginians, in the consulship of * L. Junius

* Several points in this treaty having been made use of by M. de Beaufort, to shew the incorrectness of the common accounts given by the Roman historians, it appeared useful to Hooker in his answer to M. de Beaufort already noticed, to impudently impugn the genuineness of the date affixed by Polybius to this treaty, and to insist that it was, in fact, far more modern than that historian represents it, and must have been made after the year of Rome, 418, instead of in the year 244. The testimony of Polybius is so excellent, that any attempt to overthrow it demands a strict examination. Let us see then on what grounds Hooker ventures to doubt it on the present occasion. First, the treaty, as translated by Polybius, or Polybius himself, in his introduction to it, describes M. Horatius as the colleague of L. Junius Brutus; whereas Liry, Dionysius, Plutarch, &c. agree in representing him as the colleague of Valerius Publicius, appointed after the successive deaths of Brutus and Sp. Lucretius. Hooker, therefore, supposes either that Polybius mistranslated the names of the consuls which he found in the original treaty; or that the names were defaced, and supplied partly by conjecture; or that the date was added altogether by Polybius, from other information, which, in this instance, misled him. Now the mistranslation of names is a thing hardly conceivable; and that they were defaced and supplied by conjecture is a mere supposition of no weight, and an unlikely one, as no part of the treaty is spoken of as obscure or obliterated. Still less is it likely, that the treaty itself should have furnished no evidence of its own date; for was there ever any treaty in ancient or modern times, that did not contain the names of the magistrates, whether annual or perpetual, under whose administration it was concluded? But Hooker argues, that the second treaty between Rome and Carthage, as given by Polybius, contains not the names of the consuls by whom it was concluded; therefore, it is probable that the first did not. It is more natural to believe, that the persons in whose consulship the second treaty was made, were then of little celebrity; and that Polybius, therefore, omitted their names, because they would have given a Greek reader no notion at all of the date of the record. But the first consulship of the republic was a remarkable one, which it was very proper to mention. In short, no all treaties necessarily contain their own date in them, as Polybius quotes the original treaty, describing its form, and the place where it was deposited; and then gives the date, though not in the precise words of the official instrument; so it is next to impossible for any man to mistranslate proper names, let his knowledge of a language be ever so scanty; and as it is a mere wild fancy to suppose that the writing was defaced, which Polybius, who saw it with his own eyes, translates, without expressing the least doubt of the true reading; it seems that there is no alternative but to admit the treaty as genuine and indisputable evidence, or to charge Polybius with a willful and circumstantial falsehood, which we consider a complete *redutio ad absurdum*. If the treaty be genuine, it is quite clear, as M. de Beaufort argues, that it is evidence sufficient to convict Liry, and Dionysius, and twenty such writers, if they could be found, of falsehood, wherever their statements contradict it so as not to admit of being reconciled with it. But Hooker says that it is contradicted by other treaties, quoted by Liry, (Hook l. c. 33. and book iv. c. 7) which are treaties of alliance between Rome and Ardea, and Rome

* Herodot. *Thales*, c. 19.

† Herodot. *Peloponnesia*, c. 165.

‡ Thucyd. lib. vi. c. 96.

§ Xenoph. *Hellen*, lib. i. c. 1. §.

|| Herodot. *Clio*, c. 166.

Biography. Brutus and M. Horatius, which Polybius has translated into Greek, from the original record, engraved on a brazen plate, and preserved to his time in the capitol. (Polyb. lib. iii. c. 22.) By the terms of this treaty, the Romans are restricted from all intercourse with the more remote parts of the Carthaginian possessions in Africa, and if driven there by stress of weather, they were to depart within five days, and were not in the interval to buy or take any thing, except for the refitting of their vessel, or for sacrifice. On the other hand, the Carthaginians were to hold no forts in Latium, nor to injure any of those Latin states that were subject to Rome. In a later treaty, the date of which is not given, the Romans, by a sort of navigation act, were debarred from all trade with any part of the Carthaginian dominions, except Carthage itself, and Sicily: they were neither to trade, settle, or plunder on the coast of Africa. But in Carthage itself, and in Sicily, they were allowed to trade on the same footing with Carthaginian citizens. The Carthaginians were to enjoy similar privileges at Rome; and were not to settle on the coasts of Latium, although they might carry off the inhabitants and the moveable property of any city not subject to the Romans. This last article, we may observe, was calculated to magnify the benefits of the Roman alliance in the eyes of their weaker neighbours, as it afforded them protection against the kidnapping and piracy which in old times were unscrupulously practised towards all weaker states, when not secured by an express compact.

When the ambition of Pyrrhus, and his enterprises both in Italy and Sicily, excited general alarm, the Romans and Carthaginians confirmed, by a third treaty, the articles of their former conventions, and added a clause, in which they provided for the way in which they were to assist each other, should the attacks of Pyrrhus lead them to unite in their common defence. It was agreed, that whichever party should require aid, the ships were to be furnished by Carthage, but that each nation should pay its own seamen; and the crews should not be forced to serve on shore. This clearly shows the insignificance of the Romans as a naval power; and, at the same time, the desire of the Carthaginians to keep their fleet under their own command, and the jealous care of avoiding every shadow of dependence, in the succour they might lend their allies.

Scarcely had ten years elapsed from the date of this treaty, when the parties who had signed it began to turn their arms against each other. The internal state of Rome at this period, the form of her government, her institutions and manners, may be gathered sufficiently for our present purpose, from what has been said of them on former occasions. Of those of Carthage I am here to offer such a view as can be collected from the Latin; whereas, the treaty quoted by Polybius describes *Ardes* and some of the cities of Latium as the subjects of Rome. By this it appears that Neeke did not know, or had forgotten, the nature of alliances in ancient times between a stronger power and a weaker. For in fact, the "*Fœdus Ardentinum*," of which Livy speaks, was like the treaties between Athens and Lesbos, or Lacedæmon and Athens, after the Peloponnesian war, when alliance was in reality the subjection of the weaker ally to the stronger. Thus, as in always the case, two really good authorities can easily be reconciled with one another. When Livy quotes an actual treaty, his statements agree with those of Polybius; when he follows his usual guides, it is unlikely that his narrative should accord with the account of a sensible and well-informed historian.

lected, either from the direct or incidental information afforded by credible authorities.

Aristotle, who wrote about forty or fifty years before the beginning of the first Punic war, has left us in his politics* one entire chapter on the Carthaginian constitution, from which our chief knowledge of it is to be drawn. Unfortunately, he does not give a detailed account of it, but rather comments upon some of its principal points; either supposing it to be generally familiar to his readers, or having described it more particularly in one of those parts of his work which have not descended to our times. From him, however, and from Polybius,† we learn that the government was of a mixed nature, and that its effects seemed to prove its excellence; for, when Aristotle wrote, it had never experienced any serious interruption, either from sedition or usurpation. The principal authorities were two officers called by the Greeks, kings, who were elected from certain families or clans, but not according to primogeniture; and who were required to be men of wealth as well as of personal merit. In early times, it is clear that they enjoyed their power for life; and probably possessed, like the kings of Sparta, the chief military command, and the supremacy in all matters of religion. But before the second Punic war they seemed to have been made annual magistrates, like the archons at Athens, and the chief military power was transferred from them to an officer called the general or prator, elected by the people without any restrictions; and resembling the strategus or general of the commonwealth, who was appointed by the Athenians, when the polemarch archons had lost most of their authority. There was a council of elders, which originally had, together with the kings, the sovereign power in the state: but if the kings and the elders differed, the matter was decided by the popular assembly. This of course made an opening for the democratical interest to become in time very considerable; and thus another council was instituted, distinct from the council of elders, and probably of a more popular composition, which in many points tempered or superadded the power of the more aristocratical assembly; just as the council of five hundred at Athens eclipsed the areopagus more and more in proportion as the government grew more and more popular. This council which Polybius simply calls *Συνέλευτος*, or "the convocation," may possibly have been the same with the council of the hundred, or hundred and four, which Aristotle compares to the Lacedæmonian ephori, and which was invested therefore, we must conclude, with great controlling powers over every department of state. Its members were chosen by certain bodies called, courts of five, who had themselves, it seems, several important privileges; such as filling up all vacancies in their own body, and retaining some of the authority or immunities of office, after its actual duration was expired. By the old constitution, also, the whole judicial authority of the state was placed in the hands of the magistracies, or, according to Livy, of one particular court or college, whose members held their places for life. An alteration in this part of the law we shall find hereafter ascribed to the great Hannibal. But in our ignorance of the practical details of the Carthaginian

Hannibal.

Barca.

From

A. M.

3741.

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B. C.

263.

to

A. M.

3764.

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B. C.

240.

* Lib. ii. c. 2.

† Lib. vi. c. 51.

Biography. government, we can convey little satisfactory knowledge by repeating the mere names of its several offices: we may better observe, that an undue regard to wealth as a qualification for the highest places in the commonwealth, tended to much corruption in the choice of magistrates; and consequently to frequent malversation in their office: they being naturally apt to make their office reimburse them for the sums they have expended in procuring it. Of the domestic life and manners of the Carthaginians we know nothing; nor are we much better acquainted with the state of literature or of the arts among them. There is still extant, indeed, a Greek translation of a narrative written by Hanno of a voyage along the western coast of Africa, and it is mentioned that a Carthaginian work on agriculture was so esteemed by the Romans, that the senate ordered it to be translated into Latin for the public benefit. The great Hannibal also is said to have written one or two historical works in Greek, relating to the events of his own time. But such scanty fragments of information on a subject so curious are more fitted to excite curiosity than to satisfy it.

A. U. C. Return we then to the course of our history, and let us proceed at once to describe the causes and events of the first Punic war. A few years before the period at which we are now arrived, some Campanian* soldiers in the service of Agathocles, tyrant of Syracuse, having obtained admission into the city of Messina on friendly terms, took advantage of this opportunity to drive out or massacre the inhabitants, to seize the wives and children as slaves, and so to take possession both of the town and its adjacent territory. The Mamertines, for so they called themselves, soon began to annoy their neighbours, the Syracusans and Carthaginians; and for awhile their affairs went on prosperously. For they had very useful allies in some of their countrymen in the service of Rome; who being sent to garrison Rhegium during the war with Pyrrhus, had treated that town exactly as the Mamertines had done to Messina; and being united together by the double ties of being countrymen, and engaged in a similar course of wickedness, they were likely to remain firm friends to each other. But when the Romans, so soon as the departure of Pyrrhus had left them at liberty, had besieged and taken Rhegium, and after inflicting a signal vengeance on their guilty soldiers, had restored the town to its lawful owners, the situation of the Mamertines was materially altered. Hiero,† a man of considerable ability, had lately raised himself to the throne of Syracuse; and not brooking the neighbourhood of a people such as the Mamertines, he marched against them, defeated them and took their principal leaders prisoners. They now found themselves obliged to look out for assistance: some‡ of them applied to the Carthaginians, and actually put the citadel of Messina into their hands; but others, sent to request the aid of the Romans, with whom, as being themselves Italians, they claimed something of a national connection. The senate, it is said, could not be prevailed upon openly to espouse a cause, exactly the same with that which they had so lately combated: but the people, when the question was submitted to them, were less scrupulous. Fear of the rapid growth of the Carthaginian power, which from

the acquisition of Messina was likely soon to extend itself over the whole of Sicily, overcame every other consideration: the Mamertines were received as allies of the Romans; and Appius Claudius, one of the consuls, was ordered to cross over to their support. His coming was welcomed with the utmost joy: means* were found to expel the Carthaginian governor from the citadel; and Appius was admitted into the town in his room. This step provoked the Carthaginians to lay siege to Messina by sea and land: and Hiero marched from Syracuse to co-operate with them. The Roman consul first made proposals to the allies, that they should leave the Mamertines unmolested; and on their refusal, he at once acted on the vigorous policy of his country, and attacked king Hiero's army. We are ignorant how far the numerical strength of the two armies contributed to the event of the battle; but the Syracusan heavy-armed infantry were never much esteemed; and in later times, the general use of mercenary troops, which had been only just laid aside by Hiero, would have lowered still more the value of the native soldiers. However, the Romans won the victory, and Hiero immediately raised the siege, and returned to Syracuse. Encouraged by this success, Appius next attacked the Carthaginians, beat their army so completely that they were driven to seek refuge in the several cities of the neighbourhood; and having thus established his superiority in the field, he employed himself during the rest of the campaign in laying waste the Syracusan territory, and even ventured to lay siege to Syracuse itself. Nothing more was done indeed, so far as appears, than to intercept the usual supplies of the town by encamping before it; but Hiero had reason to apprehend more serious attempts in the next campaign: for both the consuls, with the entire army of the state,† four legions of Romans, and an equal number of Italian allies, were sent into Sicily. Very many cities immediately revolted to them, both from the Carthaginians and Syracusans; and Hiero despairing of resisting them with any effect, hastened to conclude a separate peace. Under his circumstances, peace was only another name for a dependant alliance: he was to support the Romans in their wars, with men, money, and provisions; and his aid in this last point was most important, for a large army could not be subsisted upon plunder, and if the Carthaginians should wisely use their naval superiority, the communication with Italy would be rendered very uncertain, if not impracticable.

It was now plain that the war was become a contest between the Romans and Carthaginians for the possession of Sicily. Both parties accordingly prepared vigorously for the ensuing campaign. The Carthaginians had raised a large army of Ligurians, Gauls, and Spaniards, and had despatched it into Sicily: they also selected Agrigentum as their principal magazine of arms and provisions, and as the base of their operations. The Romans, on their part, sent the two new consuls, with four legions; and they immediately, disdaining all meaner objects, marched against Agrigentum, established themselves on two separate sides of the town, with lines of communication between them, and thus kept the garrison within their walls. The blockade continued for five months, when the

Hamilcar Barca.
From
A. M.
3741.
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B. C.
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263.
A. M.
3764.
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B. C.
240.

* Polyb. lib. c. 7.

† Ibid. lib. i. c. 8, 9.

‡ Ibid. c. x.

* Polyb. lib. i. c. 11, 12, &c.

† Ibid. lib. i. c. 16, &c.

Biography.

From
A. M.
3741.
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B. C.
263.
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A. M.
3764.
—
B. C.
240.

governor in great distress for provisions, sent to Carthage to request supplies. A large force was raised and sent off to his assistance; and Hanno its commander, acting on the outside of the besieger's lines, cut off their supplies, and took up a strong position in their neighbourhood, as if intending to reduce them by famine in their turn. Why Agrigentum was not supplied easily and abundantly by sea, we are not informed; this however was not done, and the garrison therefore having been blockaded so much longer than the Roman army, was unable to wait the issue of Hanno's system, but entreated him to try a speedier means of relieving them. He accordingly marched to attack the Romans, and they having suffered themselves a blockade of two months, and labouring under a great scarcity of food, gladly hastened to meet him. Hanno was defeated with the loss of most of his elephants, and all his baggage; and the governor of Agrigentum, despairing now of relief, could only save his garrison by escaping through the Roman lines, when the joy and fatigue of their late victory had rendered the besiegers less watchful than usual; and the town with an immense plunder, was abandoned to the enemy without resistance.

Thus in three campaigns that had hitherto passed, the Romans had first delivered themselves from their defensive situation, and carried the war into the country of their enemies; they had next reduced one of their opponents to the necessity of making a separate peace on such terms as gave them the use of his whole power; and had now lastly deprived their remaining adversary of the most important town that he possessed in the island for which they were contending.

But although the Carthaginian * navy does not seem to have rendered its countrymen all the services of which it was capable, its aid was yet so important against a state which had no navy at all, that the Romans found it absolutely necessary to make an effort to oppose it. When the capture of Agrigentum brought many of the inland towns in Sicily to submit to them, a greater number of those on the coast, overawed by the Carthaginian fleet, revolted from them; and whilst the coast of Africa enjoyed a perfect security, that of Italy was exposed to continual ravages. The Romans resolved therefore to create a navy; for although they had in former times possessed trading and privateering vessels,† such probably as were used

in Greece in the Homeric ages, they had for a long time so entirely devoted themselves to inland affairs, that they now had not a single vessel of war in their dominions. There were moreover considerable differences between the different classes of ships of war. The Italian Greeks, who at this time were the nearest maritime people to the Romans, still used only the ships of smaller size, called triremes and penteconteres, which had formed the naval force of the free republics of old Greece. But the Carthaginians, and the great kingdoms of Egypt and Syria, which had been founded by the successors of Alexander, had generally adopted vessels of a larger kind, called quinqueremes, which are supposed to have had five banks of oars on each side, as the triremes had three. Of these the Romans had no knowledge; but it so happened that a Carthaginian ship of this class had run on shore in the straits of Messina, when the fleet was endeavouring to obstruct the passage of the first Roman army under Appian, thus falling opportunely into the hands of the Romans, furnished them with a model. They now availed themselves of it, and built a fleet of a hundred quinqueremes, and twenty triremes; and in order to lose no time, they enlisted and trained their men whilst the ships were building, and taught them to manage their oars, and to keep time with one another, by placing them on benches ashore in the same manner that they were to be arranged at sea, and then making them go through their different movements at the word of their officer.

Being sensible however that ships and men thus hastily prepared, must be very inferior in activity and skill to their enemies, they endeavoured to supply this defect by a contrivance for grappling and boarding their adversary's ships,* and thus to make the victory depend on the courage and discipline of their fighting men, rather than on the manoeuvres of their sailors. For as the ancient ships of war were worked almost entirely by oars, and the labour of the oar was considered both irksome and degrading, the seamen were chosen from amongst † the slaves or the lowest class of free citizens; who would not have been thought worthy of a place in the regular infantry or cavalry of the state, and who, even on board their ships, had no other duty but to work the vessel, or to discharge arrows and darts upon the enemy. But whenever a ship ran on board its antagonist, the contest then depended on a certain number of regularly armed soldiers, who formed a part of the complement, and who fought with the same arms, and nearly in the same manner, as if they had been on shore. This part of the crew would naturally rise or fall in importance according to the skill or ignorance of the seamen. With the Carthaginians, as with the Athenians before them, their confidence in the rapidity of their manoeuvres, and the excellence of their ships, made them less value the assistance of these naval soldiers; but the Romans inured to conquest by land, and inexperienced in naval operations, had probably strengthened to the utmost

Hamular
Barns.
From
A. M.
3741.
—
B. C.
263.
—
A. M.
3764.
—
B. C.
240.

* Polyb. lib. i. c. 20.

† The testimony of Polybius on this point has been questioned, and Hume does not hesitate to affirm that "he is undoubtedly mistaken." (*Dissertation on the Credibility, &c.* vol. iv. p. 57. Bro. edit. 1766.) and that his account does not accord with his own comment on the first treaty between Rome and Carthage, where it is implied that the Romans had ships of war as early as the first year of the republic. It is rather provoking that men should not consider more carefully, before they venture to dispute the assertions of such a writer as Polybius. We find from the two first treaties between Rome and Carthage, Polyb. lib. iii. c. 22, 24, that Roman citizens possessed some of those ships of war which were anciently used for privateering purposes; and there is a stipulation limiting the distance beyond which this privateering was not to be carried on the coast of Africa. But vessels of this kind did not form a national navy; nor was there any likelihood that ships belonging to the state, or employed in its service, should have ever cruized on the coast of Africa. In process of time, from causes which would be better known if we possessed any real history of the early ages of Rome, trade and privateering fell alike into disrepute, and appear to have been nearly discontinued at the beginning of the Punic wars. Indeed, so far as we recollect, the trading preceded by Polybius are the only record of the existence of naval habits amongst any part of the people of Rome before their contests

with Carthage; so completely had the Romans, for some time before that period, bestowed their whole attention on inland matters. So that it is highly probable that when they first sent out an army into Sicily, to the beginning of the first Punic war, they should have been obliged to borrow ships, as Polybius relates, from the maritime Greek states in their neighbourhood, having at that time none of their own.

* Polyb. lib. i. c. 22.

† Polyb. lib. vi. c. 19. Aristot. Politic. lib. vi. c. 7.

Biography. that part of their force to which alone they could trust for victory.

From
A. M.
3741.
—
B. C.
363.
to
A. M.
3764.
—
B. C.
340.

This constitution of the crews of the ancient ships of war, will partly account also for the immense magnitude of the naval armaments of the Romans and Carthaginians in the first Punic war, when compared with that of their land armies. None were eligible to serve in the national army, except they possessed a certain property; but the poorest citizens, and even slaves, were freely employed in the navy. Men therefore could be obviously procured for the one service in much greater numbers than for the other; their maintenance, also would be less expensive; for the simplest fare would be held good enough for those who formed the seamen of the state; and as the ancient fleets were mostly fitted out for some particular service, and not kept at sea like ours, for months or even years, there would be no more required than enough to furnish the men with provisions during the limited period for which they were kept in actual employment.

Such being the nature of ancient naval warfare, it is not unnatural that in the first general action between the two parties, the Romans, having succeeded by their grappling machines in boarding their enemies' ships, should have gained a complete victory. Several cities in Sicily were the reward of this advantage, and the Romans, never slow in improving their good fortune to the utmost, from this time began to make attempts upon Sardinia, and there soon after gained another naval victory over their enemies.

From the moment that the two powers had become opposed to each other at sea, it was evident that the possession of Sicily would ultimately belong to that party which could establish its naval superiority. The war on shore languished, while the utmost preparations were made on both sides for a more vigorous prosecution of hostilities by sea. The Romans, too, longed for an opportunity of carrying their usual system of war into effect, by attacking their enemy in his own country; and the Carthaginians knowing the weakness of their power at home, were equally anxious to keep the scene of action at a distance. Accordingly,* about four years after the first naval battle, the Roman consuls, L. Manlius and M. Attilius Regulus, at the head of a fleet of three hundred and thirty ships, crossed over to Messina, thence coasted the eastern shore of Sicily, doubled cape Pachynus, and then advanced along the southern coast of the island, till they should reach the point from which the passage was usually made to Africa. They were met at Encomus, near Agrigentum, by a Carthaginian fleet of three hundred and fifty ships, commanded by Hanno and another officer of the same name with the subject of this narrative. It was a trial of strength on both sides, and was long and obstinately contested; the Romans having taken on board a large detachment of their army, with a view to their projected descent in Africa; and having thus on board each ship three hundred rowers, and an hundred and twenty fighting soldiers. The Carthaginians, on the other hand, were very ill provided with soldiers, but they had a force of seamen amounting to about an hundred and fifty thousand men. The battle ended in a complete victory on the part of the Romans, who with a loss of

twenty-four of their own ships, destroyed thirty, and took sixty-four of their enemy's, with all their crews.

The invasion of Africa, the great object of their wishes, was now put within their power, and they instantly carried it into execution. The fleet was re-victualled, the captured ships refitted for service, and the armament, having first made the land under the cape called Mercury, from thence ran along the shore till they reached the town of Aspis, or Clypea, or as we should interpret it in English, Shield. Here the army was landed, and the town besieged, and soon after taken. Meantime the beaten Carthaginian fleet, not doubting the further intentions of the Romans, had sailed home directly to Carthage, and was stationed in the immediate neighbourhood of the capital, to cover it from the expected attack. But the plan followed by the enemy disconcerted this measure, and the chief attention of the government was now turned to the protection of the country on the land side. The Romans, after the reduction of Aspis, sent home for further instructions; and in the meanwhile overran the country, and besides other valuable plunder, carried off more than twenty thousand persons to their ships,* who being sold for slaves, would be the most profitable fruit of the expedition. These were safely despatched to Rome, when L. Manlius, in pursuance of the senate's orders, returned home with the greater part of the armament, leaving his colleague, M. Attilius Regulus, with 15,000 foot, 500 horse, and forty ships, to prosecute the war in Africa. Little opposition, it seems, was expected in the field, and the expense of maintaining more than three hundred ships in actual service, was too great to be borne for more than a very short period.

The campaign that followed shews remarkably the ill policy of confining national feelings within the walls of a single city, and making the inhabitants of the surrounding region the subjects instead of the equals of the citizens of the capital. Carthage, on the coast of Africa, was like the European settlements on the coast of India: the Africans were not incorporated with the Carthaginians as one people, nor yet were they governed with that wisdom and equity which in India has made the native population so trusty and firm a bulwark of the British government. On the approach of the Roman army, the Numidian tribes joined them, and exceeded them far in the extent of the mischief they committed in the country. Out of Carthage itself there seemed nothing capable of organising a national defence. The inhabitants of the neighbouring districts fled thither in dismay for shelter, and besides adding to the general alarm, such an addition to the population caused presently a scarcity of provisions. A battle had been ventured by the Carthaginian generals, and was lost through their incapacity; and after this, the Roman consul untried every where without fear, and at last took Tunis, and there encamped in a position close to the capital, and advantageously placed for cutting off its communications with the country.

Negotiation was then tried by the Carthaginians; but the consul's demands were so exorbitant, that the government, desperate as their condition seemed, disdained to accept them; and a slight circumstance

Hamilecar

Barca.

From

A. M.

3741.

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B. C.

363.

to

A. M.

3764.

—

B. C.

340.

* Polyb. lib. l. c. 25.

* Polyb. lib. l. c. 25.

Biography
From
A. M.
3741.
—
B. C.
263.
to
A. M.
3764.
—
B. C.
240.

soon changed the face of their affairs. A Carthaginian* officer returned about this time from Greece, with a number of Greek soldiers whom he had been commissioned to enlist for that country. Amongst these was a Lacedæmonian named Xanthippus, who had been trained in the Spartan discipline, and had acquired some military experience. He being informed of the state of affairs, said freely amongst his friends, that the disasters of the Carthaginians were owing solely to the ignorance of their generals, who had rendered their chief strength, their cavalry and elephants, quite useless, by fighting on hilly ground instead of on the plains. His words being reported to the government, he was called before them; and there so justified his statement, that the army was put under his direction, though not, as far as appears, under his command as general-in-chief. Having practised the troops for a few days in manœuvres, and having inspired them with great confidence, he accompanied the generals into the field, with an army of twelve thousand foot, four thousand horse, and one hundred elephants.

The Romans, though surprised at the sudden boldness of the enemy, yet were not slow in marching to meet them: while the Carthaginians, full of ardour, called upon Xanthippus to lead them instantly to battle, and were drawn up by him, the generals in all things deferring to his ability. His dispositions, and no higher praise can be given them, were very nearly the same with those adopted afterwards by Hannibal at Zama; the elephants in the front, the cavalry on the wings, and the main body of the Carthaginian infantry in reserve a little behind the elephants: and the different result of the two battles may be ascribed to the superior ability of Scipio, who at Zama left open passages at several points through the whole depth of his infantry, through which his light infantry fled when pursued by the elephants, and thus led them off the field, diverting their attention from the masses of the heavy-armed soldiers. Besides which, Massinissa and his Numidians fought at Zama on the Roman side, and thus gave them the superiority in cavalry. But now it was quite otherwise: the Roman infantry, drawn up in the usual manner, the manipuli of each alternate line covering the intervals left by those of the line before them, was broken through by the weight of the elephant's charge: the cavalry, far inferior in numbers, was chased off the field at the first onset; and the army, surrounded on all sides, was put to the sword, with the exception of about two thousand men who escaped to Aspis, and five hundred, who, together with the consul, were made prisoners.

Xanthippus,† who had won for Carthage this signal victory, soon sailed back to his own country; having secured probably enough from the Carthaginian government to enrich him for ever as a soldier of fortune; and wisely foreseeing, that by remaining in Africa he was more likely to excite jealousy, than to add either to his wealth or reputation. The battle which he had gained, restored to the Carthaginians all that they had lost in Africa, except the town of Aspis, where the relics of the Roman army made so brave a defence, that they baffled all attempts against them. Early in the following spring an immense fleet was sent from Rome to bring them off; and this

armament having defeated with great loss a Carthaginian fleet which was too hastily raised to oppose it, effected its purpose; and taking on board the garrison of Aspis, put to sea again, in order to return to Sicily.

In the succeeding three or four years of the war, the constancy* of the Romans was severely tried by several heavy losses from shipwreck; more than four hundred and thirty of their ships being thus destroyed; so that they could only raise a fleet of sixty ships, for the purpose merely of furnishing their army in Sicily with supplies. By land too they were under great difficulties, for although since their defeat in Africa they had taken several towns from the enemy in Sicily, and among the rest, Panormus, or Palermo, one of their oldest and most important settlements; yet the common soldiers were so terrified at the elephants, that they dared not venture a battle on level ground, and would thus be soon distressed for provisions, if their supplies by sea were interrupted. It became absolutely necessary, therefore, to make another effort to regain the command of the sea, and they were building a new fleet for this purpose, when they were informed of the total destruction of the very part of the enemy's force which they most dreaded, by the ability of the consul Coclilius, who by a feigned retreat, had drawn the elephants after him close under the walls of Panormus, and there overwhelmed them with missile weapons from the towers, and from the soldiers with whom he had lined the trenches. This success restored the spirits of the army, and the fleet was fitted out on a larger scale, proportionate to the increased confidence of the government. Accordingly, in the fourteenth year of the war, the consuls C. Attilius and L. Manlius sailed with two hundred ships for Sicily; and there taking the command of the legions, proceeded to besiege Lilybæum; a town near the south-western extremity of the island, and, except Drepanum, the last place of importance which the Carthaginians possessed in it.

The actions of this memorable siege consisted in every variety of attempt by land and by sea that could be made by either party, to raise works against the town, and to destroy them; to maintain, and to elude the blockade of the harbour. At last, towards the expiration of the year, the garrison succeeded in completely destroying the towers and engines of the besiegers, with a great slaughter of the workmen and defenders of them at the same time; so that the Romans turned the siege into a blockade, and determined to trust to famine for the result. In the next two years they suffered great losses again at sea, P. Claudius, the consul, losing ninety-three ships in an engagement with Adherbal off Drepanum, several more being taken or burnt off Lilybæum by Carthago; and one hundred quinqueremes, together with eight hundred transports, on their way to Lilybæum with supplies for the army, being totally destroyed by a storm in the following year off the southern coast of Sicily. A second time, therefore, the Romans gave up the sea in despair; but being still superior by land, they continued the blockade of Lilybæum; and L. Junius, the consul, whose fleet had been so unhappily wrecked, made some amends for this disaster, by seizing the strong position of mount Eryx, between Panormus and Drepanum, on

Hannibal
Barca
From
A. M.
3711
—
B. C.
263
to
A. M.
3764.
—
B. C.
240.

* Polyb. lib. i. c. 32.

† Ibid. lib. i. c. 36.

* Polyb. lib. i. c. 39.

† Ibid. c. 42, &c.

Biography. whose summit was the temple of Venus Erycyn, the richest and most famous in Sicily. The town was a little below the summit, and was still maintained by the Carthaginians; but the Romans being masters of the heights above it, and occupying also the approaches to it below from Drepanum, flattered themselves that it must soon fall into their hands.

It was about a year afterwards that Hamilcar Barca^a was first appointed to command the naval forces of Carthage. Of his early life we know nothing, nor at what age he first began to take an active part in public affairs. But from the time that history first notices him, as commander of the Carthaginian fleet in the eighteenth year of the first Punic war, to the final close of his career in Spain, his whole conduct was a series of distinguished services to his country in the most critical circumstances, and was equally marked by its courage, its sound judgment, and its enlarged and enterprising views. His first measure was to carry the evils of war into Italy, a step ominous of the zeal and perseverance with which his son was afterwards to strike at the heart of the Roman power; and he ravaged with his fleets the coasts of Locris and Bruttium. From thence returning to Sicily, he put to shore on the northern coast, between Eryx and Panormus, and there occupied a high table mountain, near the sea, called Eireth, or the close; surrounded on almost every side by precipitous cliffs, and affording on the top, a plain of nearly ten miles in circumference, and capable of cultivation. From this plain there arose in one part a smaller eminence, which served as a sort of citadel to the whole district: whilst towards the sea the position commanded an excellent harbour, with an abundant supply of fresh water. To complete its value, it had only three points of approach, two from the land side, and one from the sea; all of them presenting great difficulties to an assailant. Such a post in the hands of so able a general was a source of infinite mischief to the Romans. He used frequently to put to sea with his fleet, and ravage the coast of Italy as far as Cumæ near Naples; while by land he was continually engaged with the Romans who were quartered in the territory of Panormus, and harassed them with incessant hostility for the space of nearly three years.

Nothing can more clearly show the state of exhaustion to which both parties had been reduced by this protracted war, than the failure of any attempt on either side to bring the contest in Sicily to a conclusion. Instead of availing themselves of the opening afforded them by the total renunciation of all efforts by sea on the part of the Romans, the Carthaginians only laid up their own fleet, to relieve their expenditure, and left Hamilcar to depend solely on his own resources. On the other hand, the Romans accustomed to overbear all opposition, and so anxious to complete the conquest of Sicily, suffered themselves to be kept in check for three years by the ability of a single man, unsupported as he was by any reinforcements from Carthage; and to bear the shame and loss of seeing the coasts of Italy ravaged without resistance. And the same state of things, with a slight change of the scene of action, continued for two years more. Hamilcar left his position at Eireth, for what reason we know not, and threw himself into the town of Eryx, while the

Romans were in possession both of the summit of the mountain above him, and of the passes below him, which communicated with the neighbouring country. In this new station^b he maintained himself for two years, defying all the efforts of the enemy, and enabling the government at home, had not their inability or incapacity been excessive, to dispatch such an additional force to Sicily as would at once have changed the face of affairs in that island. The government, however, did no more than to keep up an occasional communication with the general, and to supply him with provisions, which otherwise, as the Romans were masters of the country, he could scarcely have obtained. But, at length, the Romans were the first to rouse themselves for one last and decisive effort. A fleet, they saw, was required to cut off Hamilcar from all support by sea; and to create this fleet, as the public treasury was insufficient, individuals united their means; two or three persons combining to equip a ship of war on condition that they should be repaid, if the armament were fully successful. It is mentioned too that the ships were built after an excellent model, a Carthaginian quinquereme of superior construction, which had been taken during the siege of Lilybæum. In this manner, two hundred ships were completed; and the consul C. Lutatius taking the command, sailed to Sicily early in the season, occupied the harbour of Drepanum, and secured all the anchorage for a fleet off Lilybæum, the Carthaginians having no force at sea to oppose him. Surprised, however, at this sudden expedition, they at once resolved to prepare a naval armament, which should in the first instance re-victual their troops at Eryx, and then, having taken Hamilcar and the flower of his soldiers on board, should give battle to the enemy. Lutatius, informed of their intentions, awaited for them near the islands called Ægæse, or Ægates, that is, Goat Islands, which lie a little to the westward of Lilybæum. He had carefully employed every portion of his time in exercising his crews, and preparing them for the approaching conflict; and although the weather was boisterous, and ill suited for an engagement, when the Carthaginian fleet first came in sight; yet he very wisely judged that no danger could be so great as that of allowing the enemy to disembark the stores with which they were now laden, and to receive on board Hamilcar and his veterans in their room. He therefore attacked them, and won an easy victory: fifty ships were sunk, and seventy, with more than ten thousand men, were taken; and the conqueror sailed to the road of Lilybæum, to join the army still employed in the siege of the town, and there refitted his prizes, and disposed of his numerous prisoners.

At such a period of the war a disaster like this was irretrievable.† The Carthaginian government felt that it was decisive, and at once commissioned Hamilcar to enter into negotiations for peace. Lutatius, on his part, received the overtures with no less alacrity; and a treaty was concluded, which, after some alterations made by the Roman people, consisted finally of the following terms: "That the Carthaginians should evacuate Sicily, and all the islands between that country and Italy; and that they should commit no act of hostility against the Syracuseans, or any of their allies. That they should restore all their

Hamilcar Barca.

From A. M. 3741.
—
B. C. 263.
to A. M. 3764.
—
B. C. 240.

^a Polyb. lib. i. c. 56.

^b Polyb. lib. i. c. 58.

† Ibid. lib. i. c. 62.

Biography. prisoners to the Romans without ransom; and pay to Rome, within ten years, the sum of * three thousand two hundred Euboic talents. That neither party should molest the allies of the other. That neither should command any post, nor erect any public building, nor enlist soldiers in the dominions of the other; and that neither party should receive the allies of the other into any connection with itself."

From
A. M.
3741.
—
A. C.
363.
to
A. M.
3764.
—
B. C.
340.

On the conclusion of this treaty, Hamilcar led his troops from Eryx to Lilybæum, and there resigned the command to Gisco, the governor of that town, who was to transport them, with his own garrison, over to Africa. Their united numbers exceeded twenty thousand men, and as they had been very irregularly paid of late, the sum now required to satisfy all their claims was likely to press heavily on the exhausted treasury of Carthage. Gisco therefore wisely sent them over in small detachments at a time, in order that the government might pay and send to their homes those who first landed, before the whole body should arrive, and form a mass sufficiently strong to create alarm or disturbance. But the government, hoping that the soldiers might be prevailed upon to remit some part of the arrears due to them, detained the first detachments that arrived, in Carthage, till the whole should have crossed over. Meantime a multitude of needy foreign soldiers being naturally guilty of many acts of violence while quartered in a wealthy capital, their officers were desired to march them away from Carthage to the neighbouring town of Sicca; and that there might be no temptation to allure them back, they were obliged reluctantly to carry with them their families and all their baggage.

In their new quarters at Sicca, whilst waiting to be joined by their comrades, they amused themselves with calculating the sums that were due to them, and with dwelling on the splendid promises that their generals had formerly made them on occasions of extraordinary danger. Every man flattered himself with a speedy return to his own country in affluence: when, after the arrival of all the detachments from Sicily, the commander of the forces in Africa, whose situation at home had kept him from ever having witnessed their services, or shared their dangers; came to them, not with the liberal recompense that they expected, but with a statement of the distress of the treasury, and an appeal to their indulgence to remit some part even of that pay, which by the very letter of their bond was due to them.

Universal dissatisfaction arose in the army on such a proposal. The soldiers of the different nations of which it was composed, Gauls, Spaniards, Ligurians, Greeks of half cast, mostly slaves deserters, and native Africans, all formed into small groups, and clamoured in their several languages, against the injustice with which they were treated. The study of foreign languages made so little a part of the system of education amongst the ancients, that Polybius treats it as impossible for the general himself to have understood and been able to converse in the different dialects used in his army; and to address such a mixed body in a public assembly through the medium of several interpreters, appeared productive of endless delay, impatience, and confusion. It was necessary,

therefore, to treat separately with the soldiers of each nation, through their own national officers; but misunderstandings and misrepresentations, unintentional and wilful, rendered this mode of proceeding fruitless; till at last, resolved to make their actions speak an intelligible language, and incensed that none of their old commanders were sent to them, but a man who was a stranger to them, and whom they could not tax with the promises formerly made to them in their campaigns; they broke up from Sicca, hastened towards Carthage, and encamped at Tunis, about twelve miles distant from the capital.

The Carthaginian government was alarmed, and too evidently showed that they were so: they were lavish in promises, which only led to additional demands on the part of the insurgents. Many of these were complied with, and for the rest it was agreed that they should be left to the decision of one of the late commanders in Sicily. Hamilcar was unpopular with the army, because he had so readily resigned his command over them; they fixed accordingly upon Gisco, the late governor of Lilybæum, as the arbiter in their differences. This officer went to their camp, and by his personal influence, and the actual payment of the money that was due to them, was proceeding happily to extinguish the mutiny, when a Campanian slave, named Spendius, who had deserted from the Romans, and a native African, of the name of Matho, alarming the African soldiers in particular, by telling them, that, when their comrades were dismissed to their respective countries, the whole vengeance of Carthage would fall upon them, enkindled afresh the spirit of rebellion. Spendius and Matho were appointed generals of the army, and soon after, on some slight provocation, Gisco, and all the Carthaginians with him were seized, and the money with which they were paying the troops was plundered. Then considering this act as a declaration of war, the mutineers bound themselves to one another by horrible oaths, and sent round to the tribes of native Africans, inviting them to join their standard. The invitation was almost universally complied with; large supplies both of men and money were sent to the army; and the rebels proceeded to besiege the towns of Utica and Hippo, because their inhabitants had refused to participate in the revolt.

This sudden and formidable rebellion, by which Carthage was at once reduced to the utmost danger of its very existence, abundantly acronyms for the final event of the Punic wars. The native Africans, by their taxes and levies of soldiers, were the main support of the Carthaginian power; and in time of war were grievously oppressed by the Carthaginian officers, who carried on this conscription with the utmost rigor, and who were approved by their government in proportion to the strictness with which they executed its orders, and to their neglect of the distress of its subjects. Far from feeling any zeal in the cause they were thus forced to serve, they were ready, therefore, on the first opportunity to take up arms against it: and the women in particular, most exasperated at seeing their husbands and parents dragged away to fight their masters' battles, now entered with the most lively ardour into the revolt, and gave up even their personal ornaments for the pay of the army. Thus in an instant the Carthaginians found themselves confined within the walls of their city, and liable to be besieged

Hamilcar
Barca.
From
A. M.
3741.
—
A. C.
363.
to
A. M.
3764.
—
A. C.
340.

* About £20,000.

† For the whole necessary war, see Polyb. lib. i. c. 68.

Biography. so soon as they had ceased to be masters of the field. Had Rome stood equally alone in Italy, and had its colonies and Latin allies regarded its government as a tyranny, whose interest was directly at variance with their own; the valour and wisdom of its people would have been displayed in vain after the battle of Cannæ, and the results of that memorable day would have been as important as those of the battle of Zama.

The Carthaginians took all possible measures to meet the danger with which they were threatened; they armed their own citizens who were of an age to serve, and raised a fresh mercenary force; but they appointed Hanno to the chief command, the very man who was most obnoxious to the Africans, as having been one of their worst oppressors, and who had first carried to the mutinous soldiers, the proposals that they should give up a part of their arrears. Active and remorseless in raising contributions, and enforcing conscriptions, Hanno was as a general totally incompetent; and his misconduct exposed him to one bloody defeat, and caused him to neglect several opportunities of winning a victory. The rebels by their position before Utica, and their occupation of Tunis, commanded the isthmus which connected the city of Carthage with the main land: they had besides, fortified the passes of the hills, and occupied the only bridge over the river Bakara, which was an additional barrier to any possibility of escaping from Carthage into the open country. But all difficulties were overcome by the genius of Hamilcar, who after full experience of Hanno's incapacity, was nominated to succeed him in the command. He watched his opportunity when a particular wind had choked the mouth of the Bekam with sand, and had raised a bank of shingles between its own impeded waters and the sea. He then led his army along this bank by night with the utmost caution, till he had thus got across the river, and when day light came, he appeared to the rear of the enemy's position, and hastened to surprise the troops who were stationed at the bridge; but being discovered, he was opposed by them on one side, and by the army employed in the siege of Utica on the other. His able dispositions, however, defeated both these opponents with great loss; then following up his victory he attacked and carried the fortifications at the bridge, drove its defenders into Tunis, and afterwards overrunning the country, recovered a great many places either by force or terror, to the Carthaginian dominion.

Upon this, Mutho, who seems to have been the chief among the rebel generals, ordered Speedius, with six thousand soldiers of different nations, and Autaritis, a Gaul, with two thousand of his countrymen, to follow and watch the movements of Hamilcar; while he sent to the Africans and Numidians, requesting them not to fail in giving their earnest co-operation. They accordingly took the field in two different quarters; and both marching to join Spendius, came unexpectedly upon the front and rear of Hamilcar's army, while Speedius was hanging on his flank. Thus surrounded, on ground which was besides unfavourable to his escape, Hamilcar was delivered in a remarkable manner from the danger. A young Numidian chief named Narava, who had inherited from his father a friendly disposition towards Carthage, was struck with a romantic admiration of Hamilcar's character; and went over to the Carthaginian camp, with a request

to be introduced to the general. Finding that his motives were at first suspected, he left his horse and javelins with his followers, and entered the camp unarmed; his fearless confidence removing all suspicion, and filling the Carthaginians with admiration. When he was brought before Hamilcar, he told him, that he longed to become his friend, and was now come in the hope of being admitted to share truly in all his counsels and actions. Hamilcar, delighted with his frankness, gladly welcomed him, and promised to give him his daughter in marriage, if he should approve himself to the end true to Carthage. Narava then went away and soon returned, bringing over two thousand Numidians with him. With this seasonable aid, Hamilcar no longer hesitated to meet the enemy; and they on their part, having voided all their forces, marched down into the plain to engage him. They were defeated with great loss: chiefly owing to the elephants in the Carthaginian army, and to the distinguished conduct of Narava. Ten thousand men were killed, and four thousand taken prisoners, many of whom enlisted in the victorious army; whilst the rest were called together by Hamilcar, and received a free pardon, accompanied only with a threat of certain punishment, if ever they should be taken again in rebellion.

Nothing so much alarmed the rebels, as this merciful behaviour of the Carthaginian general. To obviate the effects of it, they resolved to involve all their associates so deeply in guilt, that pardon should to all be hopeless. Letters were accordingly forged to all round to the soldiers, as if from their comrades in Sardinia; (for there too, the mercenary troops had mutinied, murdered all the Carthaginians in the island, and taken possession of it themselves) informing them, that some amongst them were plotting to release Giseco, and those who had been seized with him at Tunis. Spendius and Autaritis then argued, that death was the only sure keeping for their prisoners, that thus all intrigues for their deliverance would at once be blasted, and the Carthaginians would see, that none would be deceived by their fair appearances of mercy. Many of the soldiers then came forward, to plead in their several languages for Giseco's life; but when it was generally known what they prayed for, a cry arose of "Shoot them! stone them!" and they were all instantly massacred. This taste of blood, as is natural, made the appetite for it the keener. Giseco and his fellow prisoners, to the number of seven hundred, were dragged out to a short distance from the camp, and there were put to death, with all the circumstances of horrible torture.

The soldiers were now ready to go all lengths with their commanders. The bodies of the victims were refused to the Carthaginians for burial. Proclamation was made, that no herald or flag of truce should be received; and it was resolved that every Carthaginian whom they should take, should be put to death by torture, and every foreign auxiliary should be sent back to Carthage with his hands cut off. Eager to put a stop to such a scene of horrors, Hamilcar united his forces to those of Hanno, who still, it seems, held a command; and now no quarter was given, but those of the rebels who were taken alive, were thrown to the elephants. The junction of the two generals, however, was an unfortunate measure; for their mutual animosity was so great, that the public service suffered from it, neither of them acting cordially with

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Biography. the other. Possibly this failure of vigour at so critical a time, encouraged the towns of Utica and Hippo to take part with the rebels, by whom they had been so long besieged: for not content with opening their gates to them, they warmly espoused their cause, and sealed their alliance, by murdering the Carthaginian soldiers who had been sent to assist in their defence, and after the example of their new confederates, refusing the bodies to their friends for burial. Thus strengthened, Matho and Spendius proceeded at once to blockade Carthage: but Hamilcar was still in the field commanding an army in their rear; and being now freed from the interference of Hanno, who had been recalled according to the choice allowed the soldiers by the government, of deciding which of their two generals should remain with them; and being ably and zealously supported by his friend Narava, he cut off all the supplies that were going to the rebels from the country, and reduced them to a worse state of distress, than that which they inflicted on Carthage.

The command of the sea indeed, enabled the capital to support its blockade, by receiving without difficulty the supplies sent by foreign powers. Hiero, king of Syracuse, knowing how much it concerned his safety, that Rome should not be left without a rival, was liberal in his succours: and the Romans allowing their subjects to supply the Carthaginians freely with every thing, forbade them to hold any communication with the rebels. They did more than this; for they refused to listen to the overtures of the rebels in Sardinia and Utica, when they severally offered to put those places into their hands. Thus Matho and Spendius, suffering severely from famine themselves, were obliged to raise the blockade: and Spendius and Autaritus having selected fifty thousand of the best soldiers in their whole army, took the field again, to watch and harass the army of Hamilcar. But they were no match for such an adversary. He sometimes cut off their detached parties; sometimes led them into ambuscades; and by his wonderful activity often surprised them with sudden attacks, and routed them: and every prisoner that he took was uniformly thrown alive to his elephants. At last he hemmed them up in a position which neither allowed them to fight or fly: and here he blockaded them, vainly looking for aid from Tunis, till in the extremity of their hunger, they began to devour each other. Spendius and Autaritus, dreading to be given up by their soldiers, went themselves, with eight other principal officers, to Hamilcar; and a treaty was signed between them, stipulating that the Carthaginians might select any ten of the rebels for punishment, and should let all the rest go with a single garment each. Hamilcar instantly said that he selected the ten officers then present with him; and they were immediately arrested. Their soldiers, ignorant of the terms of the agreement, ran to arms; and Hamilcar surrounded them with his elephants and the rest of his force, and easily put the whole of them to the sword. Above forty thousand rebels were thus destroyed.

This great victory was followed by the submission of most of the revolted towns of the Africans; and Hamilcar soon afterwards proceeded to blockade Matho and the remains of the rebels in Tunis. It appears that the nature of the ground obliged him to divide his army; and while he himself encamped on one side of the town, his colleague Hannibal took post

on the other; nor was the communication between them direct and easy. Of this the rebels availed themselves, and attacked Hannibal's quarters, having observed that he was less on his guard than Hamilcar. They were completely successful, took the Carthaginian camp, with all the baggage of the army, and made Hannibal himself prisoner. An opportunity of a bloody revenge was now in their power. Spendius, and the other rebel chiefs who had been seized with him, had been brought before Tunis, and crucified in sight of the walls. In this spot Hannibal was dragged; the body of Spendius was taken down from the cross, and thirty of the most distinguished Carthaginian prisoners were slaughtered around it, while Hannibal was fastened to the cross in its room. The siege of Tunis was now raised, and Hamilcar moved towards the mouth of the river Bakara, to maintain his communication at once with Carthage and with the sea.

After this new disaster, the Carthaginian government armed their remaining free population, and sent them out under the command of Hanno. Thirty members of the council of elders accompanied this army, who were charged to effect a reconciliation between the two generals in the name of their common country. Their endeavours succeeded, and both henceforward acted cordially in concert with each other. The war was now soon brought to a successful end. After several partial defeats, the rebels collected all their forces, and put their fortune on the risk of one decisive battle. They were defeated with a terrible slaughter: those who escaped from the field were soon after obliged to surrender, and Matho himself was taken alive. Utica and Hippo, despairing of mercy, still resisted, till being besieged, one by Hamilcar and the other by Hanno, they were forced to submit at discretion. How their aggravated rebellion was punished, we are not told; but Matho and the prisoners taken with him, were led in triumph through the streets of Carthage, and put to death in torments. In this manner, Carthage recovered the whole of her former dominion in Africa, after a war of unequalled horror, which had lasted for three years and four months.

Scarcely had the Carthaginians escaped this danger, when they were threatened with another, which in their present state of weakness they would have found it impossible to resist. We have seen that at the height of the late rebellion, the Romans had refused the offers of the rebel soldiers in Sardinia, to take the island into their own hands. But since that time the rebels had been driven out by the native Sardinians, and had fled to Italy for refuge: and the Roman government was now prevailed upon to listen to their requests, and to send a force to take possession of the island as a Roman province. The Carthaginians considering that their rebellious soldiers could not bestow a right on others which they had not themselves, were proceeding, as soon as the war in Africa was ended, to despatch an expedition for the recovery of Sardinia; when the Romans, insisting that the expedition was designed to act against them, declared war against Carthage. That power could not possibly at such a time enter upon a new contest: her government therefore was obliged to concede to what was

* Polyb. lib. i. c. 86.

Hamilcar Barca.
From A. M. 3741.
— B. C. 263. to A. M. 3764.
— B. C. 240.

Biography. well understood to be the object of Rome : and not only was Sardinia given up, but twelve hundred talents were paid, in addition to the sums stipulated by the treaty of peace, as a sort of bribe to the Romans, not at present to renew hostilities. This conduct on the part of Rome was every way calculated to excite deep resentment in a mind like Hamilcar's. It betrayed not only an alarming, but an insulting and ungenerous ambition ; and plainly showed that the late war had left behind it, in one party at least, feelings of rivalry which were not likely to be soon forgotten. From henceforward Hamilcar, it is said, determined * steadily to pursue the object of obtaining for his country such resources, as should enable her at no distant period to renew the contest with her adversary. It was no common spirit of policy by which he was actuated, but a principle of hatred to Rome, which he intended to carry with him to his grave, and to instil with great strength into his children. His own eminent services, aided by his great family interest, and political sentiments, for it appears he favoured the popular party in Carthage, which was every day becoming more powerful, all contributed to give him an influence over the direction of affairs almost unlimited ; and the same causes continuing afterwards to operate in behalf of his son, the whole administration of Carthage appears for many years to have been in the hands of his party, and its foreign policy almost to have been left at the sole disposal of himself, his son-in-law Hasdrubal, and his son Hannibal.

Excluded from Sicily and Sardinia, Hamilcar turned his attention to Spain. There the Romans had not yet pretended to control his movements : and there the mines of the country would abundantly supply him with money, and its bold and numerous population with soldiers, for carrying into effect his ultimate views. Immediately therefore, on the conclusion of the war in Africa, he prepared to cross the straits of Gibraltar with an army. A solemn sacrifice was performed as usual at the commencement of an expedition, to propitiate the favours of heaven ; and towards the close of the ceremony, Hamilcar desired all the

assistants to withdraw a little, and called to him his son Hannibal, then a child of only nine years of age. He then asked him, whether he should like to go with him to the army ? and when the boy seemed delighted at the offer, and begged that he might be allowed to go, his father led him to the altar, and bade him swear, with his hand upon the sacrifice, that he would never hear a good will to the Romans. This story Hannibal himself related at the court of Antiochus, as a security for his unchanged attachment to all the enemies of Rome ; and it strongly marks the feeling that was most powerful in Hamilcar's mind ; and that whilst he was going to carry on war in Spain, his heart was already in Italy.

Of his subsequent operations nothing is recorded in detail ; we are only told * that partly by arms, and partly by conciliation, he reduced a great number of the native tribes under the Carthaginian dominion. At last, in the tenth year of his command, he was engaged in battle with one of the fiercest and most powerful people in Spain, and finding it needful to set an example of personal daring so exposed himself, that he was killed on the place. His son-in-law, Hasdrubal, who had for some time served under him, succeeded him in the command of the army, and in the prosecution of his designs for rendering the whole peninsula a valuable province of Carthage.

The character of Hamilcar can only be gathered from his public conduct ; as nothing is known of his private life and manners. As a statesman and soldier, his abilities appear to have been of the highest order, and his ascendancy must have been generally acknowledged, since it could excite such an enthusiastic admiration in the young Numidian chief, Narava, and lead him to abandon a cause generally popular amongst his countrymen, from his respect for the personal merit of the Carthaginian general. It would be difficult to find any single family, which in only two generations produced three such men as Hamilcar and his sons Hannibal and Hasdrubal : if his son-in-law Hasdrubal be added to the number, the talent concentrated in the house of one man may be well considered unparalleled.

* Polyb. lib. ii. c. 1. lib. iii. c. 10. † Ibid. lib. iii. c. 11.

* Polyb. lib. ii. c. 1.

HANNIBAL.—THE SECOND PUNIC WAR.

FROM A. M. 3785, S. C. 219. TO A. M. 3821. S. C. 183.

Biography. TOXAS are very few instances in which biography so closely unites itself with general history, as in the life of Hannibal. If we were to profess to relate the story of the age in which he lived, his actions and character so influenced the affairs of the civilized world, that we should find ourselves forced to make him the prominent figure in our narrative, to which all others must be drawn as more or less subservient. While, on the other hand, the biographer could not possibly convey a just notion of his genius, without a full description of the state of things in which he was called to perform a part so extraordinary.

Under the eye of his father, Hannibal had for nine

years been trained to all the duties of a soldier ; and when his brother-in-law, Hasdrubal, succeeded to the command, he was between eighteen and nineteen years of age, and was soon able to render himself equally the admiration and the love of the general and the soldiers. During eight years more he had abundant opportunity to perfect himself in all the qualifications of a subordinate officer, and to learn those which were required of a general-in-chief, as well as of a politician and statesman. Hasdrubal* extended the power of Carthage chiefly by his talent of

* Polyb. lib. ii. c. 12, 36

Hamilcar

Barca.

From

A. M.

3741.

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S. C.

263.

to

A. M.

3764.

—

S. C.

240.

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S. C.

183.

—

S. C.

219.

to

A. M.

3821.

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S. C.

183.

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S. C.

183.

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Bio**g**raphy. conciliating the native princes of the Spaniards: he endeavoured also to provide for its security by founding the city of New Carthage, the situation of which was chosen with excellent judgment. This town, which in its present name of Carthagena still retains the memory of its founders, commands* the best, and for the purposes of ancient seamanship, almost the only harbour that was to be found on the eastern coast of Spain. It was a deep bay, whose entrance looked towards the south, and was protected from the open sea, by a small island which lay across it. In the centre of this bay, there rose out a bold tongue of land, falling down its southern extremity to a flat shore, but terminating in steep and lofty cliffs on the east and west, and on the north side where it joins the main land, presenting a chain of three rocky and rugged eminences; each bearing its own distinct appellation. The southern and eastern sides of this promontory were washed by the sea: between its western side and the opposite coast of the bay, there was a large extent of shallow and nearly stagnant water, such as is not uncommon in sheltered and land locked recesses of the Mediterranean, and which may be particularly remarked in the lagoon of Venice. From this there was an artificial cut made through the isthmus to the sea on the east; a bridge forming the communication between the peninsula and the adjoining country. Thus the town, which was built on the southern part of the point of land above described, in the hollow between the hills, combined the double advantages of security and an excellent harbour, most favourably situated for communicating with Africa. The foundation of this place, and the growing influence of Hasdrubal among the natives of Spain, so alarmed the Romans, that they accused themselves of great neglect in not having interfered sooner; and being unable at present to go to war, because an invasion of the Gauls gave them full employment at home, they tried to gain their ends by negotiation, and concluded a treaty with Hasdrubal, by which he engaged not to carry his arms beyond the Ebro. To this they trusted for the present, hoping soon to be able to oppose a barrier more substantial than any stipulation, to the increasing power of their rivals.

About one and twenty years had now elapsed since the conclusion of the first Punic war; Hannibal had completed his twenty-sixth year; and Hasdrubal had for eight years been successfully advancing the interests of his country, and the great designs of his family, when he was assassinated by night in his own quarters by a Gaul, whom he had exasperated by some personal injury. Great as such a loss was in itself, it was materially lessened by the prospect of a successor such as Hannibal. It appears that at this period the Carthaginian armies were often consulted in the appointment of generals, and had an important share in their nomination. On the present occasion the voice of the soldiers instantly bestowed the command on Hannibal; and the influence of his party, and the general animosity against Rome, that now prevailed in the public mind, easily procured the ratification of this appointment from the popular assembly at home. The new general, in the vigour of youth, and already accomplished in the experience of a soldier's life,

resolved to delay his great design no longer, but at once strike a blow which should announce to the world in thunder the ripeness of his family's long meditated plans of vengeance.

At this period, on the eve of commencing the history of the second Punic war, it seems a proper opportunity to suspend for a while the course of our narrative, and to give a sketch of the situation of the principal countries, which, in the sequel became involved in this wide spreading contest.

Our first attention in this survey will be naturally directed to Italy. It is well known that the Romans appropriated that name in strictness only, to so much of the peninsula as extended southwards, beyond Ravenna on the Adriatic, and the eastern limit of the late republic of Genoa, on the Mediterranean. All the country between these boundaries and the Alps, with the exception of the Genoese territory, which was still possessed by the native Ligurians, and of a small territory around the head of the Adriatic, where the Veneti continued to maintain themselves, had been overrun at different periods by successive hordes of Gauls from beyond the Alps, and was generally known to the Romans by the name of Cisalpine Gaul. Having expelled the Tuscans, who are mentioned as the earliest occupants* of this region, the Gauls gradually pushed further and further southwards: assailed the Tuscans, even in that more southern part of their dominion, which still retains their name, and were in the course of their incursions brought into contact with the Romans, and in their first war with that people, had well nigh destroyed them for ever. For many years after their famous occupation of the city of Rome, they renewed at intervals their invasions of its territory: at first the Romans dared not oppose them in the field; but in process of time they learned not only to meet them on equal terms, but to vanquish them; and at length they became the invaders in their turn, and gradually† began to expel the Gauls from the most southerly of their settlements, and to occupy the ground with Roman colonies. The more northern tribes, fearful of experiencing the same fate, procured large assistance from their countrymen beyond the Alps, and during the period that Hasdrubal commanded in Spain, made a most formidable attack on the Roman dominion. But being entirely cut off in this attempt, the Roman consuls for several succeeding years, extended their conquests over the Cisalpine tribes; and immediately before the arrival of Hannibal in Italy, the Roman colonies of Piacenza and Cremona were founded on the banks of the Po; whilst the natives, though so often defeated, still kept up an incessant harassing warfare against the new settlers.

The north of Italy, then, in the modern extent of the word, although nominally forming part of the Roman dominion, was yet likely in fact to give the most zealous support to the first invader who should hold out hopes of delivering it from its yoke. Etruria or Tuscany, Umbria, and Picenum, contained some Roman colonies, but their population and their cities appear to have been inconsiderable, in comparison with the more southern provinces. The main strength of Rome lay in the numbers and courage of its own citizens, and its Latian allies; whose fidelity might be depended on to the last extremity; and

* Polyb. lib. ii. c. 8, 10.
† Ibid. lib. i. c. 82. lib. iii. c. i.

* Polyb. lib. ii. c. 17. † Ibid. lib. ii. c. 18.
‡ Ibid. lib. iii. c. 40.

Biography.

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38921.A. C.
183.

whose population, of an age to bear arms, amounted, together with that of Rome, to about three hundred and sixty* thousand men. Further to the south the mountain districts of the Apennines in the interior, and the coasts of Campania, Lucania, and Apulia, in ordinary times, furnished the Romans with multitudes of hardy soldiers, or supplies of corn and money. But the allegiance of these provinces was less certain, in case a victorious enemy should tempt them with a favourable opportunity of revolting; they had been more recently conquered, and some of them retained the recollection of long and obstinate struggles which they had sustained against Rome in defence of their liberty; whilst others, as the Campanians, and the Greek cities on the south-eastern coast, proud of their wealth and refinement, felt the hard service to which the Romans compelled them, at once galling and degrading. Accordingly, when Hannibal was absolute master of the field in Italy, it was in the south that he received the warmest support, and was enabled, after many disappointments, to maintain himself so long against all the efforts of the enemy.

Sicily, since the last war with Carthage, was divided between the Romans and their firm ally Hiero, king of Syracuse; so that all the resources of that fertile island were in fact destined to strengthen the Roman power.

To the eastward of the Ionian gulf, we find in the account of Polybius, a state of things very different from that which Xenophon, the next oldest in point of time of all the remaining contemporary Greek historians, presents to us. Names, which in his narrative scarcely find a place, in the days of Polybius were become the most eminent in Greece. The Macedonian kingdom, though greatly shrunk from its meridian greatness, was still very considerable; and embraced not only the ancient dominions of Perdiccas and Archelaus, but in addition, the whole of Thessaly and the coast of the *Ægean*, as far as the Hellespont; with an authority and influence, more difficult to be exactly defined, either in geographical extent or in degree, over the adjacent country of Epirus, and the tribes of the neighbouring Thracians. It possessed besides the important position of the citadel of Corinth, which enabled it to command the entrance into Peloponnesus; and the island of Eubœa, the most valuable of all the dependencies of Athens in the days of Athenian greatness. The throne of Macedon was now occupied by Philip, son of Demetrius, who had just succeeded Antigonus, the regent of the kingdom, and the conqueror of Cleomenes at Sellasia. Next to Macedonia, the *Ætolians* seem to have held the second rank. In the days of Thucydides, they were little better than savages, living in scattered villages, and destitute of any political union; but now, although they still retained the plundering, cruel, and faithless character of barbarians, they were greatly changed in power and importance. Naupactus, so long held by the Athenians, and Ambracia, a Corinthian colony, and since the capital of Pyrrhus, were now held by the *Ætolians*; and their ambition was continually looking out for occasions of aggrandizing themselves in Peloponnesus. The third principal power in Greece was one which had been equally inconsiderable in earlier times, the *Achaian league* or confederacy. The *Achaïans*

were the old inhabitants of Sparta and Argos, and were driven from thence by the Dorians, at the time of the return of the Heracleidae to Peloponnesus. In their turn they expelled the Ionians from the north-western coast of the Peloponnesus, and settled themselves in twelve towns, all of which were bound to one another by a federal union, while none was of sufficient importance to form, like Athens, the acknowledged head of the whole nation. They preserved this form of government down to the age of Alexander, when the Macedonian powers influencing more or less every state in Greece, the *Achaian* union was dissolved; and some of its towns were garrisoned by Macedonian soldiers, and others were subjected to tyrants from among their own citizens. But some years afterwards, a little before the first Punic war, the league began to be renewed, and at first subsisted between four towns only; others, however, gradually joined it, and not only from Achaia, but from many other parts of Peloponnesus. Its principal members, at the period of which we are now speaking, appear to have been, in addition to the cities of Achaia itself, Sicyon, Argos, Megalopolis, Phlius, and Corinth; although the citadel of Corinth was in the hands of the kings of Macedon.

It was the object of the *Achaïans* to extend their union over the whole of Peloponnesus, but to this scheme there were two states strongly opposed, Elis and Lacedæmon. The *Elæans* claimed to be of *Ætolian* extraction: their country, in the great revolution caused by the return of the Heracleidae, having been possessed by Oxyilus, an *Ætolian* prince, who assisted the Dorians, and the followers of Hercules in their enterprise. This circumstance would lead them to a friendly connection with the *Ætolians*, and combined with the jealousy which nations usually entertain towards their nearest neighbours, will account for their having both the will and the power to refuse their accession to the *Achaian* union. Lacedæmon, accustomed of old to the sovereignty of a considerable territory, and being still the mistress of a considerable territory, could not be prevailed upon to sink its name and independence, by becoming a single member of a confederacy whose united strength she could more than equal: on the contrary, aspiring always to regain her ancient dominion, and regarding the *Achaïans* as her most formidable rivals, she naturally became connected with their enemies; and thus *Ætolia*, Elis, and Lacedæmon, formed one party in Greece, whose policy was in decided opposition to Macedon in the north and the *Achaian* union in the south. On the other hand, the Macedonian princes being constantly embroiled with the *Ætolians*, who were their most formidable neighbours, were glad to conciliate the friendship of the *Achaïans*, who like themselves were the enemies of *Ætolia*; and the *Achaïans* on their part found in Macedon, their best protection against *Ætolia* on one side, and Elis and Lacedæmon on the other.

The fame of Athens must awaken our interest, even in the lowest decline of her political importance. Her navy and her foreign dominion had long been no more; in the ebb, however, of the Macedonian power she had recovered her independence; and her situation lying remote from the usual seat of war between Macedon, *Ætolia*, and the states of Peloponnesus, she appears to have taken little or no part in their contests

Hannibal.

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A. M.
3785.B. C.
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A. M.
38921.A. C.
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* Polyb. lib. ii. c. 34.

Biography.

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219,
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The glory of her eloquence and philosophy still procured a value for any honours bestowed by the people of Atheos; but this tribute of respect was abused to serve the purposes of interested flattery; and those kings whose friendship or enmity the Athenians most prized or feared, were courted by complimentary decrees, conferring on them extravagant titles, and admitting them to the still proud distinction of becoming citizens of Athens.

The mention of the eastern kings leads us to describe the state of that large portion of the ancient world which, in the days of Thocydides and Xenophon, composed the Persian empire; and which afterwards formed the principal part of the eastern empire of Rome. It was, at the beginning of the second Punic war, divided chiefly between the kings of Syria and Egypt. Of these, Antiochus the younger son of Seleucus Callinicus, had lately succeeded his elder brother Seleucus on the throne of Syria. His kingdom, the most extensive of all those which Alexander's successors had divided amongst them, embraced the provinces of Persia, Media, Mesopotamia, Armenia, and Syria, together with the greater part of the peninsula of Asia Minor. On the coast of this latter district, indeed, there were one or two independent sovereignties, whose influence upon the transactions that followed was often considerable. Attalus, king of Pergamæ, possessed many towns in Ionia and Æolia, as well as a naval power of some eminence. On the north was the kingdom of Bithynia, held by Prusias; and that of the maritime Cappadocia or Pontus; which was still in the hands of its native prince Mithridates. He was descended, according to the boast of the family, from that Mithridates who had been one of the seven Persian noblemen engaged in the conspiracy against Smerdis the magian; but his name owes its renown, in modern ears, to his great descendant, who maintained so long and obstinate a struggle against the Romans. On the northern side of Asia Minor, a little removed from the sea coast, numerous hordes of Gauls had lately settled themselves, and given the name of Galatia to their new country; being a part of one of those immense swarms from the north, which even at this early period had alarmed and overrun the civilized countries of the south; and whilst one division had been mostly cut off in Greece, others of them had found an establishment in the neighbourhood of Byzantium, and others on the opposite coast of Asia. To the south of Asia Minor, the island of Rhodes was celebrated for the wisdom of its government; and in the decayed state of the Greek republics, was deemed to possess a considerable navy. Finally the most noted towns and harbours along the whole coast of Asia Minor, from Pamphylia to the Hellespont, formed part of the dominions of Egypt.

That famous country, which at this time shared the empire of the east with the kingdom of Syria, after having remained nearly two hundred years under the power of the kings of Persia, and after having been conquered from them, after the victory of Issus, by Alexander the Great, had been erected into an independent kingdom, after his death, by Ptolemy the son of Lagus, one of his generals. Since that period, the kings of Egypt had been among the most fortunate combatants in the various wars that had arisen between the successors of Alexander. Their territories extended along the north coast of Africa, till they reached

the limits of the Carthaginian dominion; including the once independent and flourishing city of Cyrene. They possessed the island of Cyprus; the most valuable stations on the southern and western coasts of Asia Minor, as has been already mentioned; and the towns of Ænos, and Maronæ, with some others on the northern shore of the Ægean sea. On the side of Asia they were masters of Palestine, and of the district called Cœle Syria, or the vale or basin of Syria; a tract of country lying immediately to the north of Galilee. This the kings of Syria claimed as their own; and at the time of which we are now speaking, a war was on the point of commencing between Antiochus and Ptolemy, to determine the possession of it.

With the names of Syria and Palestine that of Judæa is closely associated. But the history of the Jews, from their return from Babylon to the time of their resistance to the persecution of Antiochus Epiphanes, is almost a blank. They followed the revolutions of the great empire around them, but still enjoyed their own law, and the free exercise of their worship. Possibly their long subjection to the Persians, who were themselves so zealous against the use of images, may have confirmed them in that abhorrence of idolatry which their law inculcates, and from which, after their return from the captivity, they are never known to have departed. But though they were thus firm in their outward obedience to God, yet they were never further from fulfilling the spirit of the commandments, to love God and their neighbours; nor were they at any period less fitted to perform one great end, for which they had been separated from the rest of the world; the shewing forth in their lives the proper fruits of their knowledge of their Maker and of his will, and thus by the excellency of their example leading other nations to aspire after the same means of imitating it in themselves.

This sketch, imperfect as it is, will still serve to give the reader some knowledge of the state of the principal countries bordering on the Mediterranean, at the time when Hannibal first took the command of the Carthaginian army. That event seems to have taken place in the middle of the season for military operations; and Hannibal resolved immediately to attempt some enterprise of importance. He accordingly attacked and subdued the tribe or nation of the Olondes; and returning to New Carthage to pass the winter, he availed himself of the spoil gained in the campaign to pay his soldiers; and accompanying this payment with promises for the future, he put his army into high spirits, and established himself in their regard. The next season was marked by successes still more brilliant; inasmuch that the whole peninsula within the Ebro, excepting only the city of Saguntum, was so far reduced as to be incapable of offering Hannibal any disturbance while he should be engaged in his expedition to Italy. After this second campaign, he again returned to New Carthage, and put his troops into winter quarters.

Here he found an embassy from Rome, which had been sent, on the repeated solicitations of the Saguntines, to provide for their safety, and to watch over the Roman interest in Spain. The ambassadors charged Hannibal not to attack the Saguntines, for they were allies of the

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* Polyb. lib. iii. c. 13, &c.

Biography. Romans, and were consequently included in the article of the treaty made with Hamilcar, which forbade either party to molest the allies of the other. They also warned him not to carry his arms beyond the Ebro, as he would by so doing violate the more recent treaty concluded with his brother-in-law Hasdrubal. With regard to crossing the Ebro, Hannibal made no answer; as for Saguntum, the Romans, he said, had unjustly interfered in its domestic affairs, had put to death some members of the government, and had invested a party of their own with the supreme authority. It had ever been the practice of the Carthaginians to right the oppressed; and he could not, therefore, tamely pass over such an act of tyranny. At the same time he complained to his own government at home, that the Saguntines, emboldened by their alliance with Rome, were committing acts of aggression on the subjects of Carthage; and he desired to be instructed what he should do. It is too plain that Hannibal, on this occasion, sought to justify, by frivolous excuses, a measure which could only rest its defence on very different grounds. He could not attack Saguntum without injustice, unless he should first openly declare war against Rome and her allies; and this he might have done with fairness, if the Romans had refused to restore Sardinia to Carthage, which they had only wrested from her by shamelessly availing themselves of her inability to resist them.

On receiving Hannibal's answer, the Roman embassy proceeded to Carthage, in the hope of meeting there with a more favourable reception. But as no overt act of hostility had yet been committed, the ambassadors could only caution the Carthaginians as to the future, and had at present nothing to complain of. Meantime, with the return of spring, Hannibal attacked Saguntum. That city is said to have been a Greek colony from the island of Zacynthus;* but with the original settlers there had been mixed, in process of time, a multitude of inhabitants from different nations, so that little of the Greek character remained, except the tendency to internal political quarrels, which had led them to call in the Romans as mediators in some of their differences, and thus rendered themselves the allies, or rather the dependents, of Rome. Being attacked by the Carthaginians, they defended themselves vigorously for eight months; till the town was at last taken by assault. Their brave defence had engrossed the whole attention of Hannibal for one entire campaign, and thus delayed till another year his march into Italy: but the valuable plunder of all sorts which he found in the place, enabled him at once to gratify his army by liberal distribution; to captivate the public mind at Carthage by the splendid spoils which he sent home; and to provide himself with a large supply of money for his own intended expedition.

During the siege of Saguntum, the Romans had been employed in a war with Demetrius of Pharos, the sovereign of some strong fortresses on the coast of Illyria. Their arms were, as usual, triumphant; and the consul, L. Æmilius, gained the honour of a triumph for his victories. But they had lost time irrecoverably, and had suffered their only ally of any importance in Spain to be destroyed; and their most powerful enemy to begin a new war against them with all the reputation and advantage that attend a

first and brilliant success. They now sent to Carthage Hannibal with a denunciation of immediate war, unless Hannibal and his principal officers should be surrendered to them for punishment. The council of Carthage, still wishing to gain time, endeavoured to justify the conduct of their general, and to avoid the alternative proposed to them; till at last, the chief member of the embassy, taking up a fold of his gown, exclaimed, "that here he brought them peace and war; and he would shake out and leave them whichever they bade him." The head of the council desired him to shake out which he pleased; and on his replying, "that he shook out war," several voices at once cried out, "that they embraced the present which he gave them." The ambassadors then left Carthage, and returned to Rome.

It does not appear that Hannibal's measures were in the least affected by the event of this embassy. He had long been carrying on his designs, secure of the support of his government, and well aware that the actual declaration of hostilities would neither retard or quicken the course of his great attempt. After the fall of Saguntum he had again marched back to New Carthage; and there the winter was passed in making various preparations for the approaching war. He first allowed the Spaniards of his army to return to their several homes during the winter, attaching them the more firmly to his service by this attention to their natural wishes. The security of Spain was next provided for, by sending over from Africa an army of about fourteen thousand men, and intrusting the command of it to his brother Hasdrubal, whom, at the same time, he furnished with ample instructions for his general conduct. Then, lest Africa itself should be left defenceless, a Spanish army of about fifteen thousand men was appointed to serve in the provinces, and in Carthage itself; and this interchange of their respective troops, secured at once the allegiance and safety of the Carthaginian dominions, both in Spain and Africa. Hannibal now only waited to receive his expected reports of the nature of the country, and the dispositions of the inhabitants, both in the Alps themselves, and in Transalpine and Cisalpine Gaul. To the tribes of this latter country in particular he looked for zealous co-operation, so soon as he should have crossed the Alps; and this hope, probably, was one of his chief reasons for determining to make his first attack on the north of Italy. The Gauls in that quarter were exasperated against the Romans by the successive extermination of so many tribes of their countrymen, and particularly by the attempt now actually in progress, to plant Roman colonies even on the banks of the Po. Their territory then, as now, was eminently fertile, and likely to offer abundant supplies to a friendly army. Their forces were strong in numbers, and under the command of an able general, might acquire the discipline and perseverance which at present they most wanted. Hannibal, therefore, had sent repeatedly to the chiefs of the Alpine and Cisalpine tribes, and had made them liberal promises, in order to secure their friendship. It was towards the end of the winter that he received their answers, reporting that they were expecting and wishing for his arrival amongst them; and that the passage of the Alps, though laborious and difficult, was, yet, not to be considered impracticable. He

* Strabo. lib. iii. §. p. 168. Edit. Xyland.

Bioscopy. communicated to his army the encouraging tidings of the friendly dispositions of the Gauls; he extolled the fertility of the country into which he was going to march; he represented the indignity offered them by the Romans, in demanding that himself and his principal officers should be surrendered up to them; and flouting the temper of his soldiers to be in accordance with his views, he finally named a day, on which he desired them all to hold themselves in readiness, to begin the march.

It was late in the spring of the year of Rome five hundred and thirty-five, about two hundred and seventeen years before the Christian era, that Hannibal set out from New Carthage with an army* of ninety thousand infantry, and twelve thousand cavalry, and actually commenced the second Punic war. As far as the Ebro he marched in peace; from thence to the Pyrenees he had to fight his way, and subdued successively the intermediate tribes, though not without sustaining severe losses in these operations. Before he crossed the Pyrenees, he left Hanno with a detachment from his army, amounting to eleven thousand men, to retain possession of his late conquests; and in his ear he left the heavy baggage of the troops who were to march with himself into Italy. He dismissed an equal number of his Spanish soldiers to their own homes, considering such a diminution of his numbers of no importance, when compared with the advantages of conciliating the Spanish tribes on the eve of his departure, and of giving the rest of his troops ground to hope that they also would be released from their service, in soon as their general could safely dispense with their assistance. In this manner, together with the losses sustained in battle, the army, when it passed the Pyrenees, consisted of no more than fifty thousand infantry, and nine thousand cavalry.

The Romans, meanwhile, so soon as they learnt that the council of Carthage had rejected their demands, and that war had been in consequence declared by their ambassadors, prepared to carry hostilities, as usual, into the enemy's country, and assigned Spain and Africa as the provinces for the new consuls, P. Cornelius Scipio, and T. Sempronius Longus. Each of these officers was to have under his command two Roman legions, amounting to eight thousand infantry, and six hundred cavalry, besides a large force of the Latin allies; but about the time that these troops were ready to take the field, intelligence arrived in Rome of the revolt of the Boii and Insubrians, two of the most powerful tribes of Cisalpine Gaul, with the addition that the new Roman settlers had been driven in great alarm to Mutina, and that M. Manlius, the praetor, who had attempted to protect them, had been himself beaten, and was actually blockaded by the Gauls in the village to which he had retreated. This danger seemed so pressing, that Scipio's army was immediately transferred to the command of one of the praetors, and sent off to Cisalpine Gaul; whilst the consul was detained at Rome till his troops could be replaced by new levies. As last he set out, and sailing from Pisa to the eastern mouth of the Rhone in five days, he there landed his soldiers; being aware that Hannibal had reached the Pyrenees, but calculating that his

farther progress would be greatly impeded by the resistance he would meet with from the Gauls. In this hope, however, he was disappointed: Hannibal won his way partly by force, and partly by dint of presents, with astonishing rapidity; and before P. Scipio had recruited his troops after the effects of a sea voyage, he learned that the enemy was preparing to cross the Rhone. Even then, so strong was his sense of the danger of leading an army into the field before they had recovered the tossing* and confinement of a passage in transports, he himself remained quiet; and only sent forward a body of cavalry, guided and supported by some Gauls in the pay of the city of Massilles, to reconnoitre the position of his antagonist. Meantime Hannibal had arrived on the Rhone, near the site of the modern village† of Roquemaure, between the towns of Orange and Avignon. He hired of the natives all the boats and small vessels which they used in their ordinary traffic down the river; and from these, added to a great number of hastily formed canoes, constructed by the soldiers themselves out of the trees of the adjacent country, he supplied himself in two days with abundant means of transporting his army. But the inhabitants of the opposite bank were assembled to oppose the passage: and it appears that Hannibal had not the means of persuading or bribing them to disperse, as he had so often done on his march from the Pyrenees. During the night therefore that followed the second day from his arrival upon the Rhone, Hannibal sent off a detachment to ascend the right bank of the river, and cross wherever they could find an opportunity. Hanno, who commanded this detachment, after marching about three-and-twenty miles, found a spot where the stream was divided by an island; and having halted, and constructed with all expedition a sufficient number of boats and rafts from the materials that he found growing near at hand, he crossed without opposition, and halted his troops for the remainder of the day in a strong position which he found on the left bank. At night they were again put in motion, and began to descend the river towards the point where the enemy were encamped. Their approach, was announced to Hannibal early in the morning, by a smoke which they raised as a signal; and he immediately, having his army in complete readiness, began to effect his passage. The Gauls left their tents, and crowded down to the edge of the river to obstruct the landing; when Hanno suddenly appeared, and at once began to set fire to their camp, and to attack their line in the river. Then the first divisions of the main army rapidly threw themselves on the opposite bank, and attacked the enemy in front: so that the Gauls, confused and disordered, presently fled, and all the infantry of the army passed over without any further difficulty.

It was on the day following that on which the passage had been effected, while Hannibal was still remaining near the river in order to bribe over his elephants, that Scipio's party of cavalry met, within a short distance of the Carthaginian camp, a body of Numidian horse, who had been detached by Hannibal on a similar service with themselves. A warm

* *Coef. M. Matthien Dumas, Campagne de 1799.*

† Vide "Dissertation on the Passage of Hannibal," &c. Oxford, 1820.

* Polyb. lib. iii. c. 35, &c.

Biography. skirmish ensued, and the Numidians were worsted, and chased back to their camp; after which the Romans hastened back to their general, to inform him of the situation in which they had found the enemy. Immediately Scipio, having sent his heavy baggage on board the fleet, commenced his march up the left bank of the Rhone, in hopes of bringing his antagonist to an engagement. But Hannibal, on the very day after the skirmish, had sent forward his infantry, still ascending by the left bank of the Rhone, while he waited with the cavalry to cover the passage of his elephants; and as soon as that operation was effected, he set off to overtake the line of march, the cavalry and elephants now serving to protect its rear. In this manner Scipio's hopes were disappointed. With all the exertions he could make, he did not reach the scene of Hannibal's passage till three days after the Carthaginians had resumed their march; and despairing any longer to overtake them, he returned to his fleet, and having intrusted the bulk of his army to his brother Cneus Scipio, and sent him off to Spain to carry on the war in that country against Hasdrubal, he himself sailed back to Pisa. There he landed, and set off through Tuscany, to take the command of the legions which were employed under the prætors Manlius and Attilius, in opposing the Cisalpine Gauls: and with this army he advanced to the Po, ready to meet Hannibal as soon as he should begin to descend from the Alps into the plains of Lombardy.

On the day of the skirmish between the Numidian and Roman cavalry, Hannibal had assembled his army, and had introduced some chiefs of the tribes of Cisalpine Gaul, who had just arrived with fuller assurances of the support of their countrymen; and who engaged to guide the Carthaginians in their march over the Alps. This being reported to the soldiers by Hannibal, and its effect heightened by some further encouragement from himself, the army resumed their march, as we have already mentioned, in high spirits. After four days they crossed the Isere, at its confluence with the Rhone; and in the plains between the two rivers, they found two brothers engaged in a contest with one another for the sovereignty of the country. Hannibal was pressed by the elder of them to espouse his cause; and his assistance speedily decided the quarrel. In return for this service, the prince, whom he had placed on the throne, supplied him abundantly with provisions, with arms, and with clothing, particularly with shoes, a most important article for their approaching marches through the snow. Besides this, he himself escorted the Carthaginian army for several days, till they reached the point where the mountains begin to bound the course of the Rhone, a little to the north of Les Echelles; and by his presence entirely secured them from any attacks which the petty chiefs of the country would otherwise have made on them.

At their entrance upon the mountains, at the confluence of the little river Guicrs Vif with the Rhone, the Gaulish prince left them, and returned home; and from this point the passage of the Alps may properly be said to commence. The route of the army, which has been an often disputed, has been at last fixed with certainty by the researches of General Melville, M. de Luc, and the author of "*A Dissertation on the Passage of Hannibal over the Alps*," published at Oxford in 1890. This last work has been closely fol-

lowed in the present narrative; and no authority can be more satisfactory, from the union of acuteness, sound sense, scholarship, and personal knowledge of the scenes described, by which it is distinguished. It appears then, that Hannibal, after crossing the Mont du Chat at the little village of Chevelin, descended to the edge of the lake Bourguet, and passing through Chamberri, came upon the valley of the Isere at Montmeillan. From thence he regularly ascended the right bank of the Isere, till he arrived at the Little St. Bernard, at which place he crossed the central ridge of the Alps. He immediately descended into the valley of the Dora Baltea, under mount Cramont, and followed the course of that river by Aosta to Ivrea; at which place he found himself in the territory of the Insubrian Gauls, and arrived completely at the end of his march over the mountains. In accomplishing this passage, about eighteen or nineteen days were employed; during some of which however the army halted; either to refresh itself, and to wait for stragglers, or to overcome the difficulties of the road. On two occasions, great loss had been sustained from the attacks of the natives; and immediately under mount Cramont, on the descent from the Little St. Bernard, a most formidable natural obstacle presented itself. The road ran along the side of the mountain, above the river Dora Baltea; and for a distance of about three hundred yards, it had been totally carried away by avalanches from the mountain above. To find any circuitous route by which the army could pass, was impracticable: it was the latter end of October, and a recent fall of snow had so filled the torrent beds and hollows, as to render them impassable. It happened also that the snow of the preceding winter had remained unmelted through the summer, and had now the hardness and slipperiness of ice; so that many men, in attempting to walk over it, fell, and being unable to stop themselves, were carried down precipices; and many of the beasts of burden, being heavily laden, broke through the ice partially, when they fell, or in their struggles to rise, were there held fast, and could not be extricated, or enabled to rise again on their legs. The troops therefore were obliged to halt and repair the road; and this was soon done sufficiently to allow the cavalry and beasts of burden to pass; but three days elapsed before it could be made safe for the elephants; and in this interval those animals suffered greatly from hunger, there being nothing capable of yielding them subsistence in that high and icy region. Indeed the whole army had found hunger one of their greatest evils: they had not the means of transport for such a stock of provisions as might have supplied them sufficiently during their march over the Alps; and much of what they had carried with them had been lost at different times with the beasts of burden: nor ought we to imagine that the temperature and fertility of the Alpine valleys in the days of Hannibal were at all such as they now are. They were habitable it is true; and produced, it is probable, pasture for cattle; but the cattle would be most likely driven away at the approach of an enemy: and the plunder of such dwellings as might be met with near the central ridge of the mountains, would afford but a poor support to a numerous army. In short, Hannibal estimated his whole loss, from the time he crossed the Rhone to his arrival amongst the Insubrians, at

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Biography. eighteen thousand foot, and two thousand horse; and adding to this nearly thirteen thousand men, whom he professed to have lost between the Pyrenees and the Rhone, his army, when he entered Italy, amounted, by his own account, to no more than twenty thousand foot, and six thousand horse. The Roman writers, as was natural, rated the numbers with which he began the campaign on the Po, at an amount considerably greater; and we think that Hannibal's statement does appear somewhat exaggerated; and that a loss of thirty-three thousand men between the Pyrenees and the Po is much more than the details of his march can satisfactorily account for.

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There is another circumstance, also, in the history of this first year of the war, which appears extraordinary. Hannibal, we are told, arrived among the Insubrians at the very latter end of October, such being the period assigned by Dr. Maskeyne to the setting of the Pleiades, the date given by Polybius. It appears, also, that his whole march from New Carthage, had occupied about five months; so that he could not have opened the campaign at the soonest, before the latter end of May. Allowing then for the length of time that must necessarily have passed in his wars with the Spanish tribes, between the Ebro and the Pyrenees, we cannot suppose that he could have entered Gaul earlier than the latter end of July. And yet it was not till after that time that the Roman consul reached the mouth of the Rhone to oppose him. It is true that the army which he was originally intended to command, was taken from him and sent into Cisalpine Gaul; and he was thus obliged to wait till two other legions were raised. Yet when we consider that the consuls went into office about the middle of March, and that the enlistment of soldiers was usually one of their first duties, and was a business that was soon completed; it certainly does appear, that with a little exertion, a Roman army might have reached Spain in time to support their allies the Bergusians, and possibly to prevent Hannibal from ever crossing the Pyrenees. At least it must be acknowledged, that the Romans were scarcely, on any other occasion, so late in bringing their troops into the field, as they were now, when unusual activity was so highly useful to them.

After his passage of the Alps, Hannibal halted for some time* amongst the Insubrians to recruit his army; and as soon as he was in a condition to move, he attacked the Taurini, a neighbouring tribe of Gauls, who were at variance with the Insubrians, and not well affected to himself; and in three days stormed their principal town, Turin, and put the defenders to the sword. This exploit presently led to the submission of the neighbouring people; but the majority of the Cisalpine Gauls, though anxious to join him as they had promised, were so overawed by the Roman army under P. Scipio, which was now in the heart of their territory, that they dared not make any movement; and some were even forced to serve in the consul's army. It became necessary, therefore, for Hannibal to lose no time in marching towards the enemy; and as Scipio was equally desirous to stop his progress, the two armies first approached one another in the angle formed by the junction of the river Ticinus with the Po; the Romans having just crossed the Ticinus in their march to the westward,

ascending the left bank of the Po. Here an action took place between the light troops of both parties, in which the Romans were defeated and the consul wounded. It was thus proved, that the Romans could not maintain themselves with advantage in the flat country, near the Po, against the superior cavalry of the enemy; they hastily, therefore, fell back, recrossed the Ticinus, descended the left bank of the Po, and having passed that river also, took up a position in the neighbourhood of Placentia. Hannibal pursued them as far as the Ticinus; but there finding that they had broken down the bridge behind them, he despaired of overtaking them; and retracing his steps up the Po, he found a spot where he could throw a bridge of boats across the river, by which he passed over his soldiers; then, descending rapidly along the right bank, he soon appeared in sight of the Romans, and took up a position within six miles of theirs.

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The retreat of the consul immediately emboldened all the Gauls to offer their services to the Carthaginians; and to assist them both with men and provisions. So general, indeed, was this disposition amongst them, that two thousand of them who were serving in the Roman army, went over to Hannibal by night, after having killed and wounded a number of the Romans who were quartered near them. This so alarmed Scipio, that he was anxious to provide for the security of his soldiers by taking up a stronger position. He therefore left the neighbourhood of the Po, and abandoned his communications with Placentia; and retreating to the southward, he halted on some strong ground, situated apparently on the southern, or right bank of the river Trebia, not far from the modern town of Bobbio, and probably where the last hills of the Apennines begin to sink down into the plain of the Po. He was followed by Hannibal as far as the Trebia, and his rear sustained some loss in effecting its retreat; but the main army having reached its intended position, the Carthaginians halted on the north side of the river, and encamped at the distance of about five miles from their opponents. In this situation, Hannibal was supplied with every thing in abundance by the Gauls, and found them ready to give him a zealous support in all his enterprises.

Meantime, on the very first intelligence that Hannibal was arrived in Cisalpine Gaul, the Roman government had recalled Semonius from Sicily, where he was preparing to carry the war into Africa, and ordered him to join his colleague on the Po. He despatched the fleet to Rome without delay; but in order to avoid the expense of transporting the army, he dismissed the soldiers, binding them by oath to meet him again at Ariminum, on a day that he appointed. In this manner it became their business to provide themselves with a passage, and to maintain themselves on the march; but so strict were their notions of military duty, that in forty days after they left Lilybrum, they assembled, according to their oath, at Ariminum, and from hence were immediately led by Semonius to join the army of his colleague on the Trebia.

About this time, the town of Clastidium, where the Romans had a magazine of provisions, was surrendered to Hannibal by its governor, a native of Brundisium. This was a welcome event, as it gave him hopes that the cause of the Romans would not

* Polyb. lib. iii. c. 60, &c.

Biography. be considered that of the Italians in general; he therefore conferred signal rewards on the Brundisians officer, and treated the garrison, which consisted, probably, of Brundisian soldiers, with great humanity. Still he could not, with safety, rest contented with his present advantages. The moment that he paused in his advance, the Gauls began to doubt his ultimate success; and some of them, though in alliance with him, kept up also, he found, a communication with the Romans. He chastised this double dealing by a severe military execution on their territory; and the Roman cavalry being ordered to protect them, some skirmishes ensued, which ended rather to his disadvantage; although their result, by heightening the ardour of Sempronius to venture a battle, proved highly favourable to him. It was now the very end of December, or beginning of January; and in addition to the natural wish of a Roman general, not to appear afraid of his enemy, Sempronius was anxious to finish the war before the new consuls should supersede him in his command. His colleague was not yet recovered of his wound, and could, therefore, take no active part; and this too he regarded as a fortunate circumstance, thinking that he should thus enjoy the undivided glory of the victory, which he doubted not soon to gain.

The ground between the Trebia and the Carthaginian camp, was flat and open, but intersected in one point by a small streamlet, whose banks were steep and overgrown with brushwood. Here Hannibal concealed about two thousand of his best soldiers in the night; and early the next morning, he sent his light cavalry across the Trebia, with orders to insult the Romans in their lines, and provoke them, if possible, to follow them; in pursuance of their instructions, they should re-cross the river, as if to fight. Meantime, his infantry were ordered to take their usual meal in their tents, to get ready their horses, and to arm themselves by the fire-side. The Romans, on the contrary, no sooner saw the Numidian cavalry approach, than their own horse first sallied out to engage them; and then the whole army was hastily formed, and without waiting to take any food, began to ford the Trebia, in order to attack the enemy. The day was cold and snowy, and the river so swollen by the rains of the preceding night, as to be up to the breasts of the soldiers; they arrived, therefore, on the opposite bank drenched and chilled with the cold, and began, moreover, soon to feel weak from their want of food. In this state they encountered the Carthaginians, who were in full strength and spirits, and who had not left their tents till the Romans had effected their passage of the river. Still their courage and their great superiority in numbers, (for the Romans had six and thirty thousand infantry to oppose to not more than twenty thousand) enabled them to maintain the contest for some time; till their cavalry being chased off the field, and themselves attacked in flank by Hannibal's victorious horse, and in the rear by the detachment that he had concealed in ambush, their two wings were put to flight, and driven back to the Trebia. Ten thousand men, who formed the centre, cut their way through the enemy, and escaped to Placentia; and the greater part of the cavalry, and those of the infantry who got off the field, joined them, and fled to the same place of refuge; but the largest portion

of the army was cut to pieces; for it had sowed and reaped to incessantly during the day, that to re-cross the Trebia was impossible; and the fugitives were slaughtered on the banks by the Carthaginian cavalry and elephants. The loss of the conquerors in the action was inconsiderable, and fell chiefly upon the Gauls, who were the least valued part of the army; but the severity of the weather, while it hindered the flight of the Romans, was heavily felt, also, by the Carthaginians: for many men and horses perished from the cold, and of the elephants one only remained fit for service after the battle.

Thus did Hannibal triumphantly conclude his first campaign in Italy. The whole resources of Cisalpine Gaul, were now secured to him; and the remains of the Roman army were shut up in some of the towns on the Po, deriving all their supplies by water from the sea. This state of things convinced the senate of the greatness of their defeat, which the cool in his despatches, had endeavoured to conceal. Efforts were instantly made proportionate to the danger: the newly elected consuls, Cnæus Servilius and C. Flaminius, were busily engaged in raising soldiers, and magazines were formed at Ariminum and in Tuscany, on the two sides of the Apennines, where the two consular armies were destined respectively to act. Nor were the other parts of the empire neglected; on the contrary, troops were sent to Sardinia, Sicily, and Tarentum, that the enemy might find no point unguarded, if he should attempt a diversion in favour of his main enterprise. Assistance, moreover, was applied for, and obtained, from king Hiero; and a fleet of sixty ships was got ready to maintain that naval superiority which, since the event of the last war with Carthage, the Romans had enjoyed without interruption.

Hannibal, on his part, rested for a short time in Cisalpine Gaul; and in pursuance of his plan of distinguishing between the Romans and their Italian allies, he detained all his Roman prisoners in confinement, and kept them on a moderate allowance of food; while to the Italians he showed all possible kindness, and sent them away without ransom, assuring them that he was come into Italy as their deliverer, and that he hoped that they would not fail to join their arms with his to assert their freedom. He was anxious to open the campaign with the least possible delay; for the Gauls were impatient to remove the seat of war out of their own country into that of the enemy, and it was not his interest to disoblige them. The consuls were moving to their respective stations, Servilius to Ariminum, and Flaminius to Arretium; and Hannibal had resolved, first to turn his arms against the latter. But here again the direct way into Tuscany presented great natural difficulties. The numerous streams that flow from the Apennines towards the Po, were an insufficient drain for all the water which descended from the mountains; and before it was carried off by the artificial channels which in later times were formed for its reception, it used to stagnate, and spread over a large tract of country. This marshy region, however, was not only the nearest way into Tuscany, but that by which he should be most likely to surprise his enemy; so that Hannibal, whose army was accustomed to overcome every obstacle, determined to penetrate through it. The operation could not be completed in less

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than four days and three nights; in which the soldiers suffered dreadfully from want of sleep; for all around them was water or bog, and they could only sometimes snatch a partial rest, by throwing themselves down upon the beasts of burthen, which having fallen with their load, and being unable to rise, were the only objects appearing above the level of the marsh. Hannibal himself rode on the only remaining elephant; but the damp air produced an inflammation in one of his eyes, which as he had neither leisure nor means to pay it proper attention, terminated in the entire loss of the sight of it. At length he reached the Apennines, and halted for a time in the neighbourhood of Fiesule, partly to rest his troops, and partly to make himself more fully acquainted with the nature of the country before him, and the character of the enemy's general.

C. Flaminius, who commanded the Roman army in Tuscany, might, in an ordinary war, have ended his consulship with a triumph, like so many other Roman consuls whose talents were no way superior to his, but who were more fortunate in their antagonists. He had been consul six years before, and had, in fact, then obtained a signal victory over the Insubrians in Cisalpine Gaul; the excellence of the Roman military system supplying the want of ability in the general in a struggle with such an enemy. Since that time he had been censor, and distinguished himself by making the road from Rome to Ariminum, which was long celebrated under the name of the Flaminian way. He seems to have been a rash and headstrong man, and in his former consulship had incurred the censure of the senate for his contemptuous disregard of the religious ordinances of the commonwealth. This affront made him espouse the popular party with more violence than ever; for before this he had been known as the proposer of an Agrarian law, when the Senones were dispossessed of their settlements in Picenum by the Romans. Alone, of all the senate, he supported a law which was to debar the senators from engaging* in commerce; and in his present consulship, he had left Rome in an irregular manner, without having performed the ceremonies which were required by law; and had since slighted the orders of the senate when they had sent to recall him from the army. Hannibal, having become acquainted with his character, did not doubt that he should soon provoke him into the commission of some gross error; and, therefore, as soon as he could put his army in motion, he advanced boldly through Tuscany, left the Roman camp behind him, as if in contempt, and pursued his march towards Rome, laying waste the country around him with fire and sword. Flaminius, as he expected, immediately set out to follow him; regardless of all the cautions of his officers, and only anxious to overtake and engage the enemy. Hannibal, meantime, passed by Cortona on his left, and the lake Trasymenus on his right; and then entered on a deep valley, which extended some way from the lake into the surrounding hills, and was at last closed by their meeting each other at the upper end of it. On these hills then he stationed the head of the valley, Hannibal took post with his African and Spanish infantry; while the Gauls, the light-armed troops, and the cavalry, were concealed

behind the hills on both sides of the defile, and reached as far as its junction with the lake. These positions he had occupied during the night; and at day-break the next morning, Flaminius having passed unmolested along the whole length of the lake, entered the valley at the end of it, by which he supposed the Carthaginians had emerged to the higher grounds, on their march to Rome. A thick fog hung upon the hills, and more effectually concealed the movements of the enemy. All at once he found himself attacked on every side, and after such a resistance as could be made under circumstances so unfavourable, he himself fell, and almost the whole of his army were either killed or made prisoners.

This second victory cost Hannibal no more than fifteen hundred men, of whom the greater part, as before, were Gauls. In his treatment of his prisoners also, he observed the same distinction as after the battle of the Trebia; again dismissing the Italians without ransom, and repeating that his cause was the same as theirs. Nor did his good fortune end here: for within two or three days of the battle, his cavalry and light troops cut off an entire detachment of Roman horse, amounting to four thousand men, whom Ca. Servilius had sent from his own army to strengthen his colleague. His prospects seemed most encouraging, and after some consultation with his officers, and a short halt to refresh his troops, he began more fully to commence that system of warfare which was best calculated to bring the war to a triumphant issue. It consisted in overrunning the richest countries of Italy, enriching his army with the plunder, and weakening the resources of his enemy: above all, in thus giving an opportunity to those Italian nations who were disposed to join him, of doing it with safety. For it should ever be remembered, that the question to be tried was, not whether an army of thirty thousand men could conquer Italy, but whether it could so stagger the power of Rome by one or two vigorous blows, as to enable the nations of Italy to resume their old struggle for independence, and to place Carthage instead of Rome at the head of the Italian confederacy. With this view, Hannibal marched through Umbria and Picenum to the shores of the Adriatic, ravaging the country as he passed, and putting every Roman that he found on his way to the sword. When he had reached the coast, he moved on slowly to the southward, making long and frequent halts, that both the men and horses of his army might recover all the effects of their past hardships in the abundance and comfortable quarters which they now enjoyed. Here too he paid a high compliment to the excellence of the Roman manner of arming the soldier; for he availed himself of the vast quantities of arms taken in the preceding battle, to equip his African troops with the large shield and stabbing sword used by the Roman infantry. He took advantage also of his neighbourhood to the sea, to send despatches to Carthage; where the news of his victories determined the government to make every exertion to carry on the war with vigour. At length, after having laid waste successively the lands of the Præstutii, the Hadriani, the Marrucini and Frentani, he entered Apulia, and was beginning the same devastations there, when the new Roman general appeared in the field, and took up a position within a short

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* Liry, lib. xii. c. 63.

Biography. distance of the Carthaginian camp, in the neighbourhood of Æca and Arpi.

From This new antagonist was the famous Q. Fabius Maximus, whom the Romans after their defeat at the lake Thrasymenus had appointed dictator.—
3785. Attributing the disasters of Flaminius to his contempt for the religion of his country, Fabius was careful before all other things to order such sacrifices, and vows, and solemn ceremonies, as might lead the people to hope for the favour of heaven. When this duty was discharged, he took the field with M. Minucius his master of the horse, at the head of four Roman legions, and the usual contingent from the Italian allies. This army consisted of two legions newly raised, and two which had been under the command of the consul Servilius at Ariminum, for that officer after the defeat of his colleague, had fallen back upon Rome in order to cover the capital; and his authority being now superseded by the appointment of a dictator, his legions were transferred to Fabius, and he himself was sent to command the naval force in the neighbourhood of Rome, with a general commission to oppose any attempts of the enemy to annoy the republic by sea.

The campaign that followed has been often related, as displaying the wise caution of Fabius, the rashness of Minucius, the magnanimity with which the dictator rescued his rival from destruction, and the liberality with which the master of the horse acknowledged his own inferiority, and the wisdom of that system which he had hitherto condemned. Considered in a military point of view, it was highly advantageous to the Romans in giving them a respite from defeat, and in teaching them to regain in some measure their confidence in themselves. Yet Hannibal was able to pursue his plan of warfare without interruption. From Apulia he crossed the Apennines; laid waste the Samnite territory, took the town of Venusia; and then descended into the rich plains of Campania, which he overran and plundered without opposition. Here he provided himself with abundant stores for the maintenance of his army during the winter; and retreated with his plunder in defiance of all the endeavours of Fabius to intercept him. He returned to his former quarters in Apulia, and having taken the small town of Tironium, he fortified it as his principal magazine for the winter; and as it was now the season of harvest, his formidable cavalry were duly bringing in the corn of the surrounding country. And although some of these foraging parties were occasionally cut off by the Romans, yet the supplies they collected were amply sufficient to support the Carthaginian army through the winter in a state of plenty. In one great point indeed, Hannibal had hitherto been unsuccessful; none of the Italian states had as yet joined him; but the last campaign had showed that the Romans were unable to protect the territory of their allies; and a continuance of his system of ravage, with the manifest inability of the enemy to prevent it, might at once urge and encourage those who suffered from it, to unite themselves to his cause as the line of conduct most favourable, both to their present and future interests.

During the latter end of the autumn, and through the whole of the winter, the Roman army had been commanded by Servilius, who had left the fleet in Sicily, and by M. Attilius Regulus, who had been

chosen consul in the room of Flaminius, to act when the six months, the usual term of the dictator's office, should be expired. But the change of commanders made no difference in the state of affairs; Servilius and Attilius followed the system of Fabius, and the season of the year forbade any active operations. Early in spring, however, Hannibal opened the campaign by the capture of the post of Cannæ, where the Romans had laid up their principal supplies of provisions. The distress to which their troops would thus be subjected, and the effect which Hannibal's unchecked successes were likely to produce upon the minds of their allies, urged the Roman generals to consult the senate as to the measures they were to pursue. It was deemed advisable to risk a general engagement; but in order to ensure a favourable issue, the Roman army of four legions, now in the field, was to be doubled by the addition of four new legions, to be raised by the new consuls, L. Æmilius, Paulus, and C. Terentius Varro. Meantime Servilius and Attilius were ordered to remain on the defensive, till they should be joined by the intended reinforcements, and the new consuls should arrive to take the command.

When the whole army * was united on the banks of the Aufidius, opposed to Hannibal, it presented the most formidable force that Rome had ever sent out on one single service. There were eight Roman legions, at their full complement; amounting to forty thousand foot, and two thousand four hundred horse; and if these one half were well acquainted with the enemy, as having been actively employed against him during the whole of the preceding year. The Italian allies amounted to an equal number of infantry, and to nearly four thousand cavalry; half of these also, as well as of the Romans, having been practised by the last year's service; of the generals, one indeed, Terentius Varro, is represented as a man of low birth, rash, ignorant, and self-willed, but Æmilius was an officer of approved ability, and Servilius and Attilius, who still acted as lieutenants under the consuls, were both men of good reputation. It was hoped therefore that whilst the caution of Æmilius would secure the army from any such acts of ignorant rashness as had before proved so fatal, the courage of the Romans when engaged in the open field, and with numbers nearly double those of the enemy, would not fail of obtaining its usual result, a complete and decisive victory.

The inconvenience, however, of a divided command, and the folly of Varro, marred all these fair prospects. Æmilius instantly perceived that the open country near the Aufidius was a field of battle ill-suited to the Romans, while the enemy possessed so great a superiority in cavalry. He wished therefore to remove to more uneven ground; but the command was held by the two consuls alternately, day by day; and when Varro commanded, he brought the army to a position so near that of Hannibal, that to retreat without fighting was henceforth impracticable. At length after a few days, Varro's impatience, which was fully shared by his soldiers, could no longer be restrained; and when it came to his turn to be the acting general, he crossed the Aufidius, and formed his troops in order of battle on the right bank of the river, fronting

* Polyb. lib. iii. c. 107, &c.

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southwards; the infantry being drawn up in a single line of unusual depth, and the cavalry covering the two wings. Hannibal was not slow in crossing the river to oppose them. He too stationed his cavalry on the wings; the Gauls and Spaniards on his left, and the Numidians on his right: but his infantry, instead of presenting a straight line, formed a crescent, whose convex side was towards the enemy; and of this crescent the central and more advanced troops consisted of Gauls and Spaniards, while its extremities, which fell back almost behind the centre, were composed of Africans, who were now armed with the sword and shield of the Roman legionary soldiers.

After some skirmishing of the light troops, the cavalry on both sides engaged: and the Gauls and Spaniards, having soon defeated the Roman horse opposed to them, moved round to the right, and decided the contest which was going on there, between the Numidians and the Italian allies. Meantime the Roman infantry advanced to the attack, and although their front was already too narrow in proportion to their numbers, yet the zeal of the soldiers on the right and left narrowed it still more; for finding themselves with no enemy immediately in front of them, owing to the falling back of the extremities of Hannibal's line; they crowded upon their own centre in order to share in the contest with the Gauls and Spaniards, the only part of the Carthaginian infantry that was hitherto engaged. Thus the Roman army became one solid and unmanageable column; which broke through the Gauls and Spaniards by the mere weight of its charge, but pressing forward by the impulse given by the rearmost soldiers to those in the front, it was attacked on both flanks by the Africans, who were armed like the Romans, and who were fresh and in perfect order. Every one knows the utter destruction to which an attacking column of infantry is exposed, when it is itself assailed on the flank. Such was now the condition of the Romans; and their numbers only served to cramp their movements, and to expose them to slaughter without defence. Still the battle was obstinately maintained, till the Gaulish and Spanish horse, having already achieved two victories in the course of the day, now came up and fell upon the rear of the Roman infantry. Then followed a slaughter of which modern warfare can give no adequate notions. Whether the vanquished scorned to ask for quarter, or the victors refused to give it, the whole mass of the Roman and allied foot that were in the field, to the amount of seventy thousand, were cut to pieces, with the exception of three thousand, who escaped to some of the adjacent towns. Ten thousand men had been left by the consul Æmilius in his camp, with orders to surprise if possible the camp of the enemy, during the action. They found, however, that Hannibal had provided for it a sufficient defence; and they spent the day in fruitless efforts to take it, till the battle was decided, and the approach of the victorious army obliged them to fly to their own camp for safety. There they were presently attacked by Hannibal, and were soon obliged to surrender themselves as prisoners. The destruction of the cavalry was hardly less complete; only seventy men escaping with Varro to Venusia; and about three hundred of the allied horse getting safe to the different towns in the neighbourhood. Of the officers, one of the consuls, L. Æmilius, the

consuls of the preceding year Servilius and Attillus, and, according to Livy, Miancius, the late master of the horse, were among the slain. Nor was so great a victory purchased by a heavy loss on the part of the conquerors; four thousand Gauls, fifteen hundred Spaniards and Africans, and two hundred of the cavalry, were all that fell; so that the army was not incapacitated from prosecuting its success immediately.

Some of the states of Italy after the battle of Cannæ began to incline to the cause of the conqueror, and to look out for opportunities of surrendering their towns to him. Campania, and most of the Greek cities of the south of Italy, shortly after revolted from Rome, and actively assisted Hannibal. But the predominant feeling, especially amongst the higher ranks, was an aversion to an army made up of Africans, Gauls, and Spaniards; and a disposition, partly from love and partly from fear, to maintain their old connection with Rome. Besides there were * as fewer than thirty cities in Italy which were Roman colonies: and their support might be depended upon by the senate, almost as surely, as any of the governments of modern Europe could rely upon the inhabitants of their provincial towns. It should be considered also, that the ancient system of warfare gave a security to citizens in defending their walls, which the use of cannon and mortars has totally destroyed. A besieging army by means of a bombardment could in a few days inflict such misery on a large and wealthy city, as the firmest courage could scarcely withstand: whereas any of the populous towns of Italy had nothing to fear from Hannibal, but the slow process of a blockade, or the seducing some of their own citizens to open the gates to him. It may be readily understood then, how utterly fruitless would have been the attempt to besiege Rome itself, while the Roman fleets commanded the seas; whilst so many Roman colonies were scattered over the adjacent country; and whilst the Carthaginian army could not have formed the blockade of so large a city without exposing itself to be overwhelmed by superior numbers, or whatever quarter the Romans should think proper to make a ally.

But in thus stating the means of resistance which Rome had still in her power, we must not forget to do justice to her firmness, in resolving to use them all to the utmost. Few nations have ever exhausted all the resources which they possessed: they have generally hesitated to risk their last stake, and have availed themselves of the chances yet remaining in their favour to procure more tolerable terms from their enemy. This policy the Romans utterly scorned; they seem on all occasions to have abhorred nothing so much as giving their own consent to the diminution of their empire: they knew no alternative between a peace whose terms they could dictate, and a war of extermination. Other nations would have thought, that although they might make a successful resistance; yet the evils they must inevitably suffer in the course of it, more than counterbalanced the sacrifices to be made in a disadvantageous treaty: they would have judged the deliverance of Italy from the scourge of Hannibal's army, cheaply purchased by the cession of Spain, or Sardinia, or Sicily. Or at any rate, they would have abandoned those distant

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* Livy, lib. xxvii. c. 5, 10.

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This undaunted spirit was of great service to the Romans on two occasions which shortly followed: the defection of their allies the Syracusans, and the confederacy formed between Hannibal and the king of Macedonia. Had the Roman legions been recalled from Sicily after the battle of Cannæ, the Carthaginians, aided by their party which was now predominant in Syracuse, might have recovered the whole island to their dominion, and from thence have been able to co-operate with the army of Hannibal in the south of Italy. But from having the ordinary military establishment of a province ready on the spot to check the first symptoms of revolt among the Sicilian cities, the Romans were able to act on the offensive, and by the reduction of Syracuse itself, secured to themselves a more absolute mastery over the whole of Sicily than they had ever possessed before. In like manner, they too sooner were informed of the hostile intentions of the king of Macedonia, than they began to organize a coalition against him in his own neighbourhood, and even assisted it with a force of their own, which, though small, was still a sufficient warrant for their earnest interest in the war, and served to keep their name and power continually in the minds of their allies. And thus they hindered Hannibal from ever deriving any assistance from the Macedonians; and amused Philip with a desultory and indecisive hostility, till having finished their contest with Carthage, they had ample means to take vengeance on him for his ill-timed interference in the quarrel.

The reader will perceive that our narrative is no longer given in the same detail as it was up to the battle of Cannæ. The fact is, that owing to the loss of the greater part of the history of Polybius, we are left without any regular account, worthy of credit, of the subsequent years of the war. It is a mere waste of time to copy Livy, and Appian, and Plutarch, through all the inconsistencies, and improbabilities, and idle tales, which their utter ignorance of military affairs, their want of judgment, and their carelessness, have heaped together for the entertainment of children, and the provoking disappointment of sensible men. We shall content ourselves, therefore, with giving only such a sketch of the remainder of the war, as may illustrate, to the best of our power, the causes of its final issue.

After the first violence of grief and consternation had subsided, the Roman senate began to take the necessary measures for the safety of the commonwealth. Troops were raised from among the youngest citizens arrived at the military age; from the Latins and the other Italian allies; and even from slaves and criminals: and thus an army was provided with-

out recalling any of the legions from the provinces. To pay and equip these soldiers, the direct taxes of the state were for one year doubled; but such an expedient could only be temporary; and it appears that the expenses of the war were in general defrayed by the ordinary taxes, assisted by large loans from wealthy individuals, chiefly from those who had amassed large fortunes by undertaking the government contracts* on former occasions; and who were now called upon to assist the state with some of that money which they had gained at its expense. Three companies, consisting of nineteen individuals each, were accordingly formed, and continued to provide the armies of the republic with all the articles which they required; on condition that while thus employed, they should be exempted from military service, and that if any of the stores furnished by them should be taken or lost at sea, the government should ensure them from being the sufferers. Some supplies also of corn and money were given on one occasion by king Hiero, for the support of the troops in Sicily; and by the cities of Sardinia† for the legion stationed in that island. This deserves notice, as it explains the manner in which the Romans could keep up their armies in the provinces, even when their treasury was in such extreme distress. With that ample discretion which was so generally given to the Roman magistrates, the proconsuls and praetors applied the resources of their province without scruple to the support of their troops, whenever the government at home could not conveniently assist them. Besides the supplies of corn which were regularly brought in to head-quarters, and sold at a certain price affixed by the Roman officer, the means were not wanting to draw large sums from the wealthy provincials, by representing to them the absolute necessity of paying the troops, in order to prevent such disorders as a needy soldiery would unavoidably commit; and sometimes, it appears, men were demanded as well as money. It is true, the inhabitants of a country thus oppressed, might carry their complaints to Rome; but if it appeared that their oppressor had been actuated by no personal motives, he was sure to find not only pardon but favour, for the vigour with which he had promoted the service of the republic. Admitting, however, that the legions in the provinces were maintained at little expense to the government at home, still the armies that were employed in Italy, and the fleets which were required to protect the coasts from the ravages of the enemy, rendered as we know a heavy burthen of taxation necessary; and it becomes a curious question, how individuals were enabled to support it; or in other words, from what sources the Romans at this period derived their wealth. Their chief resource doubtless was agriculture; and this might be carried on in Tuscany, Umbria, Picenum, and in the immediate neighbourhood of Rome itself, with little direct interruption from the plundering parties of the enemy. Some commerce there was, but it was not very considerable; nor does it appear what return the Romans could have made, under so severe a pressure of war, for the commodities of other nations. However, there were no means of bringing into the country a sufficient supply of specie to meet the constant demands of the war; and therefore the

* Livy, lib. xliii. c. 45, 49.

† Ibid. lib. xliii. c. 21.

Biology. copper currency, * which was the standard of all payments, was depreciated to a prodigious amount: the pound of copper, which since the first Punic war had been coined into six asses, being now coined into twelve; and the denarius, a silver coin usually equivalent to ten asses, passing now in ordinary dealings for sixteen: although in the government payments of all sums reckoned by denarii, it was still rated at its nominal value. After all, the want of money was so great, that six years after the battle of Cannæ, the higher ranks contributed all their plate, and almost all their personal ornaments of gold or silver, for the service of the state; so that had not the war about that period begun to take a more favourable turn, and the capture of New Carthage brought some of the resources of the Spanish mines into the treasury, it is difficult to conceive how the armies could have been paid for the future. In considering the great efforts made by the Romans, we must recollect, in order to render them credible, what immense sacrifices were required to make them. There is scarcely any limit to the military exertions of a people, when they will consent to give up every luxury and almost all the conveniences of life; and require to retain nothing but food, habitation, and clothing. The term "ruin," as applied to the finances of a nation in modern times, denotes a state of comparative affluence to that which existed in Rome, during Hannibal's invasion; and the amount of capital in the poorest and most devastated country of modern Europe, has always far exceeded that which the Roman republic possessed at the moment of some of its most brilliant victories.

In commencing, as it were, a new act of the war, after the battle of Cannæ, it was above all things important, that the Romans should not again risk the loss of so large a portion of their population, as had lately been cut off by the enemy. Their system, for the future, consisted in defending vigorously the several towns that adhered to their interests: and whilst they still kept an army in the field to watch Hannibal's motions, they took care that it should never expose itself, by venturing into the plains, to the certainty of defeat, from the superiority of the Carthaginian cavalry. For it seems, so high a confidence was still placed in the excellence of the Roman infantry, that they had no apprehensions of being attacked in positions where cavalry could not act; and still less, of being forced in their camps or intrenchments. Yet, unless they could employ a force so superior in point of numbers, that while one part of it was watching Hannibal, another might be acting elsewhere, supporting the faithful, and chastising the revolted, allies of the republic, they could not hope for final success. Happily for Rome, the successful resistance of some small towns which Hannibal besieged soon after his victory at Cannæ, disposed the Italians in general to think more favourably of the Roman cause, and contributed to prevent the other allies from following the example of the Campanians. Thus the Romans were soon in the condition of a nation contending against an army, which though not without partisans, yet found them only an inconsiderable minority of the whole people. Thenceforward Hannibal's movements were often cramped by the necessity of providing for the

subsistence of his own army; when the country immediately around him was purposely laid waste by the enemy; and his communications with more remote quarters were rendered almost impracticable by the numerous armies or garrisons with which he was on every side surrounded.

It may here be reasonably asked, why the government of Carthage did not make every effort to reinforce their general, and enable him to carry on one operation without necessarily neglecting every other. The want of a contemporary Carthaginian historian, prevents us from giving any satisfactory account of the domestic politics of Carthage: but we may conjecture, that for a long time after the battle of Cannæ, the government, in their admiration of Hannibal's talents, imagined that he could do every thing for himself; and that their attention was more needed in other quarters, in Spain, in Sicily, or Sardinia, where their affairs were not conducted by men of the same extraordinary ability. And, indeed, in spite of all his difficulties, Hannibal continued for so many years to gain such frequent advantages, that all on his side might have seemed secure; and thus the temptation might have been greater to endeavour to turn the scale in other parts of the contest, where defeat might be considered as an event less impossible. At last, when the sudden restoration of the Roman affairs in Spain by P. Scipio rendered the Carthaginians more doubtful than ever of speedy success in that country, Asdrubal, another son of Hamilcar, set out from Spain, following the track of his brother, and designing to lead an army that might co-operate with him into Italy. Hannibal was prepared to expect him, and was not likely to disconcert their joint plans by any failure of exertion on his part. But it appears that the speed with which Asdrubal crossed the Alps, and arrived in Italy, was quite unlooked for by his brother; who recollecting the delays of his own march, had thought it impossible that Asdrubal could accomplish his passage before the season was considerably advanced. The natives, however, now aware that they were not the object of attack, had listened to Asdrubal's professions of peace, and had allowed him to pass unmolested; so that it is said he performed in two months the same march which had occupied Hannibal during five. Livy adds, that he lost much of the time which he had thus gained, in a fruitless siege of Pincetia; and that Hannibal, having heard that he was thus occupied, delayed setting out to join him, from an expectation that he would not soon be able to take the town. Be this as it may, the Romans succeeded in intercepting some messengers whom Asdrubal had sent to apprise his brother of his movements; and thus it was that C. Claudius Nero, the Roman consul who was opposed to Hannibal in Bruttium, formed the bold design of marching secretly with a part of his army to join his colleague in the north of Italy, and of thus overwhelming Asdrubal with his united forces. So ably was this operation effected, that Hannibal's vigilance was completely eluded, and Nero, unknown to him, carried with him from the camp in Bruttium seven thousand men, who being reinforced by other troops on the road, brought to the consul M. Livius an overpowering accession of force. The two consuls then attacked Asdrubal on the banks of the little river Metaurus, in the country of Senn Gallicia, and succeeded in destroying him and his army.

* Plin. *Historia Natural.* lib. xxiii. c. 3. + Livy, lib. xxvi. c. 36.

‡ Polyb. lib. ix. c. 3, 4.

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This severe blow reduced Hannibal to the necessity of acting entirely on the defensive. It had been for some time evident, that his single army could not overthrow the supremacy of Rome in Italy; still, while the fate of the war was balanced in Spain and Sicily, and while he was looking forward to the arrival of his brother to co-operate with him, he might be justified in making himself as troublesome as possible to the enemy, even though he might sometimes by so doing incur the danger of some loss to himself. But now his policy was altered: to maintain his ground in Italy, till another effort could be made by his government to support him, was now his most important duty. He was obliged to abandon several towns which had revolted to him from the Romans; and the inhabitants of others he forced to desert their cities, and to retire with him into the remotest part of Bruttium. The superiority of his personal character was so great, that the Romans never dared to attack him; and thus he might repose himself, as it were, for a while, watching for the first favourable opportunity of issuing from his retreat, and attempting once more to accomplish the design with which he had originally invaded Italy. The death of Asdrubal had not extinguished all his hopes: Mago, another of his brothers, after the total wreck of the Carthaginian interest in Spain, was ordered to attempt a diversion in Italy; and he, transporting with him by sea a small force, landed in Liguria, and surprised the town* of Genoa. The name of his family urged the Gauls and Ligurians to flock to his standard, and his growing strength excited much alarm among the Romans, and obliged them to keep a large army in the north of Italy to watch his movements. The details of his adventures are unknown; nor are we informed what cause prevented him from attempting to penetrate into Tuscany. We only find that he became so formidable an enemy as to maintain an obstinate contest against an army of four Roman legions, a very few weeks before the final evacuation of Italy by Hannibal; nor were the Romans certain of victory, till Mago was mortally wounded, and obliged to leave the field. From the scene of the battle, which is said to have been in the country of the Insubrian Gauls, he retreated, with as much expedition as his wound would allow, to the coast of Liguria; and there he found orders from Carthage, that he should immediately return to Africa, to oppose the alarming progress of P. Scipio. He accordingly embarked with his troops, and commenced his voyage homewards: but his exertions and anxiety of mind had proved too great for his strength; and he had scarcely passed the coast of Sardinia, when he expired. So unwearied was the zeal, and so great the ability, with which the sons of Hamilcar maintained, almost solely by their personal efforts, the cause of their country, against the overbearing resources and energy of the whole Roman people.

When the Carthaginian government sent for Mago from Italy, they also recalled Hannibal. We have already said that there exists no satisfactory account of his operations, after the battle of Cannæ; but this applies, with peculiar force, to the three or four years that immediately preceded his return to Africa. The Roman writers have transmitted to us some reports of

victories obtained over him in Italy, too audacious in falsehood, for even themselves to believe. But in truth, the terror with which he continued to inspire his enemies, after his career of success was closed, is even more wonderful than his first brilliant triumphs. For four years after the death of Asdrubal, he remained in undisputed possession of Bruttium, when the Romans had re-conquered all the rest of Italy. Here he maintained his army, without receiving any supplies from home, and with no other naval force at his disposal, than such vessels as he could himself build from the Bruttian forests, and man with the sailors of the country. Here, too, he seems to have looked forward to the renown which awaited him in after times; and as if foreseeing the eager interest with which posterity would follow his progress in his unequalled enterprise, he recorded many minute* particulars of his campaigns on monumental columns, erected at Locunium, a town situated in that corner of Italy, which was so long like a new country acquired by conquest, for himself and his soldiers. It is said, also, that he retained one or two Greeks in his army, for the purpose of preserving a full detail of his exploits in that which was the universal language of the civilized world. At length, when it was plain that no new diversion could be effected in his favour, and when the dangerous situation of his country called for his presence, as the last hope of Carthage, he embarked his troops without the slightest interruption from the Romans, and moved only by the disasters of others, while his own army was unbroken and unbeaten, he abandoned Italy fifteen years after he had first entered it, having ravaged it with fire and sword from one extremity to the other, and having never seen his multiplied victories chequered by a single defeat.

It is now necessary to trace the circumstances which enabled the Romans to carry the war into Africa, whilst Hannibal still remained unvanquished in Italy. When P. Cornelius Scipio, himself hastening to meet the Carthaginians on the Po, after their descent from the Alps, despatched the greatest part of his army to Spain, to restore the interests of the Romans there, he paved the way by this wise and vigorous step, for the future victories of his son, and the final triumph of his country. Had Spain been resigned to the Carthaginians without a struggle, Asdrubal would have followed his brother into Italy, after an interval, not of years, but of a few months; and a succession of armies, raised with the utmost ease from the numerous and warlike population of Spain, would have been poured across the Alps, and crowned the utmost wishes of Hannibal. But the resolution of P. Scipio obliged the enemy to contend for the possession of Spain, instead of marching into Italy; and in the long and varied struggle that ensued, the great superiority of the Roman military discipline, and the unyielding vigour of their policy, obtained for them, in the end, complete success.—It would be most unjust, however, not to attribute the rapidity with which the conquest of Spain was at last achieved to the great personal qualities of the Roman general, the famous P. Scipio Africanus. With every allowance for the favourable disposition with which his character and actions are described, not by the Roman writers only, but even by Polybius himself, from his connection with the younger

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* Livy, lib. xxviii. c. 46. lib. xxx. c. 18.

* Polybius, lib. iii. c. 33, 36.

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Scipio, it is still evident that his merit far surpassed that of all his own countrymen of his time, and rendered him no unworthy antagonist of Hannibal. He took the command in Spain^{*} at an early age, and when the defeat and death of his father and uncle, after an able, and for the most part, a prosperous career of six years, had almost destroyed the hopes of the Romans in the peninsula. In these circumstances, his first step gave evidence of the most masterly judgment and the most decisive vigour. Availing himself of the dispersion of the enemy's armies, he marched immediately against New Carthage, and carried that important place before the Carthaginian generals were aware of its danger. He found in it, besides a great variety of military stores, the hostages whom the Carthaginians had taken from the principal Spanish tribes, as securities for their allegiance. These he sent to their respective homes, having given them each some present out of the plunder of the city; and in this manner he greatly inclined the Spaniards to come over to the side of the Romans. And being afterwards delivered from his ablest antagonist, by the march of Asdrubal into Italy, he so completely defeated the other Carthaginian generals, that in five years after his arrival in the province, he dispossessed the enemy of every town they had held in it, except the city and island of Gades, situate in its most remote extremity.

After these important services he returned to Rome, hoping to be elected consul, and to be allowed to carry into execution the design which he had for some time conceived, of forcing Hannibal to leave Italy by attacking the Carthaginians in Africa. In both these points his wishes were fulfilled: but according to the inviolable policy of Rome, he was desirous of securing the aid of some ally in the country which he was going to make the seat of war. For this end he had, during his command in Spain, opened a communication with Syphax, the most considerable of the Numidian princes; and according to Livy, had actually concluded a treaty with him. But Syphax was won over to the interests of Carthage by the charms of Sophonisba, the daughter of one of the noblest Carthaginians; and a short time before Scipio crossed over into Africa, he sent to inform him of his new connection, and to dissuade him from his intended expedition, as now, far from giving him assistance, he should be obliged to join the Carthaginians in opposing him. Scipio, however, was not yet without the prospect of finding allies in Africa: Masinissa, another Numidian chief, had deserted the Carthaginian cause after its repeated disasters in Spain; and had privately pledged himself to support the Romans on the first opportunity. Since that time, he had been deprived of his paternal dominions by the united efforts of Syphax and the Carthaginians; but though his power was thus reduced, his zeal in the cause of Rome was likely to be the more heightened; and as his personal character was high amongst his countrymen, many of them might be expected to join him, when they saw him supported by a Roman army. Accordingly he did unite himself to Scipio, so soon as he had landed in Africa: and his activity, and perfect familiarity with the country and its inhabitants, made him a very valuable auxiliary. The landing had been effected within a few miles of Carthage itself; and after some plunder, amongst

which eight thousand prisoners to be sold for slaves are particularly specified, had been collected from the adjoining country, the army formed the siege of Utica, whilst a considerable fleet co-operated with it on the side of the sea. But the approach of Asdrubal and Syphax at the head of two immense armies of Carthaginians and Numidians induced Scipio to raise the siege, and to remove his troops to a strong position near the sea, where he proposed to remain, as winter was fast approaching; and secure of subsistence through the co-operation of his fleet, to wait for some favourable opportunity of striking a vigorous blow.

His first hope was^{*} to win over Syphax again to the Roman cause; and with this view his emissaries were continually going and returning between the Roman and Numidian camps. Their temptations to Syphax were ineffectual: but their report of the manner in which the Carthaginian and Numidian armies were quartered, suggested to Scipio the possibility of ensuring success by other means than negotiation. They related, that the Carthaginians were lodged in huts constructed of stakes or hurdles, and covered with leaves; and that the Numidian quarters were composed of similar materials, of reeds, thatch, and dried leaves. Upon this intelligence, Scipio conceived the plan of setting fire to both the camps of the enemy; and in order to gain a more perfect knowledge of their situation, and the approaches to them, he pretended to listen to the terms of peace that Syphax had before proposed to him in vain; and under pretence of negotiation, he was for some months in constant correspondence with the Numidian king, and disguising some of his most intelligent soldiers in the dress of slaves, he procured them an easy entrance into the enemy's camp, as forming part of the suite of his officers who were employed in the negotiation. At last, when the season for military operations was returning, and his seemingly sincere desire of peace had thrown the enemy into a state of perfect security, he suddenly broke off all communication with them, declaring, that however disposed he himself was to agree to the proposed terms, the other members of the military council were fixed in rejecting them. This sudden rupture disappointed Syphax, but neither he nor the Carthaginian general had any suspicion of the real designs of Scipio; when suddenly the Roman army marched out by night in two divisions, the one commanded by Scipio, and the other by Lælius, his second in command, and advanced against the camps of the enemy, which were not more than six miles from their own. Lælius, assisted by Masinissa, first silently approached the encampment of the Numidians, and set fire to the first tents that he met with. The flames spread so rapidly, that the Numidians were soon precluded from approaching the quarter where they had first broken out; and having thus no suspicion that they had been kindled by the enemy, crowded together in the utmost disorder to effect their escape out of the camp. Numbers were trampled to death in the confusion at the several outlets; numbers were overtaken by the flames and burnt to death; and the rest, on reaching the open country, found themselves intercepted by Masinissa, who had posted his troops in the quarter to which he knew that the fugitives were most likely to direct their flight. In this

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* Polyb. lib. x. c. 2, &c.

† Livy, lib. xxix. c. 29.

* Polyb. lib. xiv. c. 1, &c.

Biography. manner the whole Numidian army, amounting to sixty thousand men, was, with the exception of Syphax himself and a few horsemen, completely destroyed or dispersed.

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Meanwhile the Carthaginians, when they first saw the camp of their allies on fire, not doubting that it was occasioned by accident, began partly to run with assistance to the Numidians, and the rest rushed hastily out of their tents, without their arms, and stood on the outside of the camp, contemplating with dismay the progress of this fearful conflagration. In this helpless state they found themselves attacked by the enemy, under the command of Scipio in person; some were instantly cut down; and the rest driven back into their camp, and saw it presently set on fire by their pursuers. They then at once understood the whole extent of the calamity which had befallen their allies and themselves; but resistance and flight were alike impracticable; the fire spread with fury to every quarter, and every avenue was choked up by a struggling crowd of men and horses, all with the same distracted efforts striving to effect their escape. In this attempt, Asdrubal and a few followers alone succeeded: thirty thousand men, who had composed the Carthaginian army, perished. The annals of war contain no bloodier or more horrible tragedy.

Asdrubal, hopeless of delaying the progress of the enemy, continued his flight to Carthage; while Syphax had retreated in the opposite direction, towards his own dominions, and was endeavouring to rally the wrecks of his army. After much debate in the Carthaginian supreme council, it was resolved that the fortune of war should be tried once more. Syphax was prevailed upon to join his troops to theirs, instead of confining himself to the defence of Numidia; and of recent arrival of four thousand Spaniards, who had been enlisted by Carthaginian agents in Spain, encouraged the two confederates to hope for a successful issue. Scipio was so engrossed with the siege of Utica, which he had pushed with additional vigour after his late victory, that he allowed the enemy to unite their forces, and appear again in the field with no fewer than thirty thousand men. But when he heard of their junction he lost no time in advancing to meet them; and engaging them a second time, in little more than a month after the destruction of their former armies, he again totally defeated them; and obliged their two generals to fly once more, Syphax to Numidia, and Asdrubal to Carthage.

The victors now divided their forces; Lælius and Masinissa were despatched in pursuit of Syphax; and in a short time Masinissa recovered his father's kingdom; and Syphax, having risked a third battle, was not only defeated as before, but was himself made prisoner, and his capital fell into the hands of the enemy. Scipio, meantime, overran the country towards Carthage, receiving or forcing the submission of the surrounding towns, and enriching his soldiers with an immense accumulation of plunder. The chief part of this, in order to lighten his army, he sent back to his winter quarters before Utica; and then he advanced as far as Ténis, and finding that important place abandoned by its garrison, he there posted himself, hoping by his presence in the immediate neighbourhood of the capital, to terrify the Carthaginians into complete submission. But they had not yet abandoned more resolute counsels; and

instead of suing for peace, they determined to send messengers to Italy, to recall Hannibal and Mago, and, in the mean time, to make an attempt to raise the blockade of Utica, by destroying the Roman fleet. The attempt was made, and was partly successful; but this slight advantage was so far overbalanced by the defeat and capture of Syphax, intelligence of which reached Carthage about the same time, that the further prosecution of the war appeared desperate, and a deputation of some of the members of the council of elders was sent to Scipio to solicit terms of peace. It is said that these deputies forgot their own and their country's dignity in the humbleness of their entreaties: they moved Scipio, however, to dictate such conditions as he might well deem a sufficient recompense of his victories; conditions which, by obliging the Carthaginians to evacuate Italy and Gaul; to cede, finally, both Spain and all the islands between Italy and Africa; to give up all their ships of war, except twenty; and to pay an immense contribution of corn and money; sufficiently declared the complete triumph of the Roman arms. Hard as they were, the Carthaginians judged them sufficiently favourable to be accepted without difficulty. A truce was concluded with Scipio, and ambassadors were sent to Rome to procure, if possible, the ratification of the senate and people.

With regard to the transactions that followed, we are more than ever obliged to regret the want of a Carthaginian historian. Wherever the family of Scipio is concerned, the impartiality of Polybius becomes doubtful; and besides, we have only fragments of this part of his narrative, so that we cannot fix exactly the dates of the several events, a point which here becomes of considerable importance. According to our only existing authorities, the Carthaginians, emboldened by the arrival of Hannibal, or, according to Livy, by the mere expectation of his arrival, wantonly broke the truce subsisting between them and Scipio, by detaching some Roman transports which had been driven by a storm into the bay of Carthage; and then denied satisfaction to the officers whom Scipio sent to complain of this outrage; and lastly, in defiance of the law of nations, endeavoured to seize the officers themselves on their way back to the Roman camp at Utica. By such conduct the resentment of Scipio is described to have been very naturally provoked; and the war was renewed with greater animosity than ever. This, no doubt, was Scipio's own report of these transactions, which Polybius, the intimate friend of his adopted grandson, and deriving his information, in part, at least, as we know, from Scipio's own associate, Lælius, is all probability sincerely believed. But it is probable that a Carthaginian narrative of the war in Africa would so represent the matter, that posterity should esteem the behaviour of the Carthaginians, in breaking off the truce when it suited their purposes, as neither more nor less dishonourable than the conduct of Scipio himself, when he set on fire the camps of Syphax and Asdrubal; and that although the success was different, yet that the treachery in both cases, whatever it may have been, was pretty nearly equal.

Hannibal, we are told, landed^a at Leptis, at what season of the year we know not; and after refreshing

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^a Livy, lib. xxi. c. 25, &c. Polyb. lib. xv. c. 1, &c.

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his troops for some time at Adrumetum, he took the field, and advanced to the neighbourhood of Zama, a town situated, as Polybius describes it, about five days journey from Carthage, towards the west. It seems that Scipio was busied in overruling the country, and in subduing the several towns; and he was interrupted in these operations by the approach of the Carthaginian army. He is said to have detected some spies sent by Hannibal to observe his position; and by causing them to be led carefully round his camp, and then sent back in safety to Hannibal, he so excited the admiration of his antagonist, as to make him solicit a personal interview, with the hope of thus effecting a termination of hostilities. The report of this conference, and of the speeches of the two generals, savours greatly of the style of Roman family memoirs; the most unscrupulous in falsehood of any pretended records of facts that the world has yet seen. However, the meeting ended in nothing; and the next day the two armies were led out into the field for the last and decisive struggle. The numbers on each side we have no knowledge of; but probably neither was in this respect much superior. Masinissa, however, with four thousand Numidian cavalry, besides six thousand infantry, had joined Scipio a few days before the battle; while Hannibal, who had so often been indebted to the services of Numidians, had now, on this great occasion, only two thousand horse of that nation to oppose to the Numidians, and fortune, and activity of Masinissa. The account of the disposition of both armies, and of the events of the action, was probably drawn up by Polybius, from the information given him by Lælius, and perhaps from the family records of the house of Scipio. And here we may admit its authority to be excellent. It states then, that the Roman legions were drawn up in their usual order, except that the manipuli of every alternate line did not cover the intervals in the line before them, but where placed one behind another, thus leaving avenues in several places through the whole depth of the army from front to rear. These avenues were loosely filled by the light-armed troops, who had received orders to meet the charge of the elephants, and to draw them after them down the passages left between the manipuli, till they should be cut off entirely beyond the rear of the whole army. The cavalry, as usual, was stationed on the wings: Masinissa, with his Numidians on the right, and Lælius, with the Italians, on the left. On the other side, Hannibal stationed his elephants, to the number of eighty, in the front of his whole line. Next to these were placed the foreign troops in the service of Carthage, twelve thousand strong, consisting of Ligurians, Gauls, inhabitants of the Balearian islands, and Moors. The second line was composed of those Africans who were the immediate subjects of Carthage, and of the Carthaginians themselves; while Hannibal himself, with his own veteran soldiers, who had returned with him from Italy, formed a third line, which was kept in reserve, at a little distance behind the other two. The Numidian cavalry were on the left, opposed to their own countrymen, under Masinissa; and the Carthaginian horse on the right, opposed to Lælius and the Italians. After some skirmishing of the Numidians in the two armies, Hannibal's elephants advanced to the charge; but being startled by the sound of the Roman trumpets,

and annoyed by the light-armed troops of the enemy, some broke off to the right and left, and fell in among the cavalry of their own army on both the wings; so that Lælius and Masinissa, availing themselves of this disorder, drove the Carthaginian horse speedily from the field. Others advanced against the enemy's line, and did much mischief, till at length, being frightened, and becoming ungovernable, they were enticed by the light-armed troops of the Romans to follow them down the avenues which Scipio had purposely left open, and were thus drawn out of the action altogether. Meantime, the infantry on both sides met; and after a fierce contest, the foreign troops in Hannibal's army, not being properly supported by the soldiers of the second line, were forced to give ground; and in resentment for this desertion, they fell upon the Africans and Carthaginians, and cut them down as enemies; so that these troops, at once assaulted by their fellow soldiers, and by the pursuing enemy, were also, after a brave resistance, defeated and dispersed. Hannibal, with his reserve, kept off the fugitives, by presenting spears to them, and obliging them to escape in a different direction; and he then prepared to meet the enemy, trusting that they would ill be able to resist the shock of a fresh body of veterans, after having already been engaged in a long and obstinate struggle. Scipio, after having extricated his troops from the heaps of dead which lay between him and Hannibal, commenced a second, and a far more serious contest. The soldiers on both sides were perfect in courage and in discipline; and as the battle went on, they fell in the ranks where they fought, and their places were supplied by their comrades with unabated zeal. At last Lælius and Masinissa returned from their pursuit of the enemy's beaten cavalry, and fell, in a critical moment, upon the rear of Hannibal's army. Then his veterans, surrounded and overpowered, still maintained their high reputation; and most of them were cut down where they stood, resisting to the last. Flight indeed was not easy, for the country was a plain, and the Roman and Numidian horse were active in pursuit; yet Hannibal, when he saw the battle totally lost, with a nobler fortitude than his brother had shown at the Metaurus, escaped from the field to Adrumetum. He knew that his country would owe more than ever need his assistance; and as he had been in so great a degree the promoter of the war, it ill became him to shrink from bearing his full share of the weight of its disastrous issue.

On the plains of Zama twenty thousand of the Carthaginian army were slain, and an equal number taken prisoners; but the consequences of the battle far exceeded the greatness of the immediate victory. It was not the mere destruction of an army; but the

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* The battle of Marengo forms, in many points, an exact parallel with that of Zama. The Austrian having routed the advanced divisions of the French army, commenced an entirely new action with the reserve, which Bonaparte, like Hannibal, had kept at a distance from the scene of the first engagement. The struggle, which was obstinately maintained, was decided, so at Zama, by a timely charge of cavalry on the flank of the enemy's infantry; but the victorious cavalry in the two battles did not belong to the armies whose situations correspond with one another; for at Zama the reserve was defeated by the charge of Lælius; while it was victorious at Marengo, owing to the attack made by Kellerman. Vide Gen. Matthieu Dumas, *Campagne de 1800*, and *Vieilles et Combats des Français*, tome III.

final conquest of the only power who seemed able to combat with Rome on equal terms. In the state of the ancient world, with so few nations really great and powerful, and so little of a common feeling pervading them, there was neither the disposition nor the materials for forming a general confederacy against the power of Rome; and the single efforts of Macedonia, of Syria, and of Carthage herself, after the fatal event of the second Punic war, were of no other use than to provoke their own ruin. The defeat of Hannibal ensured, in fact, the empire of the ancient civilized world.*

The only hope of the Carthaginians now rested in the forbearance of Scipio; and they again sent deputies to him, with a full confession of the injustice of their conduct in the first origin of the war, and still more in their recent violation of the truce; and with a renewal of their supplications for peace. The conqueror, telling them that he was moved solely by considerations of the dignity of Rome, and the uncertainty of all human greatness, and in no degree by any pity for misfortunes which were so well deserved, presented to them the terms on which alone they could hope for mercy. "They were to make amends for the injuries done to the Romans during the truce: to restore all prisoners and deserters: to give up all their ships of war, except ten, and all their elephants: to engage in no war at all out of Africa, nor in Africa, without the consent of the Romans: to restore to Masinissa all that had belonged to him or any of his ancestors: to feed the Roman army for three months, and pay it till it should be recalled home: to pay a contribution of ten thousand Euboic talents, at the rate of two hundred talents a year, for fifty years: and to give an hundred hostages, between the ages of fourteen and thirty, to be selected at the pleasure of the Roman general." At this price the Carthaginians were allowed to hold their former dominion in Africa, and to enjoy their independence, till it should seem convenient to the Romans to complete their destruction. Yet Hannibal strongly urged that the terms should be accepted; and even rudely interrupted,* it is said, a member of the supreme council at Carthage, who was speaking against them. He probably felt, as his father had done under circumstances nearly similar, that for the present resistance was vain; but that by purchasing peace at any price, and by a wise management of their internal resources, his countrymen might again, at some future period, find an opportunity to recover their losses. Peace, accordingly, was signed; the Roman army returned to Italy; and Hannibal, at the age of forty-five, having seen the schemes of his whole life utterly ruined, was now beginning, with equal patience and resolution, to lay the foundation for them once again.

From the scanty notices that we possess of the succeeding years of his life, we learn that his conduct, as a citizen, displayed great wisdom and great integrity. He is said to have reduced the exorbitant power of an order of perpetual judges, whose authority was very extensive, and had been greatly abused. He turned his attention also to the employment of the public revenue, much of which he found to be embezzled by persons in office, while the people at large were heavily taxed to raise the yearly contributions

due to the Romans by the last treaty. When a man of such high character raised his voice against an abuse so gross, there was yet vigour enough in the popular part of the Carthaginian constitution to give him effectual support; and it appears that the evil was removed, and the public revenue henceforward was applied to public purposes. Hannibal, however, as was natural, had thus created to himself many powerful enemies; and they found, ere long, an opportunity of gratifying their hatred. The war between Rome and Macedonia had been lately concluded; and the success of the Romans, and their commanding interference in the affairs of Greece, awakened the fears and jealousy of Antiochus, king of Syria, whose kingdom was the greatest possessed by any of the successors of Alexander. He seemed disposed to take up the contest which Philip, king of Macedonia, had been compelled to resign; and the Romans were either informed, or fancied, that Hannibal was using all his influence at Carthage to persuade his countrymen to join him. Accordingly, a commission was sent to the Carthaginian government, requiring them to punish Hannibal, as a disturber of the peace between the two nations. Hannibal knowing that he should be unable to resist the efforts of his domestic enemies, when thus supported by the influence of Rome, seems at last to have surrendered his long cherished hopes of restoring his country to her ancient greatness. He found means to escape from Carthage, and procured a vessel to transport him to Tyre, where he was received with all the honours due to a man who had shed such glory on the Phœnician name, and from whence he easily reached the court of Antiochus, at Antioch. Finding that the king was already set out on his way towards Greece, he followed after him, and overtook him at Ephesus; and being cordially received by him, he contributed powerfully to fix him in his determination to declare war on the Romans, and was retained near his person, as one of his most valuable counsellors.

The ability of Hannibal was displayed again on this new occasion, by the plans which he recommended for the prosecution of the war. He first and most strongly urged that he should be sent with an army into Italy; there, he said, the Romans were most vulnerable; and an attack made upon their own country, might distract their councils, and at least lessen their means of carrying on hostilities in Greece or Asia. When this measure was finally abandoned, owing, as it is said, to the king's jealousy of the glory which Hannibal would gain by its success, his next proposal was,† that the alliance of Philip, king of Macedonia, should be purchased at any price. Macedonia was a power strong enough to take a substantial part in the war, and would be too important to escape, as the little second or third-rate states might do, by forsaking its ally so soon as he should experience any reverses. This counsel was also neglected, and Philip united himself with the Romans against Antiochus; so that Hannibal, employed only in a subordinate naval command, a duty for which his experience had no way fitted him, could render the king no essential service; and in a short time, when the Romans had brought the war to a triumphant end, he was obliged to seek another asylum, as

* Polyb. lib. xv. c. 19.

† Livy, lib. xxxiii. c. 45, 46, 48.

* Livy, lib. xxxiv. c. 60.

† Ibid. lib. xxxv. c. 7.

Biography. Antiochus had agreed, by one of the articles* of the treaty of Rome, to surrender him up to the Roman government. His last refuge was the court of Prusias, king of Bithynia. With that prince he remained about five years; and it is mentioned by Cornelius Nepos, that he gained a victory, while commanding his fleet, over his old enemy Eumenes, king of Pergamus. All his own prospects had been long since utterly ruined; and the condition of such a man, reduced to the state of a dependent exile, under the protection of so humble a sovereign as Prusias, might have satisfied the most violent hatred of the Romans. But it seems they could not be free from uneasiness while Hannibal lived; and on the occasion of a Roman embassy being sent to the court of Prusias, that king, whether spontaneously, or at the solicitation of the ambassadors, promised to put their great enemy into their hands. His treachery, however, was suspected by Hannibal; and when he found the avenues to his house secured by the king's guards, he is said to have destroyed himself by a poison which he had long carried about with him for such an emergency. Some particulars are added by Livy and Plutarch, which not being credibly attested, nor likely to have become publicly known, it is needless to insert here. It is sufficient to say, that Hannibal died by his own hand, to avoid falling into the power of the Romans, at Nicomedia, in Bithynia; and, as nearly as we can ascertain, in the sixty-fourth year of his age.

If the characters of men be estimated according to the steadiness with which they have followed the true principle of action, we cannot assign a high place to Hannibal. But if patriotism were looked the greatest of virtues, and a resolute devotion to the interests of his country were all the duty that a public man can be expected to fulfil, he would then deserve the most lavish praise. Nothing can be more unjust than the ridicule with which Juvenal has treated his motives, as if he had been actuated merely by a romantic desire of glory. On the contrary, his whole conduct displays the loftiest genius, and the boldest spirit of enterprise, happily subdued, and directed by a cool judgment to the furtherance of the honour and interests of his country; and his sacrifice of selfish pride and passion, when, after the battle of Zama, he urged the acceptance of peace, and lived to support the disgrace of Carthage, with the patient hope of one day repairing it, affords a strong contrast to the cowardly despair with which some of the best of the Romans deprived their country of their services by suicide. Of the extent of his abilities, the history of his life is the best evidence: as a general, his conduct remains unchanged with a single error; for the ill-censure which Livy presumes to pass on him for not marching to Rome after the battle of Cannæ, is founded on such mere ignorance, that it does not deserve any serious notice. His knowledge of human nature, and his ascendancy over men's minds, are shown by the uninterrupted

authority which he exercised alike in his prosperity and adversity over an army composed of so many various and discordant materials, and which had no other bond than the personal character of the leader. As a statesman, he was at once manly, disinterested, and sensible; a real reformer of abuses in his domestic policy, and in his measures, with respect to foreign enemies, keeping the just limit between weakness and blind obstinacy. He stands reprobated, however, with covetousness by the Carthaginians; and with cruelty by the Romans. The first charge is sustained by no facts that have been transmitted to us; and it is a curious circumstance, that the very same vice was long imputed by party violence to the great duke of Marlborough, and that the imputation has been lately proved by his biographer to have been utterly calumnious. Of cruelty, indeed, according to modern principles, he cannot be acquitted; and his putting to death all the Romans whom he found on his march through Italy, after the battle of the Lake Trasymenus, was a savage excess of hostility. Yet many instances of courtesy are recorded of him, even by his enemies, in his treatment of the bodies of those generals who fell in action against him; and certainly, if compared with the ordinary proceedings of Roman commanders, his actions deserve no peculiar brand of barbarity. Still, it is little to his honour, that he was not more careless of human suffering than Marcellus or Scipio; nor can the urgency of his circumstances, or the evil influence of his friends, to both which Polybius attributes much of the cruelty ascribed to him, be justly admitted as a defence. It is the prevailing crime of men in high station to be forgetful of individual misery, so long as it forwards their grand objects; and it is most important, that our admiration of great public talents and brilliant successes, should not lead us to tolerate an indifference of human suffering.

We know nothing of Hannibal's private character, as a son, a friend, or a companion; nor have we any memorials of his temper or conversation. Here, therefore, we shall close our account of his life, which contains also the most memorable period in the course of the several contests by which the Romans acquired their dominion. A brief sketch will suffice to describe their wars with Macedonia and Syria, the third Punic war, and generally, their transactions with foreign nations, till the time of their first engagements with the Parthians. Our principal attention will be directed to their internal affairs; and chiefly we shall endeavour to illustrate the growth of those parties and principles which were opposed to one another in the civil wars; and the condition of society, and the state of morals and of knowledge in the age immediately preceding the first preaching of the Gospel. The materials for our inquiry are in many respects so imperfect, and are often to be sought for in detached passages of so many different authors, that the indulgence of the reader may be craved for the defects and omissions which doubtless he will find in our narrative.

Hannibal.
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A. M.
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—
B. C.
219.
to
A. M.
3821.
—
B. C.
153.

* Polyb. lib. xxi. c. 14.

ALEXANDER'S SUCCESSORS.

FROM A. M. 3681. a. e. 323. TO A. M. 3806. a. c. 198.

Biography.

From
A. M.
3681.
—
B. C.
323.
to
A. M.
3806.
—
B. C.
198.

THE death of the Macedonian conqueror, in circumstances so extremely unpropitious to the consolidation of his immense empire in the east, proved, in the first instance, the occasion of a fierce rivalry among his ambitious and enterprising generals, and ultimately led to the dismemberment of all his dominions both in Europe and Asia. Before, however, we proceed to narrate the events which occurred during the struggle for power in which even the most moderate of Alexander's successors soon found themselves involved, we shall take the liberty to invite the attention of the reader whilst we retrace, very briefly, the scheme of policy and government which the king of Macedon seems to have proposed to himself, for confirming his conquests in the Asiatic continent, as well as for securing to his numerous subjects the important benefits of commerce, peace, learning, and civilisation. The conduct of Alexander in this respect, and the generosity of his views, have not as yet been sufficiently appreciated by historians; some of whom, in their eagerness to give the details of battles, marches, and sieges, have overlooked the liberal principles to which his wars were only meant to be subservient; whilst others, actuated by a stoical dislike of conquerors in general, or by a more rational suspicion of the motives of all military sovereigns, have ascribed, without exception, the numerous exploits of this hero, to personal ambition, to a blood-thirsty revenge against the ancient enemies of Greece, or to a settled determination to subdue the independence of the turbulent republics, whose confederated army he was appointed to lead.

Policy of
Alexander.

It has been imagined that the obstinate resistance which he encountered to the siege of Tyre, first suggested to Alexander the immense resources of maritime power, and the great efficiency of those sinews of war which are supplied by a successful commerce. There is no doubt that, from this period, he directed his attention to the establishment of a commercial intercourse between his European dominions, and those vast territories which, stretching beyond the Persian empire, continued to gratify the luxury and the avarice of all the western nations, who had enterprise enough to secure a share in their trade. It was to divert into a new channel, at once more ample and convenient than the Tyrian coast could command, the rich manufactures and precious staples of India, that the Macedonian prince built his famous city at the mouth of the Nile. With such admirable discernment was the situation of it chosen, that Alexandria soon became the greatest trading city in the ancient world; and notwithstanding many successive revolutions in empire, continued, during eighteen centuries, to be the chief seat of commerce with India. Amidst the military operations to which in his campaigns with Darius he was soon obliged to turn his attention, the desire of establishing this lucrative trade, and the more liberal wish, perhaps, of extending the acquaintance of Europe with the geography of the wide regions beyond

the Indus, were never for a moment relinquished by the provident mind of Alexander.

In no part of his military career did the proceedings of this renowned commander resemble the subjugation and hircurement inflicted on such nations as have been overrun by the armies of a barbarian soldier. On the contrary, he built towns, formed stations for the purposes of trade and revenue, improved the soil, and laboured to refine the habits of the people. By exercising a clemency heretofore unknown in Asiatic wars, he endeavoured to convert his enemies into friends; and by intrusting power to native magistrates and governors, he secured for his new subjects an equal administration of justice, as well as the right of property, according to the maxims by which their notions, on these important points, were wont to be regulated.

When Alexander became master of the Persian empire,* he early perceived that with all the power of his hereditary dominions, reinforced by the troops which the ascendancy he had acquired over the various states of Greece might enable him to raise there, he could not hope to retain in subjection territories so extensive and populous; that to render his authority secure and permanent, it must be established in the affections of the nations which he had subdued, and, in fact, must be maintained by their arms; and that in order to acquire this advantage, all distinctions between the victors and vanquished must be abolished, and his Asiatic and European subjects incorporated and made one people, by obeying the same laws, and by adopting the same manners, institutions, and discipline. Soon after his victory at Arbela, accordingly, Alexander himself, and by his persuasion, many of his officers, assumed the Persian dress, and conformed to several of their customs; whilst, with the same liberal intentions, he encouraged the Persian nobles to imitate the manners of the Macedonians, to learn the Greek language, and to acquire a relish for the beauties of the writers in that tongue, who were then universally studied and admired. It was in like manner, with the view of rendering this union more complete, that the conqueror resolved to marry one of the daughters of Darius, and chose wives for a great number of his principal officers from among the most illustrious families in Persia.

The liberality of Alexander's conduct is the more remarkable as it was founded on maxims which were in direct repugnance to the notions and prejudices of his countrymen. The Greeks, it is well known, had so high an opinion of the pre-eminence to which they were raised by civilisation and science, that they seem hardly to have acknowledged the rest of mankind to be of the same species with themselves; and, proceeding on this assumption, they asserted a right of dominion over all other nations, in the same manner as the soul aways the body, and men govern irrational animals. Extravagant as such ideas

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Successors

From
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* See Dr. Robertson's *Disquisition on India*.

Biography.

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a. M.
3681.
—
B. C.
323.
to
A. M.
3806.
—
A. C.
198.

must now appear, they found admission into all the schools of ancient philosophy. Aristotle, full of this opinion, in support of which he employs in his *Politics* a variety of plausible arguments, advised Alexander to govern the Greeks like subjects, and the barbarians like slaves; to consider the former as companions, the latter as creatures of an inferior nature. But the sentiments of the pupil were more enlarged than those of the master; and his experience in governing men had taught the monarch that while the speculative science of the philosopher did not enable him to discover.

From the choice of the situations in which he founded his cities, it is obvious that he meant them to serve as channels of communication with India, not only by land, but by sea. It was chiefly with a view to the latter of these objects, that he examined the navigation of the Indus with so much attention; and that upon his return to Susa, he surveyed in person the courses of the Euphrates and of the Tigris, and gave directions to remove those artificial obstructions with which the ancient monarchs of Persia had shut up the mouths of their finest rivers, in order, as it should seem, that they might at once prevent their subjects from engaging in distant commerce, and might defend their extensive territories from sudden invasion. By opening the navigation in this manner, he evidently intended that the valuable commodities of India should be conveyed from the Persian gulph, into the interior parts of his Asiatic dominions, while, by the Red sea, they should be carried to Alexandria, and distributed to the rest of the world.

To realize these extensive and magnificent schemes, Alexander had employed means so judicious, and had calculated so wisely on the co-operation of his new subjects, whose interests he had combined with their fidelity to his government, that he was justified in entertaining the most sanguine hopes of ultimate success. He had secured so firm a footing in India, that his return to it would have been extremely easy, whilst his farther conquests would have been promoted by the very arms and courage which had retarded his progress when advancing. In his first expedition, to the banks of the Hydaspes, Taxiles and Porus, won by the humanity and beneficence of the young conqueror, continued steadily in their attachment to him; inasmuch, indeed, that even after his death, neither of these sovereigns declined submission to the authority of the Macedonians, nor made any attempt to recover independence.

But all those splendid schemes, so ardently cherished in the mind of Alexander, were defeated by his untimely decease. There was no one to succeed him of equal authority and genius, to fulfil the great objects on which his attention had so long been fixed. The mighty empire which had been kept united, and which had increased in power, by the sole effort of his superior talents, fell in pieces as soon as his superintending care was withdrawn; and yet, amidst all the convulsions and revolutions which that event occasioned, it was found that the measures adopted by him for the preservation of his conquests had been concerted with so much sagacity, and his confidence so wisely placed, that, upon the restoration of tranquillity among his ambitious generals, the Macedonian dominion continued to be established in every part of Asia, and not one province had shaken off the yoke. Even India, the most remote of Alexander's conquests, quietly

submitted to Pytho the son of Agenor, and afterwards to Seleucus, who subsequently extended his government over that portion of the east.

These facts, however, while they illustrate the sage policy and extraordinary talents of the king of Macedonia, display, with equal clearness, the difficulties which must have presented themselves to his commanders, when standing by his death-bed at Babylon; and the perplexity in which all their deliberations must have been involved when consulting on the affairs of so large a part of Europe and Asia. The system which was actually adopted, and the momentous consequences which ensued, from the ambition and jealousy of the great men to whom we have just made allusion, it is now our business to set forth, with as much conciseness as the intricate relations and brilliant exploits which characterised their proceedings, in peace and in war, will permit us to employ.

In entering upon this portion of Grecian history, we have to regret the want of our faithful guide Arrian, whose authority, as a narrator of facts, is deservedly very high. This regret is not a little increased by the knowledge that he wrote, in ten books, a full account of the transactions which followed the death of Alexander; a work which is no longer to be found but in the *Bibliotheca* of Photius, where we are presented with an abridgement of the principal occurrences which marked the first steps of the Macedonian generals after the loss of their great leader.

As the children born to Alexander by Asiatic women were not held entitled to enjoy the sovereignty of his European states, that monarch is said, by Diodorus, to have died childless. His son by Barsine, the widow of Memnon, was already five years of age; and Roxana, the daughter of Oxyartes the Bactrian chief, was in the sixth month of her pregnancy; but, besides the disqualification which we have just mentioned, the reign of an infant king promised very little security to the wide dominions which now owed the subjection of the confederated Greeks, and seemed still worse calculated for realizing the splendid projects to which the arms and learning of that renowned people were meant to be directed. Alexander had a half-brother, the son of Philine, a Thessalian actress, and two sisters, Cleopatra and Cyrena; the former being the daughter of Olympias as well as of Philip, the latter born to this monarch by Eurydice, an Illyrian lady, who was distinguished by masculine habits and the most warlike propensities. The claims of the females being overlooked, if, indeed, they had any right to the succession, the eyes of the army were turned to Arrhidæus, the brother of their late commander; a youth of the feeblest intellect, ignorant of affairs, and altogether unambitious, as it should seem, in regard to the honour and power which were now placed within his reach.

Perdicæus, who had been intrusted by Alexander with his ring and signet, together with the following eight generals, who were present in Babylon at the demise of the king, namely, Leonatus, Lysimachus, Aristonous, Pytho, Seleucus, Eumenes, Meleager, and Nearchus, assembled forthwith to deliberate on the measures which it behoved them to pursue, in a crisis so extremely important and perplexing. We have already mentioned that the army made choice of Arrhidæus; but it is necessary to add that this expression of respect to the house of Philip was, in the

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Family of Alexander.

Arrhidæus.

Changes
resulting
from his
death.

Biography—first instance, confined to the soldiers of the phalanx, who being for the most part Macedonians, were more naturally interested in the disposal of the crown, and in the support of that dynasty to which their country was indebted for so much of its glory. It would almost appear too, that during the deliberations which passed at Babylon, on this momentous occasion, the cavalry and the infantry were actuated by different motives, and represented, to a certain extent, the feelings and interests which belong respectively to an aristocracy, and to a powerful body of commons; for, whilst the foot soldiers were desirous that the reins of government should continue to be held by a constitutional sovereign, there is reason to suspect that the horsemen would not have been displeased to behold the supreme power vested in one of their chiefs, and the extensive empire of Alexander subjected throughout all its provinces to a military despotism.

Council of the generals—It was on the day immediately after the death of the king that his generals assembled in the great hall of the palace, which was on all sides thrown open so as to display in its centre to the surrounding multitude, the throne, the diadem, and the armour of their lamented sovereign. The character of Perdica, still more than his rank, entitled him to act a distinguished part on this solemn occasion; for he had long held a high place in the estimation of his prince, had given proofs of the greatest talents and disinterestedness in his service, and had consequently acquired that degree of influence with the army, which would have disposed even the most refractory to listen to his counsel. At his first departure from Macedonia, we are told that, when Alexander divided his whole property amongst his friends, and said that he reserved only hope for himself, Perdica alone declined the bounty of the young king; intimating to him at the same time, that as he was determined to share his dangers, he was entitled also to participate in his hopes. Nor was his conduct ever found unworthy of the noble sentiment with which he entered into the service of his magnanimous master. In the most trying scenes of that eventful and very arduous war which was waged with Persia, Perdica acquitted himself with equal courage and address; and such was the confidence which Alexander reposed in his wisdom and faithfulness, that he was raised to the first place in his council, and received from the dying hand of that renowned leader, the symbols even of royal authority.

Perdica named regent.—Possessed of such reputation and advantages, it cannot appear surprising that Perdica should have aspired to a share of the power, which no individual was great enough to exercise alone, and which, whoever should be named the successor of Alexander, was eventually to be divided amongst a number of his followers. Accordingly we find that, after a variety of projects had been discussed in the assembly of the chiefs, Aristonous of Pella, a companion and life-guard, ventured to suggest the expediency of intrusting to the favourite general of their deceased master, the supreme administration, under the title of regent. If indeed we yield to the authority of Curtius, we must admit that the views entertained by the friends of Perdica were even somewhat more ambitious, for the words which this historian puts into the mouth of the orator of Pella, claim openly, for the commander now named, the right to exercise all the prerogative

of a king. "Alexandrum consultum, cui relinqueret regnum, voluisse optimum deligi: judicium autem ab ipso optimum Perdica, cui annulum tradidisset. Neque enim unum eum assedisse morienti, sed circumferentem oculos, ex turba amicorum delegisse cui traderet. Placere igitur summam imperii ad Perdica m deferri."

The elevation of one individual, however worthy, could not fail to excite the deepest envy and alarm in the minds of such as did not enjoy his countenance, or were unaccustomed to co-operate in his views of policy. Meleager, the general of the infantry, was in the predicament now described. He dreaded the ascendancy of Perdica; and, in order to obstruct his plans, he infused into the phalanx the strongest suspicions against his patriotism, as well as against his fidelity to the house of their ancient kings, and thereby urged the generous feelings of the soldiers to declare themselves more loudly for the accession of Arrhidæus.

The intemperance of the one party, and the ambition of the other, had nearly brought the victorious troops of Alexander to stain their arms in the blood of one another; a catastrophe which, it is said, was prevented chiefly by the resolute conduct of the unfortunate youth who had just been raised to the throne. Perceiving that the phalangites were about to attack the horsemen, who still opposed their choice, Arrhidæus threw himself into the midst of their body and entreated them to relinquish their sanguinary intentions. "If this diadem," he exclaimed, "can be possessed only by the wounds and death of Macedonians, I will instantly divest myself of the pernicious ornament! Take back," he continued, "the fatal present; give it to some one worthier than I am, if he can preserve the splendid deposit sustained by the blood of his countrymen!" This spirited behaviour produced the desired effect. The army unanimously acknowledged the sovereignty of the new monarch; and submitting to the authority of law under the direction of a military regency, they allowed condign punishment to be inflicted on a few of the most factious of their number, who seemed to meditate still more dangerous innovations.

The imbecility of Arrhidæus and his total ignorance of business dictated at once the necessity of a regency; which consisted at first of Perdica and Leonatus, and afterwards of these two commanders with Meleager, the general of the foot, as a colleague. During these arrangements too, provision was made in behalf of the child of Roxana, should she happen to have a son. It was declared that the infant should be associated in the government with his uncle; and as the event soon answered their expectations, the boy was honoured with his father's name, and ordered to be treated with all the respect and care which were due to the co-heir of so powerful an empire.

These preliminaries being settled for the official Distribution of the regal authority, the more important business, of assigning to the several commanders the provinces which they were to govern, became the next subject of discussion. The cautious policy of the son of Lagus, shewed itself in the choice which he made of Egypt, a country which was at once detached from the dominions of his colleagues, so soon to become his rivals and enemies, and also easily protected from invasion, owing to the impracticable nature of the territory by which it was surrounded. The veteran Craterus, who had been sent from Babylon

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B. C. 323. to A. H. 3806. — B. C. 198.

Division among the troops.

Checked by Arrhidæus.

Birth of Alexander, the son of Roxana.

Provinces.

Biography. to relieve Antipater in the government of Macedonia, was now associated with him in the care of the hereditary states. The Thracians were confided to the charge of Lysimachus; who, from his bold and warlike character, was thought to resemble the spirited barbarians over whom he was placed. Eumenes was named to Cappadocia; Antigonus to the Greater Phrygia, and Leonatus to the Lesser. The imperial district of Persia was continued to Peuceates; whilst Python received the important province of Media, in which he might exercise his vigilance and military skill against the faithless and predatory tribes who occupied its mountainous frontiers. Seleucus remained at Babylon as lieutenant to Perdiccas, in his capacity of chief of the equestrian companions; and Aristonous, the personal friend of the regent, continued likewise at the seat of government, without charging himself with any special command. The minor provinces and military stations were provisionally committed to the officers who happened to hold them at the death of the king; a measure which contributed not a little to the tranquillity of the remoter parts of the empire, as well as in the consolidation of that system of mild and popular ascendancy over the Asiatics, of which Alexander set so distinguished an example, and which was unquestionably the principal means of establishing in Persia the dynasty of Grecian sovereigns, founded by Seleucus.

Funeral of Alexander. During the time that these appointments were under consideration, the body of him to whose successful enterprise and commanding genius they were all due, was allowed to remain neglected in the putrifying climate of Babylon. Orders were at length given by Perdiccas to have the royal corpse embalmed; and preparations were set on foot for a pompous interment of it, in the sacred ground attached to the temple of Jupiter Ammon, situated, as the reader has been already informed, in one of those green and luxuriant spots which cheer, at intervals, the solitude of the Lybian desert. It was not, however, until after the lapse of two years, that the funeral obsequies were actually celebrated; and the great Macedonian hero was then committed to the ground, not within the precincts of the African temple, as he is said to have commanded, but in his own city of Alexandria, a monument of his talents and beneficence, which conferred upon his name far greater glory than his imaginary descent from the king of the gods. "This late honour to his memory," says Dr. Gillies, "could ill reconcile his indignant shade to the dereliction of the vast and beneficial schemes which had long occupied him; the improvement in his fleet and army, his discoveries by sea and land, the productive and commercial industry which he had made to flourish, and that happy intercourse of sentiment and affection in which he had laboured to unite distant and hostile nations. After his controlling mind had withdrawn, the system which he had formed and actuated fell in pieces: yet during the distracted period of twenty-two years preceding the battle of Ipsus in Phrygia, which finally decided the pretensions of his followers, many great events deserve commemoration, and many splendid characters will attract regard. Their brightness, indeed, was hitherto dimmed by the matchless effulgence of Alexander; and their individual renown is still lessened by their shining together in one constellation. To a hasty and impatient survey, their history presents

a wild maze of crimes and calamities; but in a full and connected narrative, their transactions will interest the statesman, the general, and above all, the philosopher; who knows that by just delineations of guilt and misery, men are more powerfully restrained within the bounds of duty, than by the most engaging pictures of virtue and of happiness."

As affairs were at first conducted under the auspices of Perdiccas, we shall, in the early part of our narrative, confine the attention of the reader to such events as were connected with his direct government, or influenced by his more concealed policy. It has been conjectured, and not without much appearance of probability, that the generals who departed from Babylon, as governors of provinces, entertained, from the first moment that they were invested with power, the intention of rendering themselves independent sovereigns, and even of enlarging their dominions at the expense of one another; whilst, on the other hand, Perdiccas has been suspected, and apparently not without reason, of the wish to employ them as his tools, as long as he should require their service; and of designing, ultimately, to seize the sceptre of Europe and Asia, as the sole successor of the Macedonian conqueror. The worst of these suspicions appear to be confirmed by the conduct which was actually pursued on the one side and the other: and an occurrence soon took place which shewed, in no favourable light, the principles on which the regent exercised authority, and the motives from which he was served, even by those who professed to be the most devoted to his interests.

When Alexander had succeeded in reducing to obedience the warlike inhabitants of the hilly country which stretches to the north and east of Media, he stationed, at the several military posts which he erected in that strong ground, about twenty thousand mercenary Greeks, who were to act in the double capacity of colonists and soldiers. No sooner, however, did these exiles hear of the death of the king, than they came to the resolution of placing themselves under the direction of Philon, a commander of their own choice, and of commencing a laborious march westward into their native Greece. Perdiccas instantly resolved to defeat their intentions. Drubgating about four thousand horse and foot from the army at Babylon, he issued orders for an immediate expedition to check the migratory colonists; and in order to increase the alacrity of the troops employed in this disagreeable service, he gave them leave to choose the commander to whose skill and sagacity they might be disposed to commit themselves. They unanimously fixed on Python, who being approved by the regent, received a commission to act against the devoted mercenaries, and to demand from the provincial governors, through whose territory he was to pass, a reinforcement of ten thousand foot and nearly as many cavalry.

Python finding himself at the head of so large a Trochaire force, gave way to the temptation which then, perhaps, for the first time, assailed his fidelity, of employing their arms not only in rendering his Median government independent of the controlling power at Babylon, but even of adding to it the important provinces of Upper Asia. The vigilance of Perdiccas, however, was not to be deceived. Suspecting the views of the general, or being apprized of his real intentions, he sent orders to Python of so public a nature that they

Alexander's
Successors.

From
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3681.
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B. E.
3923.
to
A. M.
3806.
—
B. C.
168.

Revolt of
the mercen-
nary Greeks
in Media.

Biography.

From

A. M.

3681.

—

B. C.

323.

to

A. M.

3806.

—

198.

Revolt of
Arianthes.

could neither be concealed nor evaded, to put all the Greeks to death, and divide their property among his Macedonian soldiers. The device succeeded. The circumstances of the massacre, as related by Diodorus Siculus, are too horrible to be believed, were not the fact itself somewhat confirmed by the subsequent conduct of Pytho, who, when he at length turned his hand against Perdicas is supposed to have avenged the cause of the Greeks, as well as to have gratified his own resentment.

The attainment of the viceroy was soon after attracted to the affairs of Asia Minor, where he had to oppose the ambitious designs of Antigonus and Leonatus.

When Alexander passed through that country, with the view of meeting the numerous host of Darins on the confines of Syria, he satisfied himself with reducing to temporary submission the warlike chiefs who commanded in the upper provinces; convinced that, if his arms were crowned with success in his approaching campaigns against the great king, all the western dependencies of the Persian empire would necessarily fall into the hands of the allied Greeks. Cappadocia, both Upper and Lower, still remained unconquered; and although these rich provinces, together with Paphlagonia were, upon the death of Alexander, assigned to Eumenes, the arduous task of compelling them to own the supremacy of Macedon, was yet to be accomplished under the auspices of the new governor. The natives of the northern shores of Asia Minor were remarkable for courage, strength of body, and the love of independence; and the Paphlagonians, in particular, had acquired so much fame as skilful and intrepid horsemen, that they were usually honoured by the Persians as allies, instead of being viewed in the light of tributaries. At the head of a powerful force of these hardy barbarians, Arianthes, their prince, proud of his lineage and jealous of his rights, was prepared to dispute the claims of any Macedonian captain, who should advance into his territory.

Disobedi-
ence of An-
tigonus and
Leonatus.

Perdicas, aware of the opposition that Eumenes might have to encounter in taking possession of his government, had issued an order to Antigonus and Leonatus, the commanders of the two Phrygias, to assist him with their arms. The former of these officers refused to obey the protector; alleging that as he had received his province from Alexander himself, he owed no fealty to the mere representative of his imbecile brother. Leonatus, on the other hand, was seduced by views still more ambitious, having projected a marriage with Cleopatra, the own sister of the late king, and the subsequent occupation of the throne of Macedon, which he hoped to possess, in his own right as well as in that of his wife. He therefore declined to assist Eumenes with forces, which, in pursuance of the plan now stated, he intended to employ against the Greeks, who were already endeavouring to shake off the yoke imposed on them by Philip, and afterwards against Antipater, or even Perdicas, should these wary generals oppose his succession to the crown of Alexander.

Defeat of
Arianthes.

Eumenes, disappointed in his hopes of assistance from the governors of the two Phrygias, threw himself on the protection of the regent, who instantly moved with the royal army towards Cappadocia. Arianthes immediately took the field, to repel his formidable invaders. He is said to have had thirty

thousand foot and above fifteen thousand horse; but his valour, united by discipline, exerted itself in vain, when it had to contend with the veteran troops of Macedon, led on by Perdicas and Eumenes, two of their most accomplished generals. The Cappadocians were routed with great slaughter, and their gallant prince, with his family and kindred, who unfortunately fell into the hands of the enemy, were put to death with every circumstance of pain and ignominy. Eumenes was established in the satrapy which was rendered vacant; and by his wisdom and courage contributed, for a time, to support the authority of his patron the regent.

The flame of rebellion next burst forth in the wild mountains of Pisidia and Isauria. Laranda, the capital of the former district, was soon taken by assault, and the inhabitants were either put to the sword or sold into slavery; but the defence of Isaura was attended with a series of incidents, so characteristic of barbarian warfare, that we are induced to narrate them at greater length. Finding, after a continued assault of two days, that their walls and armour could no longer avail them, the besieged came to the desperate resolution of burning their houses, wives, children, and parents, with the most precious of their effects; and having, by the execution of this purpose, secured from the indignities of conquest the persons whom they held most dear in the world, they again mounted their tottering ramparts, and repelled the besiegers with a degree of fierceness and hardihood bordering on frenzy. Astonished at the resistance which he encountered, and unable to account for the dreadful conflagration which he beheld, Perdicas withdrew his troops from the walls to wait the issue of so strange an event. The Isaurians, it is said, having no longer any enemy upon whom to avenge the cause of their country, rushed from the walls to precipitate their bodies into the midst of the flames, leaving to the ambition of the Macedonians, nothing except the burning ruins of their town, and such articles of gold and silver as the fire did not consume.

In all the arts connected with war, in rapidity of movement, decision, military skill, and personal bravery, Perdicas was inferior to none of the able captains who had served under the standard of Alexander. But, in the management of the passions, and in the application of motives, among men of high spirits and sagacious views, he was not perhaps a match for the sagacious Ptolemy, or the intriguing Antigonus. To secure his interests and increase his popularity with the Macedonians, the governor of Egypt proposed to form a matrimonial union with the daughter of Antipater; and it was not till Perdicas was awakened to a perception of the numerous advantages likely to attend this alliance, that he resolved to defeat the designs of Ptolemy, and to solicit the hand of Nicæa for himself. But as policy dictated this marriage, it cannot seem surprising that it should almost instantly have been dissolved upon the same unwarrantable ground. It was suggested to the regent that, as Cleopatra, the sister of the late king, was still disengaged, he ought to strengthen his claim to the supreme power, by connecting himself with a princess so nearly allied to the throne; a measure which would at once further his own views, and disappoint the numerous intrigues which were already forming against him, both in Egypt and the two Phrygias.

But Alexander's
Successors.

From

A. M.

3681.

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B. C.

323.

to

A. M.

3806.

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R. U.

198.

War in Pi-
sidia and
Isauria.Intrigues of
Perdicas.

Biography. But the intentions of Perdiccas being known, were vigorously opposed by a body, to whom even he was compelled to yield. The Macedonian army, attached to the house of their ancient king, and preferring an hereditary monarch, though unwelcome, to the ablest general, who had no other claim than his talents, seem to have felt alarm and suspicion upon discovering the ambitious designs of the viceroy. To thwart his intentions, they resolved to strengthen the reigning branch of the royal family, by a marriage between Arrhidæus and Eurydice his niece, the widow of his cousin Amyntas; a lady of a singularly romantic disposition, and opposed, as it should seem, to the interests of Perdiccas. The jealousy of this great general being excited by the interference of the troops, as well as by the bold pretensions of the mother of the intended bride, he is said to have procured her murder under the most revolting circumstances; a suspicion which, whether well or ill founded, continues to inflict a stain on his character, and to arraign the purity of his motives in every subsequent act of his government. The immediate consequences were alarming to the extreme: the soldiers displayed the most violent symptoms of mutiny; the spirit of insurrection was everywhere loud and violent; and Perdiccas, urged by these expressions of public discontent, appears to have postponed his union with Cleopatra, whilst he forwarded that of his royal rivals.

Having quashed the mutinous disposition which had shewn itself among the Macedonians, and conciliated the contending interests of his domestic retainers, the regent turned his eyes towards Phrygia and Egypt, where an ambition equal to his own, and talents to some respects superior, were busily employed in co-ordinating plans for undermining that power, which he was labouring so sedulously to enlarge and consolidate. The means that he possessed were considerable; and the ability and zeal which he could command for employing those means, were such as to promise the most ample success. Besides his brother Meetas, and Attalus the husband of his sister, both men of courage and address, and sincerely devoted to his service, he had Selenus, a young officer of the greatest talents; Aristomachus, a life-guard and companion under the late king; Pytho, a brave though unsteady commander; and Eumenes, whose powerful mind, stimulated by gratitude, bent all its exertions in favour of the regent, as well in the council as in the field.

Jealousy of Antigonus. The refusal of Antigonus to assist Eumenes in making good his claims upon Cappadocia, was not forgotten; and Perdiccas now summoned that governor to appear before him, in order to justify his conduct in the presence of the Macedonian army, the judges of all military offences, or to submit to the penalty which they might see fit to award. The governor of Phrygia, perceiving the object of the regent, instead of answering his summons, made haste to court the alliance of Antipater and Craterus, who resided at Pella, as joint tutors to the king, and protectors of his European dominions. Nor were the representations of Antigonus alone, urged on this momentous occasion. Ptolemy, also, alarmed at the projects of Perdiccas, had sent a pressing embassy to Macedon, recommending the expediency of a coalition, in order to check the growing power of the protector, and to defend his aims, now no longer ambiguous, at exclusive dominion both in the east and west.

A treaty was forthwith concluded among these vigilant commanders; the object of which was, first, by force of arms, to restrict the authority of Perdiccas, and then to establish their own, in their several provinces, by adding to their territory, where that was practicable, and by abjuring all dependence on the central government. In pursuance of this scheme, Antipater and Craterus were to march into Asia, at the head of an army, to co-operate with Antigonus; Ptolemy was to continue in possession of Egypt, and to strengthen his resources in the neighbouring parts of Africa, and by means of a maritime force, in the Mediterranean; and in the mean time, till Antipater could return to Macedon, to resume his charge as viceroy, the government in Europe was to be exercised by Polyperchon, one of the oldest captains that had served under Alexander.

It was not to be expected that Perdiccas could remain uninformed of these proceedings. Aware of the quarter whence the main opposition to him had arisen, and jealous of the increasing influence of Ptolemy at home and abroad, he resolved to invade Egypt, and thereby make the intriguing governor sustain the first pressure of the war which he had so industriously provoked. Meanwhile, to punish Antigonus, to whose diabolical he was disposed to ascribe the revolutionary spirit which now animated the other generals, he stripped him of all his satrapies, and joined them to the valuable provinces already intrusted to the faithful Eumenes.

Both parties set themselves in motion, with the view of striking a blow which each hoped would crush the pretensions of the other; and thus whilst Perdiccas marched towards Syria, on his way to Egypt, Antipater and Craterus were making arrangements for a descent into Asia. The order of events requires that we should attend, in the first instance, to the occurrences which took place in the latter country, where Eumenes, at the head of a considerable force, was left by the regent to defend his provinces against the insurrectionary generals and their adherents. Perdiccas was not disappointed in the skill and bravery of this celebrated commander; and yet it ought to be observed that the success of Eumenes, in this memorable campaign, arose not more from his own talents, than from the foolish measures which his antagonists were induced to pursue. Neoptolemus, a young Macedonian of royal blood, having taken offence at the preference of Eumenes, abandoned the cause of Perdiccas, and went over to Antipater with a small body of troops, which he was eager to employ against his former patron. But his pernicious counsel more than counterbalanced the additional strength which he brought to his new allies. By repeated assurances that the army commanded by Eumenes consisted of a mere rabble, hastily collected, and destitute alike of courage and discipline, he prevailed on Antipater and Craterus to divide their forces; and thus, whilst the latter, in the fullest confidence of victory, took the field against the lieutenant of Perdiccas, the former proceeded towards the Cilician passes, with the view of distracting the operations of Perdiccas himself, and of thereby affording aid to the Egyptian governor, now threatened with an invasion in the direction we have just described.

Craterus, assisted by the advice of Neoptolemus, advanced against their antagonist, who had now encamped near the plain of Troy. The infantry on rus-

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to
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3806.
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B. C.
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Alliance against Perdiccas.

Operations of the rival generals.

Biography. either side, in use the words of Dr. Gillies, did not fall short of twenty thousand. The troops of Eumenes were a mixture of Europeans and Asiatics. Those of Craterus consisted almost entirely of the former. This difference, however, was not accompanied with any corresponding effect, since, through the dexterity of Eumenes, the engagement was decided without the necessity of bringing the masses of foot into close action. On the day of battle, he posted his Asiatic horse in opposition to the enemy's right wing, commanded by Craterus. The left, headed by Neoptolemus, he determined to combat in person with his select band of cavalry, only three hundred in number; hoping, whatever might be the fortune of the day, to chastise the insolence and treachery of that haughty youth. As soon as the enemy came in sight, descending from a hill in Helleaspoon Phrygia, the barbarian cavalry rushed forward to a desperate conflict, in which they had been ordered by Eumenes neither to listen to terms, nor to give quarter. Craterus, astonished at the regularity and fierceness of their assault, and upbraiding, it is said, the fatal confidence of Neoptolemus, exerted a degree of obstinate valour, worthy of a favourite of Alexander, in order to check this barbarian onset, and bring his phalanx to the charge; but being dismounted in the midst of the enemy, either by the fall of his horse, or by the stroke of a sword, he was trampled under foot, and lay undistinguished among the crowd of wounded.

Meanwhile an extraordinary spectacle had been exhibited on the opposite wing. Eumenes and Neoptolemus had no sooner beheld each other, than their old animosity, inflamed by recent injuries, transported them into mutual fury. They darted forward with such impetuosity, throwing the reins from their left hands, that in the shock or subsequent struggle, their horses escaped from under them. Neoptolemus was first on foot, but this seeming advantage only exposed him to a thrust, by which he was ham-strung, and disabled. The combat continued fiercely, Neoptolemus supporting himself on his knee, until Eumenes inflicted a mortal wound on his antagonist, who expired in the exertion of retorting it.

In this engagement, two of Alexander's generals were defeated and slain. Their conqueror, too, was severely wounded: yet, wounded as he was, Eumenes mounted his horse, and as the opposing wing of the enemy was totally routed, hastened to that part of the field where Craterus lay struggling with death. He arrived in time to bestow the last cares on an ancient and respected friend, and to testify to him the utmost regret that ambitious and the chances of war had ever set them against each other.

The loss of the two commanders determined the victory in favour of Eumenes; for, though the phalanx remained still unbroken, there was no longer any one to guide its movements, or to make another effort to recover the fortune of the day. The greater part of that body fled across the mountains to join Antipater in the south; whilst the victor, satisfied with the unexpected success which he had obtained, fixed his head-quarters at Celene, and prepared to communicate with Perdicas.

But the fate of this renowned general was already sealed. Having reached the confines of Egypt, he summoned Ptolemy to appear before the royal army, and answer to various charges which they had to urge

against him. Ptolemy appeared, and justified his conduct on all the points wherein he was accused. A pretence, however, was all that was wanting, and Perdicas could not fail to find one. He impeached the governor of Egypt on the ground of his having arrested the funeral convoy, whilst proceeding to the temple of Jupiter Ammon, and of having committed the remains of Alexander to a tomb in the new city at the mouth of the Nile. To punish this breach of authority, Perdicas dragged his army through the desert, and appeared before Pelusium, a fortress which was at that time esteemed the key of Egypt. The preparations of Ptolemy were equal to the emergency in which he found himself placed. He had employed all the resources of nature, as well as of art, to check the advance of his able adversary; and so skillfully were his measures for this purpose concerted and pursued, that all the experience of Perdicas, seconded by the veteran troops of Macedonia, was found unavailing, and his most vigorous efforts were completely baffled. A nocturnal attack on a fortress named the Camel's Wall, led to the defeat and death of the invader. Crossing the Nile in the dark, more than a thousand men were lost in the stream; whilst the rest of the army, divided by the river, and unable to afford assistance to one another, when assailed by the disciplined soldiers of Ptolemy, fell an easy prey into the hands of their enemies. The policy, as well, perhaps, as the natural disposition of the conqueror, dictated gentleness and humanity towards the unfortunate invaders. The Macedonians, it is said, were struck with the contrast between him whom they came to attack, and the more stern master whom they had undertaken to serve. Other circumstances, too, had contributed to lessen the popularity and power of Perdicas. Deprived of the wise counsels of Eumenes, he had recently appeared haughty and self-willed; inasmuch, that Pythion, Seleucus, and Antigonus, a celebrated leader of the Hydaspists, are all reported to have become disgusted with his Government, and even unfriendly to his person. After his defeat on the Nile, accordingly, and whilst he was meditating new measures for reducing Egypt, a conspiracy was formed against his life, headed by Pythion, a faithless and unprincipled satrap, who, as we have already suggested, had likewise a private grudge to revenge on the head of his patron. The tent of Perdicas was entered in the night, and, in this manner, he who had, during three years, wielded the immense power of Alexander's empire, fell at last an unresisting victim under the hands of his perfidious followers.

Two days after this event, the army received intelligence of the victory obtained by Eumenes over Craterus and Neoptolemus; which, had it arrived forty-eight hours sooner, would probably have prevented the meeting of the troops, and, consequently, that new position of affairs, which ultimately proved so favourable to Ptolemy, Antipater, and to the greater part of those who adhered to their interests.

We now return to the affairs of Greece, which, immediately after the death of Alexander, assumed an aspect extremely threatening to the Macedonian ascendancy, and employed for some time all the wisdom and military skill of Antipater. The republican party at Athens, although much weakened by the banishment of Demosthenes, as well as by the unparalleled successes of the confederated army in Asia, had never-

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Successors.

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B. C.

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His defeat

before Pelu-

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Death of
Neoptole-
mus,and of Cra-
terus.Expedition
of Perdicas
into Egypt.Antimach-
us of Per-
dicas.

B. C.

321

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Biography

From
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A. M.
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Lamian
war.The end of
AntipaterDefeat and
death of
Leonatus.

theless obtained such a degree of influence as was sufficient to inflame the passions of the multitude, and to revive their ardour for war. Preparatory to a league among the Grecian states, for throwing off the control of Macedon, the great orator was recalled to Athens. Embassies were sent to all the surrounding republics, inviting their co-operation; and, in the meantime, the Athenians raised about six thousand native troops, which, together with eight thousand mercenaries, who had just returned from Asia, they placed under the command of Leosthenes, a citizen of great ardour, and considerable military talents. To this respectable force was added, by the Ætolians, a contingent of seven thousand youths, the flower of their country: and a few recruits appear to have been sent, to augment the republican army, from the mountainous district of Doris, Phocis, and the wild valleys concealed by Pelion and the famed Parnassus. Thebes was now no more. Sparta declined to act a part under Athens. The Aetians and Arcadians listened to the dictates of prudence, and shrank from the hazard of unsuccessful hostilities. The Athenians, therefore, were the principal parties in the Lamian war, usually so called from the name of a town where the leading events of the campaign occurred, and before which Leosthenes fell in battle.

Antipater, informed of these preparations, advanced into Thessaly with fourteen thousand horse and foot; sending messengers, at the same time, to Leonatus, the governor of Lower Phrygia, and to Craterus, who was at the head of ten thousand veterans, with a request that they would accelerate their reinforcements. Upon his arrival at the straits of Thermopylae, Antipater found that the Athenians had already taken post at that famous pass. He attacked them, and was defeated; and being unable either to renew the combat, or to make good his retreat, he threw his troops into Larnia, a well-fortified town, at the distance of about six miles from the Malian gulph. Leosthenes, the Athenian general, blockaded the place with all his forces, and even attempted repeatedly to storm it, before the expected succours could arrive. The besieged were neither less active nor less vigilant. They made a sally upon the enemy's lines; in repelling which, the brave Leosthenes received a mortal wound, and soon had his services rewarded with the honours of a magnificent burial, and the flowers of a funeral oration.

Leonatus, meanwhile, approached at the head of twenty-three thousand men, of whom two thousand five hundred were cavalry. Antipater, who now commanded the Greeks, relinquished immediately the works before Larnia, and proceeded to meet the governor of Phrygia; carrying with him an army nearly equal to the Macedonians in foot, and somewhat exceeding it in excellent horsemen. A furious conflict ensued on the northern confines of Thessaly, in which the Athenians were once more successful. Leonatus was among the slain. The cavalry whom he led to the charge suffered greatly from the impetuous valour of the Thessalian horse; and the phalanx itself, broken and confused, sought refuge in the neighbouring mountains.

This disaster was, however, soon repaired. Antipater joined the fugitives with his troops from Larnia, and Craterus was at hand with ten thousand of the best troops of Macedon, eager to recover the

reputation of their arms, and to chastise the vanity of the boastful Greeks. The whole army under Antipater exceeded forty thousand heavy-armed foot, besides three thousand archers and five thousand cavalry. Antipater, on the other hand, had sustained a considerable diminution in the numerical strength of his warriors: the Ætolians having returned home to attend to their private affairs, whilst others of the confederates, satisfied with the glory which they had already acquired, had gone to join in the triumphal exhibitions, in which their exploits were represented to the women and children of Athens. The Macedonian generals, aware of their advantages, lost no time in bringing the enemy to battle; in which, after a smart engagement with the Thessalian cavalry, they gained a complete and very easy victory over the allied Greeks, and thereby re-established the ascendancy of their kingdom throughout all the republics, as well within as without the isthmus.

When a herald was sent to Antipater, craving the bodies of the slain, the victorious general declared that he would receive no message from the Greeks in common, but that they must treat with him as members of the several states. The object of this distinction being perfectly understood by the Athenians, they with the Ætolians ventured to refuse compliance; but the appearance of the Macedonian at the head of his army, soon subdued their opposition, and drove them to the opposite extreme of meanness, and the most submissive entreaty. They formed an embassy, consisting of Phocion, a commander of great genius and equal moderation, of Demades, an old and steady partisan of the Macedonian interest, and of Zenocrates, the successor of Plato in the labours of the academy, and withal, a person of such a grave and austere demeanour, as was likely to ensure the respect of the most haughty conqueror and potentate. But all that could be obtained from Antipater, even by such envoys as these, was peace on the following conditions; namely, that the Athenians should new-model their dangerous democracy; should make pecuniary compensation for the expenses incurred by the war; should surrender their turbulent demagogues, Demosthenes and Hyperides, and receive a Macedonian garrison into their fortified harbour Munychia. Hard as these terms must have appeared, the people of Athens were induced to accept them. The necessity of their condition left them no alternative; and yet there is much show of truth in the remark of Antipater, that the severest of the stipulations were the most beneficial to the peaceable citizens of that ambitious and restless republic.

Demosthenes and Hyperides fled on the approach of the Macedonian general; but being pursued, they were both taken, the first in the island of Calauria, the second in the small island of Ægina. Hyperides was put to death by the command of Antipater, with accompaniments of cruelty and insult, which, it is to be hoped, are at least exaggerated: whilst, of Demosthenes, it is reported, that rather than allow himself to fall into the hands of an enemy, from whom he could not expect liberal or even humane treatment, he swallowed poison, which he always carried about with him, and which, it is added, soon produced its effect.

The death of Demosthenes and Hyperides, says Rollin, caused the Athenians to regret the reigns of

Alexander's
Successors.

From
A. M.
3681.
—
B. C.
323.
to
A. M.
3806.
—
B. C.
196.

Final suc-
cess of An-
tipater.Athenian
embassy.Severe
terms im-
posed upon
Athens.Flight and
death of
Hyperides,
and of De-
mosthenes.

Biography.

From
A. M.
3681.

B. C.
323.

to
A. M.
3806.

—
B. C.
198.

Philip and Alexander, and recalled to their remembrance the magnanimity, generosity, and clemency which these two princes retained, even amidst the emotions of their displeasure; and how much they had always been inclined to pardon offences, and to treat their enemies with humanity. Whereas Antipater, under the mask of a private man, in a shabby cloak, with all the appearance of a plain and frugal life, and without affecting any title of authority, discovered himself to be a rigid and imperious master. It is, however, admitted, even by the same author, that Antipater exercised his government with great justice over the Athenians; that he bestowed the principal posts and employments on such persons as he imagined were the most virtuous and honest; and that he contented himself with removing from all authority such as he thought were most likely to excite troubles. He was sensible that this people could neither support a state of absolute servitude nor of entire liberty; for which reason he thought it necessary to take from the one whatever was too rigid, and from the other all that was excessive and licentious.

The *Ætolians* obtain a favorable peace.

After the submission of Athens, the Macedonian arms under Antipater and Craterus were immediately directed against the refractory *Ætolians*. Aided in their defence by a strong mountainous country, this gallant people set at defiance the skill of the generals, and the enterprise of the soldiers; but, as it was whilst Antipater and his colleague were engaged in this arduous service, that Antigonus arrived from Asia to solicit their protection against the dangerous machinations of Perdiccas, the *Ætolians* were favored with peace on much easier terms than they could otherwise have expected. The reader is already acquainted with the events which followed the coalition of the three governors against the regent, and of the fatal issue of the Egyptian expedition in which that policy involved him. We therefore prepare to resume the thread of the narrative where it was interrupted by the fall of Perdiccas, and to detail the leading occurrences to which that catastrophe gave birth.

On the day succeeding the murder of Perdiccas, the governor of Egypt crossed the river to the enemy's camp, with a large supply of provisions, addressed the soldiers as his fellow countrymen, and saluted the commanders as his ancient friends. In the character of Ptolemy, magnanimity and prudence had an equal sway; and as his conduct was remarkably consistent as well as moderate, he never failed to secure the affections of all with whom he acted, even when his views were different, and his interests incompatible. On the present occasion his humane attentions were so much extolled by the royal army, that he would have been appointed regent by acclamation, had he not made known his determination to decline so mighty an office, and recommended Arrideus, a general present in the camp, as the fittest person to succeed Perdiccas.

Regency of
Arrideus.

B. C.
322.

o.c.
114.3.

This Arrideus, whose name was seldom mentioned during the more active part of Alexander's reign, had yet the honour to be nominated to conduct his funeral, and to convey his body to the temple of the African Jupiter. Two years were spent in preparations for this splendid procession; and as it had been predicted that the city which should receive the royal remains, would rise to an unwonted eminence in point of wealth and power, almost all the considerable towns

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in the empire strove for the honour of the precious deposit. Perdiccas, a native of Pella, and who perhaps cherished the hope of soon exercising kingly authority in that capital, insisted that the bones of Alexander ought to be laid among those of his royal ancestors, in their ancient seat of government. His arguments, however, did not prevail. Arrideus proceeded to conduct the pageant through Syria, on his way to the destined mausoleum in the Lybian desert. He was met by Ptolemy, who entreated him, in the first instance, to grant repose to his followers at Memphis, before they entered the sands of the wilderness; and who afterwards prevailed upon him to erect the royal tomb at Alexandria, the favourite city of the great conqueror whose name it bears.

Alexander's
Successors.

From
A. M.
3681.

B. C.
323.

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3806.

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198.

It was this service, perhaps, which recommended Arrideus so powerfully to the patronage of the Egyptian governor. At all events, the elevation to the protectorate of the officer just named, in conjunction with Python, who had paved the way for the ruin of Perdiccas, was the work of Ptolemy, who, in this arrangement, consulted his own greatness and the welfare of his province, much more effectually than if he had allowed himself to be invested with the precarious rank and invidious authority which he thus conferred upon others.

Indignation
of the Egyptian
army against Eu-
menes.

It was whilst these proceedings occupied the attention of the royal army on the Nile, that the victory of Eumenes, and death of Craterus, were confirmed by the most certain intelligence. The effect of this news on the soldiers was violent in the extreme. Bemoaning the loss of a favourite general, who had fallen whilst fighting against the ambitious schemes of Perdiccas, whom they were now disposed to pronounce a tyrant and foe to Macedonia, they forthwith resolved to inflict the severest vengeance on all his family, his friends, and relatives. They declared Eumenes a public enemy; proscribed, by name, more than fifty of the principal adherents of the late protector, at the head of whom was his brother Alcetas; and having in this manner given vent to their fury, they immediately advanced from Egypt towards Syria, in order to realize the punishments which they had denounced.

Influence of
Eurydice.

Resignation
of the re-
gent.

When arrived at Triparadus, in the latter province, the new protectors found their power so completely annihilated by the aspiring genius and active spirit of Eurydice, the wife of king Arrhidmus, that they deemed it expedient to resign their office; and when Antipater, who was speedily informed of what had taken place, had arrived at the camp, in which the bold and warlike Perdiccas was wont to issue his orders, he saw the veterans of Macedonia actually commanded by a woman! Nor did the appearance of their aged general produce at once the effect which was expected. The soldiers, instigated by the queen, who seems to have promised them a full payment of all their arrears, as well as immediate preferment to the most deserving of their body, would have put him to instant death, had not his person been protected by Seleucus and Antigonus, whose intrepidity and presence of mind contributed mainly to quell the sedition. Smitten with regret at this undutiful conduct towards an old and faithful commander, the leaders of the army almost instantaneously followed the bent of their passions into the opposite extreme. They raised Antipater to the supreme authority, as protector of the empire, and afforded him the means of subduing the restless mind

5 K

Biography of Eurydicé, whose devices had so nearly proved fatal to the discipline of the troops and the life of their general.

From
A. M.
3681.
—
B. C.
323.
to
A. M.
3806.
—
B. C.
198.

New distribution of the provinces.

The great age of the protector, and his constant residence in Europe, disqualified him in no small degree for the government of a kingdom, of which the subjects and the interests were now chiefly Asiatic. A stranger to the manners and policy of the east, he resolved to fix the principal seat of power at Macedon, and to issue from thence such orders as might seem necessary for the purposes of administration, throughout the immense provinces washed by the Euphrates and Tigris.

With these views he arranged, before the army quitted Triparados, a new distribution and settlement of the empire. The posthumous son of Alexander by Roxana was now formally associated in the government with the feeble-minded Arrhidæus, and both were declared the legitimate heirs of the crown, as the nearest male relatives of the late sovereign. As to the command of provinces, no material alterations were made, but such as had been rendered necessary by actual change of circumstances. Eumenes having been declared an outlaw and an enemy, the satrapy of Cappadocia was conferred upon Nicanor. Lydia was intrusted to Clytus; and Cilicia was given to Philoxenus: but as these extensive districts were all in the hands of Eumenes, they were to be re-conquered before they could be possessed. To Seleucus, who had performed an important service in quashing the late sedition in the army, was granted the splendid government of Babylonian, an object of the most eager desire, it is said, to that young and ambitious chief, who, of all Alexander's officers, best understood the views and appreciated the magnificent designs of his master. Media had formerly been granted to Pythion, but he had not yet entered upon the discharge of its duties. A native adventurer, in the meantime, seized the upper division of the province, inhabited by a race of hardy mountaineers, who flocked to his standard, and whose warlike propensities rendered them formidable even in the plains. The services of Arrhidæus were rewarded with the satrapy of the Hellespontian Phrygia, vacant since the death of Leonatus, who fell in the Lamiæ war.

Measures against Eumenes.

The great object with the protector, in the circumstances wherein recent events had placed him, was evidently to subvert the refractory force of Eumenes, who being declared a public enemy, and affording at the same time an asylum to the adherents of Perdicas, could be viewed in no other light than that of a powerful rebel. A large division of the army was accordingly committed to Antigonus, who was charged with the arduous task of reducing to submission the disaffected districts of Asia Minor. Meanwhile the commander in chief returned into Macedon, leaving his son Cassander at the head of the cavalry, to co-operate with the troops which were to act against Eumenes.

Intrigues of Antigonus.

In the war which ensued for the conquest of Cappadocia, both parties had reason to complain of treachery, and to guard against the stratagems of even their most confidential officers. Antipater had scarcely crossed the Hellespont on his way homeward, when he was admonished by Cassander of the disloyal ambition which already appeared to actuate the selfish mind of Antigonus, and of the necessity which existed either to watch his motions very closely, or to reduce

his power within narrower limits. Unwilling to entertain suspicions on the suggestions of a mere youth, Antipater used no other precaution than to withdraw a part of the army which served under Antigonus, and to replace it by a body of troops on whose dispositions he could depend.

On the side of Eumenes a treason still more dangerous infected the minds of several chiefs, and eventually exposed that able and faithful commander to a severe discomfiture, in a battle which was soon afterwards fought between him and Antigonus. This latter general having taken the field with a large force, speedily brought the other to an engagement, in which he had previously ensured success. Antigonus had seduced the commander of his opponent's cavalry, as well as several inferior officers of the foot, who deserted during the conflict. Eumenes, finding it impossible either to provide for his troops, or to meet his rival on equal terms, came to the resolution of disbanding the greater part of them, and of shutting himself up with the remainder in Nora, one of the strongest fortresses in Cappadocia. The place was immediately blockaded by Antigonus: but this crafty satrap, more intent on establishing his own power than on serving his country, endeavoured rather to gain the vanquished leader to participate in his ambitious views, than to induce him to lay down the arms of rebellion. He proposed a conference with Eumenes; in which, after explaining his intentions, and setting forth the terms on which he was willing to purchase the co-operation of so able a commander, he left no room for doubt that his main object was to seize upon the empire, and set Antipater at defiance. The reply of Eumenes was brief, but decisive. He declared that as long as he carried a sword, he never would acknowledge a superior, except in the royal house of Alexander. The interview being ended, the faithful secretary returned to his fort, upon which the blockade was resumed with greater activity than before, without however producing any remarkable recurrence.

Plutarch who, with Diodorus Siculus, is our principal authority in this part of the narrative, adds a variety of circumstances in regard to the conference with Eumenes, which give it very much the air of a romantic fiction. He tells us, what is indeed very probable, that the Macedonians were extremely desirous to see the person of this ancient counsellor of Alexander; for that, after the death of Craterus, no one was so much talked of in the army as he: but, he adds, Antigonus, fearing lest they should offer him some violence, called to them to keep at a distance; and, as they still kept crowding in, he ordered them to be driven off with stones. At last, says the biographer, he took Eumenes in his arms, and holding the multitude in check with his guards, with some difficulty got him safe again into the castle.

The siege of Nora was not brought to a close when news arrived that Antipater had paid the debt of nature at Macedon. Antigonus, who had been kept somewhat in awe by the high character of the regent, was roused to indignation when he learned that the last act of that statesman's life was to upbraid point Polysperchon to the government of the empire, and to commit to his charge the custody of the two kings, who appear to have resided at Pella ever since the death of Perdicas. That Antigonus expected those important charges to devolve upon him-

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A. M.
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323.
to
A. M.
3806.
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B. C.
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Blockade of Nora.

Fidelity of Eumenes.

B. C.
319

113. 2.

Regency of Polysperchon.

Biography.

From
A. M.
3681.
—
B. C.
323.
to
A. M.
3591.
—
B. C.
19b.

Rise of
Cassander.

self is evident from all his counsels and actions, from the time that he was nominated lieutenant of Asia Minor; not to mention his proposals to Eumenes, nor his arbitrary conduct in the reduction of Pisidia, and certain strongholds in other parts of the peninsula, which he secured, obviously with the view of ulterior operations on a larger scale. Nor was he inclined to relinquish a prize on which he had set his heart, and which fortune seemed now to place within his reach. On the contrary, he had immediate recourse to the means which he had formerly employed to effect his objects, when moving in a humbler sphere; and he attempted once more, by decisive movements in acting, and by deep dissimulation in consulting, to overpower his enemies and overreach his friends.

In carrying on his designs, he was supplied with an instrument whose assistance he had the least reason to expect. Cassander, the son of Antipater, who had, as we have stated above, very early penetrated the intentions of Antigonus, and who had moreover, in disgust, actually retired from his situation, as general of the horse in the Asiatic army, was now prepared to court his alliance by opposing the government of Polysperchon. The views of this young soldier were not less ambitious than those of his superiors, which he was so forward to condemn; but, instead of arms, he had intended to accomplish his purpose by the insinuations of gallantry, and the power of female intrigue. He had gained the affections of the high-minded Eurydice, for whom he now undertook to secure the appointment of regent in the behalf of her husband; not doubting but that he himself, by means of the hold which he had upon her heart, should subsequently obtain possession both of the lady and her delegated authority. The discovery of this plot by Antipater, is said to have incensed him so greatly against his son, that he bequeathed to him no share in the government; the old general having contracted a strong antipathy to the interference of females in matters of state, for which he regarded them totally disqualified both in respect of talent and of temper. To recover the ground which he had lost, and to pave the way for future success, Cassander did not think it unworthy of his character to apply to Antigonus for assistance. In pursuance of the same views, he had also, before the news of his father's death could reach Greece, given secret orders to Nicanor, a zealous and enterprising officer, to take the command of the Macedonians who garrisoned the fortified harbour of Athens; thereby securing for himself an important stronghold, either to check the Athenians, or to invite their co-operation.

Progress of
Antigonus.

Whilst Cassander was thus indirectly weakening the authority of Polysperchon, Antigonus had resorted to more open and effectual means to accomplish the same end. He passed through the greater part of Asia Minor, taking possession of the most important fortresses, placing in their governors devoted to his interests, and raising large sums of money, under the name of contributions. The smaller satraps, who could not fail to perceive his intentions, expressed their alarm, without being able to oppose any effectual resistance. Asander to Caria, and Arrideus in the Lesser Phrygia, were gradually confined within narrow limits, and almost totally divested of power; whilst Clytus, who held the important province of Lydia, was compelled to leave his government, and seek refuge with a few ships in the presence of Polys-

perchon. Ephesus was next seized by Antigonos; Alexander's in this city he almost immediately committed an act of Successors.
Four ships having entered the harbour with six hundred talents, destined for the service of the empire, or as some historians write, for the personal use of the kings and their establishment, the money was detained by order of the lieutenant-general, under the pretence of paying the army under his command. At this juncture of affairs, he made another attempt on the fidelity of Eumenes, who was still shut up in the castle of Noma. His success, however, was not greater than on the former occasion; for no consideration could induce the Cardian to entertain the friendship of Antigonus, or to listen to the terms which he so eagerly pressed upon his acceptance, without first obtaining from him a positive assurance that their joint services should be devoted to the support of the royal line. In one respect, indeed, this negotiation was attended with an important result. The vigilance of the besiegers being somewhat relaxed, Eumenes seized a favourable opportunity, and escaped; carrying with him his faithful adherents on swift-footed horses, which appear to have been kept and exercised within the fortress for this very purpose.

The projects of Cassander kept pace with the more serious designs of Antigonus; whilst the sails kept in view by these intriguing generals agreed in nothing but the extinction of royal authority, and the humiliation of Polysperchon. The latter granted to his youthful ally thirty-five galleys, and four thousand veterans; trusting to his impetuous character that they would not be long unemployed, and having sufficient confidence in his military skill to rest satisfied that they would materially distract the councils of the regent, and confine his principal cares to the European portion of the empire.

To thwart the designs of Antigonus, which were no longer veiled even with the appearance of patriotism or moderation, Polysperchon found himself compelled to have recourse to measures, of which some were injudicious, and others positively brutal. The only wise step which he took during this emergency, was an alliance with Eumenes, whom, in the name of the kings, he appointed sole general of the army serving in Asia, and invested at the same time with the uncontrolled disposal of all the resources of the eastern empire. The provincial governors were ordered to place themselves under his command, at the head of the largest force they could raise; whilst the protector himself began preparations in Macedonia, for conducting across the Hellespont the veteran soldiers of the royal army, with the view of quashing completely the rebellious spirit which Antigonus and his partisans had so industriously raised.

Desirous, too, by all possible means, to increase the popularity of his cause at home, and to check the influence of Eurydice, who had still a powerful party in the army, Polysperchon advised the recall of Olympias, the mother of Alexander, into Macedonia, where it was intended she should once more enjoy a share of that authority in the government, of which, during the regency of Antipater, it had been necessary to deprive her. He had soon reason to repeat of this resolution; for Olympias, still untamed by events, and thirsting for revenge, returned to the Macedonian capital, only to gratify her worst passions, and to disturb the tranquillity of private life.

From
A. M.
3681.

B. C.
323
to
A. M.
3606,
—
B. C.
198.

Escape of
Eumenes
from Noma.

Union of
Antigonus
with Cas-
sander.

B. C.
318.
—
O.L.
115. 3.

Of Polys-
perchon and
Eumenes.

Return of
Olympias.

Biography. But of all the measures into which Polysperchon was driven by the pressure of affairs, none was more questionable than that which we are now about to mention. Eager to retain the Greeks in his interest, and to defeat the plans of Cassander, who had already anticipated him in regard to Athens, the regent published an edict for re-establishing democracy in all the states which owned the protection of Macedon; reserving to himself in the very deed by which he granted this imaginary privilege, the power of enforcing its stipulations, and of commanding obedience to the authority whence it proceeded. The policy of this step was, as we have already said, not less wicked than its effects were pernicious; but as the object of it, according to the avowed intention of Polysperchon, was to prevent the Greeks from co-operating with Antigonus in his meditated attack on the royal house, it must be admitted that to a certain extent he effected his purpose. The boom of democracy created such a degree of contention and popular licentiousness in most of the states, that the arms of the citizens were for a time employed against one another. Almost every individual, distinguished by rank or merit, was stripped of his property, banished, or put to death; the very lowest of the people having been instigated by the emissaries of the protector, to take vengeance on the rich, whom they chose to describe as the inveterate enemies of their liberty and laws.

State of Athens.

The condition of Athens, controlled by the garrison in Munychia, under Nicanor, prevented the people of that city from partaking of the benefit held out to them by Polysperchon. Impatient of the restraint so long imposed upon them by Macedonian soldiers, they sent repeated embassies to the regent, entreating that he would send an army for their relief, to expel the creatures of Cassander from their forts, and to secure to them the free exercise of that species of administration with which he had been pleased to bless the Grecian commonwealths. Polysperchon, whose views in this instance coincided with the wishes of the Athenians, sent a body of troops under the direction of his son Alexander; whilst himself, at the head of the royal guards, descended more slowly towards Attica, hoping to enjoy the fruits of victory in the establishment of a faction wholly devoted to his measures, as well, perhaps, as in the permanent occupation of the Munychia and the Piræus.

No sooner, however, had the young Macedonian reached Athens, than his councils were moderated by the sensible advice of Phocion, who succeeded in convincing him that, in no respect whatever, would the restoration of democracy prove advantageous to that state; but that it would, on the contrary, weaken at once the power of the laws, the security of property and life, and even the just influence of the regent himself. But the public feeling was already too much excited to admit of restraint, or to allow Alexander to deviate in any material degree from the course pointed out to him by his father. The democratical party, emboldened by the presence of the army, summoned the whole city, strangers, slaves, convicts, and outlaws, to attend a national assembly, and there to give their votes respecting the form of government which it behoved them to adopt. The result could not be for a moment doubtful. Aristocracy was abolished, and a law immediately passed, condemning to exile or death any person who had held any share in the former admini-

stration; penalties which attached, in particular, to Conon, Phocion, Callimedon, and Pericles. Flight saved the greater number of the proscribed; but Phocion and a few others, hoping, by means of Macedonian interference, to save their country from absolute ruin, had recourse to Alexander, who, it should seem, throughout, was averse to democratical ascendancy. The events which immediately ensued are covered with some degree of obscurity. Phocion, and a Corinthian orator, named Dinarchus, proceeded to meet Polysperchon; but whether with the view of representing the grievances of the better order of citizens, or merely to solicit personal protection for themselves, is a point which neither Diodorus nor Plutarch has stated with sufficient clearness. The latter author gives the details of a trial which was got up by the regent, to gratify certain messengers from the popular party at Athens, who arraigned Phocion, and demanded justice on him and his partisans. The circumstances attending this solemn mockery were revolting in the extreme, and only equalled by the ferocious conduct of the Atheian mob when Phocion was sent back to them, as a victim to gratify their revenge. After enduring every sort of contumely which unprincipled orators and an enraged multitude could inflict upon him, this excellent man was condemned to drink the hemlock, after he had passed the eightieth year of his age, and had been forty-five times elected general of the Athenian state.

Four days subsequent to this disgraceful occurrence, Cassander returned to Athens with the naval force granted to him by Antigonus; and having fortified the Piræus as well as the Munychia, kept the democratical citizens in awe, notwithstanding the presence of twenty-five thousand men, with the Asiatic accompaniment of sixty-five elephants. Polysperchon finding his large force useless in the blockade of a harbour, which could only be commanded from the sea, left his son before the town with a part of the army, and proceeded in person to reduce the Arcadian city Megalopolis, which refused to obey the royal edict for the establishment of democracy. The most vigorous efforts of his troops, aided by the physical strength of the elephants, were found utterly unavailing against the ingenuity and courage which were opposed to them by the townsmen. It was fortunate, therefore, for the military character of the protector, that an apology for his sudden retreat into Macedon was afforded by the violent conduct of Olympias, who had already embroiled that part of the kingdom so seriously as to endanger the life and power of the elder king.

Before he left Attica, however, he sent Clytus, at the head of a powerful fleet, to assist Arrideus, the governor of the Lesser Phrygia, who still held his province under the royal warrant, and was consequently hard pressed by his ambitious neighbour Antigonus, who was extremely desirous to possess that important key to the passage of the Hellespont. Cassander was not inattentive to this movement on the part of the enemy. Detaching what portion of the fleet he could spare from the Athenian harbours, he sent his brother Nicanor in quest of Clytus, with orders to prevent any material diversion in favour of Arrideus. The Thracian Bosphorus soon became the scene of a naval battle, memorable alike for variety of success, and for its important consequences to the Macedonian empire.

Effects of the decree of Polysperchon establishing democracy.

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—
A. C. 323.
to A. M. 3806.
—
A. C. 198.

Union execution of Phocion.

Movements of Polysperchon

And Cassander.
A. C. 318.
—
ot.
115. 3.

Sea fight in the Bosphorus.

Biography. In the first act of this bloody drama, Nicanor was defeated, about one half of his ships were taken, and the remainder were happy to find refuge in the neighbouring harbour of Chalcodon, directly opposite to Byzantium. But Antigonus, who at the head of an army watched the proceedings of both fleets, converted, to use the words of a modern historian, this heavy disaster into the means of signal and brilliant success. Having despatched proper agents to Byzantium, he collected in the first part of the night, the small craft and merchantmen lying in that port. In these vessels, having hastily embarked the choicest of his light-armed troops, he assaulted before dawn the unsuspecting victors, who had presumptuously landed on the Thracian coast, enumbered and fatigued with the care of their booty and their prisoners. Clytus, unprepared to fight, ordered his men to fly to their ships. Part of them put to sea, but encountered there a new danger; for Nicanor, whom Antigonus had reinforced with a select band of mariners, was ready for their reception. Their whole fleet was taken, except the admiral's galley; and he himself, having landed on an obscure part of the Thracian coast, and attempting to escape secretly into Macedonia, was put to death by some deserters, who sought to avenge their cause on the person of this unfortunate chief.

The victory of Byzantium decided the fate of the Athenians, who immediately surrendered to Cassander, on the simple conditions of retaining possession of their soil, their ships, revenue, and laws. The government of the city, and management of the finances, were confided to the wisdom of Demetrius Phalereus, who with much honour to himself, and great advantage to the commonwealth, continued in office during the long period of ten years.

Whilst the rival generals in Attica and Asia Minor were committing their claims to the arbitration of war, the two queens, Olympias and Eurydice, were likewise on the point of making an appeal to arms. We have already remarked that the latter princess, attached to Cassander by the bonds of an unlawful affection, laboured to second his views, as an aspirant to the supreme authority; whilst Olympias, acting as the tool of Polysperchon, as well as in pursuance of her own ambitious projects, exerted the utmost force of intrigue, in support of her grandson, and his mother Roxana. Having acquired a momentary ascendancy over the affections of the Macedonian soldiers, she compelled Eurydice and her husband to seek safety in flight; and afterwards, upon getting possession of their persons, she ordered them both to be despatched by assassins. The imbecile Arrhidæus, who from respect to his father was usually called Philip, had occupied the throne of Macedonia six years and four months; a mere pageant of royalty when a public appearance was deemed necessary, and a mere name used by his tutors, when furthering their own views, or transacting the business of the empire.

But the rage of the inexorable Olympias was not supported by an adequate force. The presence of Cassander in Macedonia, who flew thither to avenge the death of Eurydice, struck such a panic into the breast of the aged queen, that she immediately shut herself up in Pydna, carrying with her the young Alexander Ægus, the interesting Roxana, and a large attendance of females of the first rank and quality. The strength of the fortress resisted long the impa-

tience of Cassander. Famine, at length, aiding his endeavours, reduced the garrison to the greatest extremity, and compelled even the stern Olympias to sue for terms. A trial followed her release from the miseries of a siege; but the forms of justice in such a case are the mere instruments of power, and thus, although not regularly condemned, she was soon after put to death.

The fall of Pydna rewarded the labours of Cassander, not only with the gratification which he received in the condemnation of Olympias, but also with the possession of the illustrious persons who had shared the fortunes of that celebrated queen. Alexander Ægus, now the sole heir of the crown, Roxana his mother, Deidamia, daughter of the king of Epirus, and Thesalonica, the youngest daughter of Philip of Macedonia, and half-sister of the conqueror of Asia, fell into his hands as prisoners of war. The prince and his parent were sent to the castle of Amphipolis; whilst Thesalonica, still more nearly connected with the royal house than the ill-fated Eurydice, was selected by Cassander to be the instrument of his ambition, and the sharer of his bed. The nuptials were celebrated in a style of the greatest magnificence; and the active governor chose to mark his accession to power by building Cassandria, on the isthmus of Pallene, and by restoring to its ancient splendour the renowned city of Thesbe.

Whilst these things were going on in Europe, the same deep game of ambition was played in other parts of the empire by the several satraps into whose hands the largest share of power had fallen. Ptolemy who had at an early period added Cyrene to his dominions, afterwards carried his arms into Syria, reduced the more important strongholds in the maritime provinces, took the city of Jerusalem, and sent into Egypt, as captives and slaves, more than a hundred thousand of the Jews.

After the death of Antipater, when the authority of the central government was greatly relaxed, the satraps in all the remoter provinces ceased to turn their eyes towards Macedonia, either for authority or for approval. Egypt had, in fact, become an independent sovereignty; Babylonia and the fine country of the Medes no longer acknowledged any other ruler than Seleucus and Ptolemy; and Antigonus had, for some time, openly avowed the intention of rendering himself master of the whole of Lesser Asia. Eumenes, at the head of the royal army, was the only obstacle to occasion either delay or uncertainty in the accomplishment of this object; and as the able general now named was merely the lieutenant of Polysperchon, an unpopular and unsuccessful viceroy, Antigonus found no difficulty in confederating against him the commanders of all the principal provinces, whether in Asia or in Europe. It was therefore reserved for Eumenes, upon finding himself at liberty after his escape from Nora, to direct his single genius against the combined talents of Antigonus, Ptolemy, Seleucus, and even Ptolemy; the latter two of whom, however little disposed they might be to second the ambitious designs of the satrap of Phrygia, could not permit themselves to obey the commands of the royal general; because the king being a mere puppet in the hands of Polysperchon, the orders issued in his name, were, in fact, the orders of the protector, or of his substitute at the head of the army. We are accordingly informed by

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Marriage of Cassander with Thesalonica.

A. C. 321.
—
O. 114. 4

State of the provinces.

Flight and death of Olympias.

Biography. Diodorus, that when Eumenes, who had already recovered a great part of Syria from the grasp of Ptolemy, sent a message to Seleucus and Pithon, desiring them, in the name of the kings, to join him forthwith against Antigonus, bringing with them the largest force they could raise, these governors replied that they were ready to assist the kings in their lawful wars, but that they would have no transactions with himself, as being a person who had once been proclaimed a public enemy, and whose authority, even though he showed them the royal commission, in virtue of which he acted, they were determined not to acknowledge. Resolved to be independent of the protector, they found an difficulty in refusing obedience to his command when conveyed by his lieutenant, though that refusal evidently implied the cancellation of their allegiance, and even an overt act of rebellion.

Policy of Eumenes. In stating the disadvantageous circumstances in which Eumenes was placed, we must not neglect to mention the reluctance which some of the high-minded nobles, who had fought under Alexander, manifested to obey the orders of a foreigner and a man of obscure birth. The battalion of *Argyraspides*, or silver-shields, joined his standard indeed in compliance with the royal mandate; but they could not conceal their scorn when they spoke of the Cardian general, who had carried an inborn in the camps, where they had carried the brightest arms, and gained the most splendid triumphs. Eumenes was aware of their prejudice, and adopted the following expedient in order to remove it. Plutarch, who is our principal authority on this point, informs us that the general assured his officers, that he had been favoured with a communication from Alexander, in a vision of the night, and that the deceased king, shewing him a pavilion with royal furniture, and a throne in the middle of it, declared aloud: "That if they would hold their councils, and despatch business there, he would be with them, and prosper every measure and every action which commenced under his auspices." This apparition was readily believed by the superstitious Macedonians; and accordingly the two chiefs of the *Argyraspides*, Antigonus and Teutamus, who had refused to wait upon Eumenes, or to receive his orders, expressed no farther reluctance to appear before him in the pavilion of Alexander, and to participate in his councils. This symbol of royal power and divine influence, was religiously conveyed from place to place wherever the army moved; and whenever unforeseen difficulties occurred, or new measures were to be adopted, the "throne of Alexander" was set up, a species of adoration was performed, and the warrior counsellors proceeded to their deliberations, in the faith that they were to be directed by the spirit of their invincible monarch.

Antigonus had no sooner gained the ascendancy in the west, by the destruction of the royal fleet under Clytus, than he determined to march in pursuit of Eumenes, who, in the mean time, had been successfully employing his arms in Phœnicia and Palestine. Not being in a condition to oppose the disciplined and numerous forces of his antagonist, the last named commander retreated towards the Euphrates; sending messengers before him to the several satraps, exhorting them to join his standard with their contingents, and prepare to defend the provinces committed to their care.

Seleucus, who continued in command at Babylon, gave no encouragement to Eumenes, and even attempted to obstruct his progress eastward. He inundated the camp of the royal general, by opening certain sluices in the Tigris, which poured its waters over the adjacent country, then occupied by the Macedonians, and thus greatly endangered the whole army. Eumenes, however, found means to cross into Susiana, where he was strengthened with considerable supplies of arms and money; resolving to consolidate his forces in that province, and to await the approach of Antigonus, who was already in Mesopotamia.

Pithon, the governor of Media, was as little disposed as Seleucus, to co-operate with the royal lieutenant, in punishing the rebellion of Antigonus. On the contrary, he himself had just attempted not only to render his province independent of the regency, but even to add to it the smaller satrapies with which it was surrounded. In an attack upon Parthia, he had shewn so much cruelty, as well as ambition, that the neighbouring governors flew to arms, drove him from Media, and compelled him to seek for refuge, across the Tigris, in the court of Seleucus. This condition of things, so little expected by Eumenes, and apparently so unfavourable to his hopes of assistance, was nevertheless the means of bringing to his camp a considerable body of active soldiers. The confederated satraps, who had driven away Pithon, were eager to secure the alliance of the royal general; being perfectly aware that the governor of Media, aided by the troops of Seleucus, would soon make another attempt to recover his dominions, and to inflict a signal vengeance on those by whom he had been expelled. Actuated by these motives, Peucestes, the satrap of Persis, joined the standard of Eumenes, with thirteen thousand foot, and one thousand horse; Tlepolemus of Carmania, Siburtius of Arachosia, and Stasander of Aris, brought about four thousand foot, and two thousand three hundred cavalry; Androbazus, the deputy of Oxyartes, led from the heights of Paropamisus, twelve hundred infantry and four hundred horsemen; whilst Eudamias, who commanded in the district which is watered by the Five Rivers, advanced from the east with three thousand five hundred horse, and a formidable array of a hundred and twenty elephants. To these reinforcements, more valuable for quality than number, Peucestes is said to have afterwards added ten thousand Persian archers, summoned by him from the rugged mountains which extend from the bay of Ormus.

Antigonus, informed of these occurrences, resolved in like manner to halt, and endeavour, by new levies, to render his force equal to that of his adversary. He was soon joined in the neighbourhood of Babylon, by Pithon, who commanded fifteen hundred horsemen, and by a detachment from the army of Seleucus, who, anxious to remove the war from his own country, recommended strongly to Antigonus to cross the Tigris, and beat up the quarters of Eumenes, in the fertile province of Susiana. Eastward of the river now named, there is another large stream, called Coprates, over which Antigonus had, in like manner, to convey his army; and here he sustained so severe a loss, inflicted upon him by an act of superior generalship on the part of his rival, that he deemed it expedient to decline a more decisive engagement until he had again recruited and refreshed his army.

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Forces under Eumenes.

B. C. 316. — O. L. 116. t.

And Antigonus.

Biography.

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323.A. M.
3806.—
B. C.
198.

For this purpose, he resolved, for the present, to leave Eumenes in undisturbed possession of Susiana, and to proceed northward into Media; where Python had still a considerable degree of influence, and where his partisans could supply the means of subsisting his troops, and conveying their stores. To effect this object, however, he had either a long or a very dangerous march to perform; and, preferring the latter, he had to sustain a destructive warfare with the Cassæans, amid their mountain fastnesses; who during nine days assailed his line so successfully, that they killed a great number of his men, and completely exhausted with fatigue and suffering those who escaped with life. This foolish enterprise was undertaken, it is said, in imitation of Alexander, who determined to chastise rather than court the proud and savage mountaineers, who asked him to purchase a free passage through their narrow vallies—a practice first introduced by the Persian kings, when leading their armies into the northern provinces of the empire.

Discussions
in the army
of Eumenes.

Could Eumenes have trusted to the dispositions of his army, he might have followed up with material success, the advantages which he had gained on the banks of the Coprates. But no sooner was Antigonus out of their sight, than the Aργυραῖοι involved the camp in discussion; insisting that their commander should retrace his steps to Asia Minor, and seize the rich prize which the other had relinquished; whilst Peucestes and his neighbouring satraps, who had joined the army after it had crossed the Tigris, maintained the policy of defending the more important provinces of the east, and particularly the imperial district of Persia, upon which, they predicted, Antigonus would be ready to pour down with restless fury, after having repaired his strength in Media. Eumenes, yielding to the counsel of the latter, directed his march towards Persepolis; in the vicinity of which, Peucestes entertained the army with a splendid festival, the object of which, however, was not so much to reward their exertions against the invader of Asia, as to seduce their affections from their great and faithful commander. Eumenes foresaw the plot, and defeated it. Having forged letters, as if written by Orontes, who was the governor of Armenia, and a warm friend to the satrap of Persia, he caused them to be read aloud, stating, "That the kings and Polysperchon had fully re-established their authority in Europe; that Cassander their most formidable enemy was dead; and that a Macedonian army had crossed the Hellespont to co-operate with the exertions of a general, in whose courage and conduct the lawful successors of Alexander continued to repose the utmost confidence." This stratagem produced the desired effect: Eumenes was confirmed in authority, and one of the seditious satraps was obliged to consult his safety by a sudden flight.

Battle be-
tween Eu-
menes and
Antigonus.

Confidence was hardly restored, when news arrived at the camp that Antigonus had begun his march from Media, and was already on the frontiers of that province. Eumenes, although his health was somewhat impaired by fatigue or intemperance, made immediate preparations for meeting his enemy; and, in the space of twenty-four hours, brought his vanguard within sight of the hostile camp, at the foot of the Paracene mountains. A variety of manoeuvres preceded the battle, which, in the eyes of both armies, had now become inevitable; for each general, knowing the

talents and resources of his adversary, put in exercise all the devices which science and a matured experience could suggest, for securing victory, or diminishing the evils of defeat. The conflict was severe and the success various. The fortune of the day was first determined in favour of Eumenes; but an opportunity which presented itself, was instantly seized by Antigonus, who, with the skill and presence of mind characteristic of the officers formed in the school of Alexander, attacked an exposed part of the enemy's line, and completely checked their ardour in pursuing their momentary advantage. The fruit of this masterly movement was displayed in the facility with which Antigonus was enabled to withdraw his army from the Persian frontier, and re-occupy the commodious quarters afforded him by Python, in the rich plains of Gamorga, a town of Media.

After the interruption occasioned by the winter, Antigonus endeavoured to surprise the royal general, by performing in the greatest secrecy, a forced march of nine days, through a hilly country, barren, and difficult. Information, forwarded by a peasant, saved the army of Eumenes; who, in the course of a few hours, made such able arrangements as set his indefatigable rival at defiance. In this crisis, the merit of the commander only excited the envy of the satraps who served under him; and though in the presence of an enemy, and in the expectation of an eventual battle, Peucestes, who had been disappointed in a former plot, conspired with Tentamus, a turbulent chief, to take away the life of Eumenes, as soon as he should have conquered the opposing army. The conspiracy was revealed to him by some of the other generals who had been invited to accede to it; and who, says Plutarch, were restrained from taking a share in that diabolical measure, not by the affectionate duty which they owed to Eumenes, but merely through fear of losing, by his death, the money which they had lent to him at high interest. The effect on the mind of that great commander was deep and distressing. Lamenting that it was his hard lot to live among wild beasts, he retired in low spirits to his tent, where he wrote his testament, and burned such of his papers as might have endangered those who had given him secret intelligence, or corresponded with him on matters of state policy. Regardless of the consequences to himself, he determined still to resist Antigonus, the enemy of his master's house; and in pursuance of this resolution, he went forth with a cheerful countenance to inspect his troops, and make arrangements for his last conflict with that unprincipled satrap.

The details of the battle are known to every reader of ancient history; and can only be interesting to those who wish to compare the tactics of the Macedonians with the art of war as practised in modern times. The armies were considerable, both for their number and the quality of the troops; that under Eumenes amounting to thirty-six thousand seven hundred foot, six thousand horse, and a hundred and fourteen elephants; and the other consisting of twenty-two thousand foot, nine thousand cavalry, with a body of Median skirmishers, and sixty-five elephants.

The Aργυραῖοι and the phalanx gained an easy victory over the foot soldiers of Antigonus. Not one of the battalions could sustain the shock, and most of them were cut to pieces; but the cavalry were more successful, and by their bravery and perseverance con-

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Antigonus.

Biography.

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3681.
—
B. C.
323.
to
A. M.
3896.
—
B. C.
194.

Betrayal of
Eumenes.

tributed not a little to equalize the fortune of the combat. As the engagement took place in a sandy soil, the motion of the horses raised such a cloud as prevented either party from seeing beyond a few paces; a circumstance which suggested to Antigonos, the propriety of attacking the enemy's baggage, which was slenderly guarded by a body of raw troops, at a little distance from the scene of action. The device succeeded beyond all expectation; for the brave phalangites and silver-shields, as soon as they found that their property, their wives and children, and all that they held dear upon earth, were ravished from them at the moment when they imagined themselves in possession of a great victory, broke out into the most violent insubordination, and actually turned their arms against their own general. It was in vain for Eumenes to exhort them to return but once more to the charge, and they would recover every thing they had lost, and amply revenge their momentary grief on the vanquished enemy. The haughty Argyraspides would not listen. Treachery, too, it is obvious, was at work; for Peucestes had already left the field, with all the troops that he could induce to follow him: and now, to complete the disgrace of the whole army, it was proposed by the seditious and faithless satrap Teutamus, to conciliate the victorious Antigonos, by giving up into his hands the person of their gallant commander. The suggestion was acted upon; and Eumenes, after being seized like a felon, and bound with his own belt, was delivered up to his implacable enemy who had long thirsted for his blood. As he was carried through the Macedonian phalanx, on his way to the camp of Antigonos, the unfortunate general is said to have addressed the soldiers, entreating them to despatch him. "Kill me, soldiers," he exclaimed, "kill me yourselves, I conjure you in the name of all the gods; for though I perish by the hand of Antigonos, my death will be as much your act as if I had fallen by your swords."

Eumenes
put to death.

He was soon afterwards deprived of life in prison, at the age of forty-eight; after having served Philip and Alexander, in the honourable capacity of secretary about twenty years, and fought for their royal house after every other general of rank had begun to establish his own interests, on the ruins of allegiance and fidelity. Nor were his excellent qualities confined to military skill and unimpeachable honour. He was also an elegant scholar; evincing, by his writings, a pure taste, and the most exalted moral feeling, an ardent philanthropy, and a steady friendship. A collection of his letters is said to have been preserved till the second century of the Christian era; affording ample proof that the eulogies heaped on his character by ancient biographers and historians, were fully merited by the uniform tenour of his life, and by the liberal, manly tone of sentiment which adorned his principles and animated his writings. In his death, the royal house of Macedon lost one of the greatest ornaments of its court, in its best and proudest days, and one of its most faithful supporters, in the lowest ebb of its power. "De quo," says Nepos, "quanta fuerit omnia opinio eorum qui post Alexandrum Magnum, reges sunt appellati, ex hoc facile potest iudicari, quod nemo, Eumene vivo, rex appellatus est, sed prefectus. Eidem post huius occisum statim regnum creatum: nomenque sumptum; et sequae quod initio predicabant, se Alexandri liberis regnum servare, id prestatere voluerunt,

et, uno propugnatore sublato, quid sentirent apernerunt."

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Successors.

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—
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to
A. M.
3806.
—
B. C.
198.
Flight of
Polyper-
chont.
—
B. C.
316.
—
116. 1.

It was in the first year of the hundred and sixteenth Olympiad, that Antigonos rid himself, in the manner just described, of the formidable opposition so long directed against him by Eumenes. At this period, Polyperchon was still nominally protector of the empire, and tutor of the young king Alexander Agus; but after the triumph of Cassander over the partisans of Olympias, and the marriage of that general with Thessalonica, the power attached to his office was utterly annihilated, and he found himself compelled to retire into Peloponnesus, where he appears to have exercised, during several years, a very limited authority among the remaining adherents of the royal cause. In the east, again, there was no longer any one to represent the youthful monarch, or even to maintain his rights in the name of deputy to his protector. The privilege of governing was now determined by the sword; and Antigonos, being at the head of the largest army, assumed the protectorship of Asia, which he knew none of his rivals were in a condition at that moment to dispute with him.

Having gained an accession to his forces from the discomfited army of Eumenes, the new governor of the east returned into Media to concert measures for the stability of his power in the surrounding provinces. To avoid the same which had proved fatal to the renowned general whom he had lately put to death, he resolved, in the first place, to break up the celebrated battalion of the Argyraspides, who had shown too great a disposition to interfere in political arrangements; and, secondly, to despatch the turbulent Python, whose ambition and treachery had undermined not only the rigid government of Perdiccas, but also the mild and loyal sway of the unfortunate Eumenes. The former part of this intention he realized by sending the gallant silver-shields on severe service, where their strength would be wasted by fatigue and privation; and where, in fact, that famous band of veterans, to which Alexander owed so much of his success, was ultimately worn down, without ever revisiting their native country. As to Python, he was at length made the dupe of that atrocious deceit which he had so frequently practised against others. Antigonos had heard of his projects for recovering Media; but affecting to disbelieve such reports against a faithful partisan, he invited him to join his standard, giving him reason to expect a still higher reward for his services than the province from which he had been recently expelled. The ambitious satrap complied, joined the camp of Antigonos, was accused, tried, and put to death in the course of one day.

Fate of the
Argyras-
pides.Python put
to death.

The next measure pursued by the self-appointed protector was to reduce the power of Peucestes, who had repaired to his camp after the battle with Eumenes, at the head of his ten thousand Persian bowmen. Antigonos having accompanied him to Pasargada, the capital of his province, chose to take offence at the popularity with which the satrap was every where received, and immediately superseded him, by nominating to the government of Persis his own faithful tool Asclepiodorus. After this stretch of authority, to which the Orientals seem formed by nature to submit, Antigonos was pleased to confirm in their satrapies the governors placed in the more remote parts of the empire; sending friendly letters to

Biography.

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315.

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116. 2.

Alliance of
Seleucus
and
Ptolemy.

Negotiations of
Antigonus.

Demand
of the
confederates.

the rough old chieftain, Oxyartes, the father of Roxana, as well as to Stasander and Tlepolemus, the rulers of Bactria and Carmania, though their armies had served against him, under the standard of Eumenes. He was, moreover, induced to add Susiana to the province of Babylon, under the government of Seleucus, to whom also he forthwith proceeded to pay a friendly visit on the banks of the Euphrates. When at Susa, the commander of the citadel, following the orders of Seleucus, presented to the protector the keys of that fortress; from which, as being one of the chief treasuries of the empire, he carried away with him the very considerable sum of fifteen thousand talents.

At Babylon he was received by the governor with the greatest magnificence. Royal presents were made to him, and his whole army was splendidly entertained. But amidst all these demonstrations of friendship, there was hatred on the one side and fear on the other. Seleucus soon perceived that the fate of Python or of Peucestas awaited him, and that his safety could only be secured by flight. With about forty horsemen, accordingly, on whose speed and fidelity he could depend, he set out for Egypt, to throw himself on the protection of Ptolemy; and, after travelling with the utmost expedition not less than nine hundred miles, he arrived at Alexandria, already become the capital of the flourishing country to which it belonged. Ptolemy received the fugitive governor with open arms, and entered readily into all his views, whether of reprisals or of mutual defence; for policy now combined with personal regard in the breast of the Egyptian satrap, to dictate vigorous measures against the monstrous ambition and atrocious cruelties of Antigonus, who obviously grasped at universal empire. The proposal of Seleucus, therefore, to send an embassy to Cassander and Lysimachus was warmly seconded by his host, who likewise joined with him in arraigning the tyranny of the protector, as the common enemy of all who were invested with power.

Antigonus, meanwhile, having committed the provinces recently held by Seleucus, to Python, the son of Agenor, and having drawn from the fortress of Hircania, and other treasuries in the east, upwards of twenty thousand talents, found himself prepared either for war or negotiation. Knowing that his lieutenants in Asia Minor had lost ground during his absence beyond the Euphrates, he was desirous to gain, in the first instance at least, sufficient time for re-establishing his ascendancy in that important part of the empire, by subduing Asander, the governor of Caria, who had continually refused to acknowledge his government. With this view he sent ambassadors to Ptolemy, Cassander, and Lysimachus, desiring a continuance of their friendship, and explaining in the most plausible manner possible his proceedings at Babylon and Paflagia. The confederated satraps, anxious to avoid war, or desirous to procure for themselves the praise of moderation, met his proposals with a statement of terms, which he was requested to view as the price of their amity, and, perhaps, of their forbearance. Ptolemy insisted that his right to Syria should be acknowledged, and he also joined with Seleucus in the demand that the latter should be restored to his provinces on the Tigris. Cassander declared himself satisfied with Macedonia and Greece, provided he received a share of the money abstracted by Antigonus from the royal treasuries, a condition which was like-

wise urged by all the other contracting powers. Lysimachus, the ruler of Thrace, required that the Lesser Phrygia should be annexed to his dominions, that he might be enabled to command both sides of the Hellespont; whilst Asander, who had acceded to the confederacy on the approach of Antigonus, stipulated that he should be allowed to retain his conquests in Lycia and Cappadocia.

These conditions suited neither the temper nor the ulterior objects of the ambitious protector; and he is said, accordingly, to have dismissed the envoys with the following brief reply, addressed to their masters in common:—"That he was actually marching against Ptolemy, and after he had settled his differences with that satrap, he would proceed in due time to deal with his perfidious and insolent confederates."—"This transaction," says Dr. Gillies, "though conducted with little formality, was attended with momentous consequences, whether we regard the vastness of their extent, or the length of their duration. In Antigonus's answer to the embassy of the allied princes, the knot was tied of a memorable drama, involving the fortunes of mankind from the Adriatic to the Indus, and from the frozen banks of the Danube to the scorching sands of Lybia. The conflict, after being maintained a dozen years, with no less dexterity than energy, terminated in the establishment of four independent monarchies, Syria, Egypt, Thrace, and Macedonia, whose transactions with each other, and with foreign nations, until their successive reduction under the Parthian and Roman power, serve to impress some of the most useful lessons and salutary warnings that are to be found in the whole series of ancient or modern history."

Antigonus lost no time in attempting to realize his threatenings. He marched into Syria and Phoenicia, which, with the exception of Tyre, Gaza, and Joppa, the three principal strongholds on the coast, offered no material resistance. He next proceeded to restore his navy, which had been greatly reduced in the war with Asander, in order that he might be able to cope with the fleets of Greece, and particularly with that of Egypt, which, under the wise government of Ptolemy, had become the largest and best equipped of any in those seas.

The war was soon transferred to Lesser Asia, where the satrap of Caria continued a brave resistance to the arms of Antigonus, in which he was greatly assisted by the Egyptian fleet, under Polycleitus and Seleucus. But Asander was at length compelled to yield to the overwhelming force which was brought against him from all quarters, and directed by the consummate skill of the protector himself. The views of the conqueror were next turned to the state of Greece, the greater part of which was still subservient to Macedonia, and aided its power. By means of his emissaries, who carried large sums of money into that country, Antigonus not only formed a strong party in Peloponnesus, which was in some measure under the influence of Polysperchon and his son Alexander, but even stirred up several of the barbarous tribes of Ætolians, Epirots, and Triballians, to wage a direct war with the Macedonians, and thereby to further his intentions against Cassander, a principal ally of Ptolemy and Seleucus. He artfully enlisted on his side, too, the better feelings of the Macedonian people themselves, by representing Cassander as the assassin of their royal family, and by

Ly- Alexander's

Successors.
From
A. M.
3681.
—
B. C.
323.
to
A. M.
3806.
—
B. C.
198.

Reply of
Antigonus.

His preparations
for
war.

denouncing vengeance upon him unless he instantly delivered from confinement the young Alexander Ægus and his mother Roxana.

These professions, seconded by some political concessions in favour of the republics, and also by the gallant conduct of his nephew Ptolemy, operated such a revolution in favour of Antigonus, that he finally succeeded in stripping Cassander of all his possessions in Greece, with the exception of Thessaly, and in reducing his military resources within very narrow limits. In Thrace, likewise, the arms of the protector were crowned with the most flattering success. Lysimachus had acceded to the confederacy against him, and had even, whilst his arms were employed in Asia Minor, made a descent into the Hellespontian Phrygia; to revenge which aggressions, Antigonus stirred up the barbarous tribes which occupy the Thracian mountains to assail his establishments in the north, and, at the same time, seduced from their allegiance the Grecian cities on the Euxine, which this satrap, after the example of Ptolemy, had founded for the purposes of commerce. At this juncture, in short, the protector might have consolidated his power on a broad and lasting basis, had he listened to any other counsellor but his ambition. Syria was completely subdued, for Tyre had already surrendered to the skill and perseverance of his son Demetrius, after a blockade of fourteen months. Greece was wholly in his power; the satrap of Macedonia having no longer either money or troops sufficient to control the ascendancy of the two factions which had been recently formed in that country. Thrace was kept at bay by the internal commotions so artfully excited in it; as well as by the savage hordes which dwelt on the Danube, and which incessantly threatened to inundate with their countless multitudes the more fertile fields which stretch along the Euxine. Ptolemy, the most formidable of his enemies, had, ever since his accession to the government of Egypt, manifested a strong desire for peace; being obviously unwilling to suspend, upon the hazard of a protracted warfare, the improvement of the very important province which had fallen to his charge.

State of the confederates.

They wish for peace.

Antigonus declines negotiation.

a. c.

312.

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117. 1.

The first blow was struck by Ptolemy. Aware of the aspiring views and insatiable ambition of Antigonus, he had spared no pains in increasing the number of his ships, and in adding to the skill and discipline of his sailors. Having completed the conquest of Cyprus, he made from that island a descent on the coasts of Syria and Cilicia; in both of which provinces he reduced several towns, enriching his

army with an immense booty, and a great number of Alexander's captives. Demetrius, the son of the protector, a youth of much spirit and military talent, had been appointed to govern Syria, upon its being wrested from the hands of Ptolemy. Impatient of the insult inflicted upon him by the plundering of so many cities, and the reduction of several important fortresses, he took the field with a considerable force, to chastise the Egyptian satrap and his predatory bands. Ptolemy, who had likewise raised a powerful army, marched his troops across the desert, from Pelusium to Gaza, and presented himself in the territory of Demetrius, ready to dispute with him the palm of victory, as well as the possession of his valuable province.

The battle which followed added to the renown of Ptolemy and Seleucus, who gained a complete victory over the brave but rash son of Antigonus. The numerical force of the armies engaged was nearly equal, amounting to about twenty-five thousand on each side; but the caution and science displayed by the generals of Alexander, gave a decided preponderance to the standard of Egypt, and added immensely to the discomfiture inflicted on their youthful antagonist. Demetrius lost about five thousand horsemen killed in the field, together with eight thousand foot soldiers who were taken prisoners; and as the fugitives, who directed their flight to Gaza, were so hotly pursued that the troops of Ptolemy entered the gates together with them, the whole baggage and treasures belonging to the army, as well as a great number of captives, were added to the spoils gained by the victors, and served as trophies to commemorate their success.

A remarkable circumstance, mentioned both by Diodorus and Plutarch, adds somewhat to the celebrity of this fight, and affords, at the same time, an interesting and rather characteristic view of the mental qualities of Demetrius. Upon sending a herald to Ptolemy, soliciting the usual permission to bury the slain, he was surprised to find that not only the boon which he had asked was granted, but that his camp equipage and personal effects were restored, and also, what he valued much more, his few surviving friends who had fallen into the hands of the enemy. A message, too, from the victorious general, still further increased his amazement. "Tell the youth," said the noble companion of Alexander, "that with the son of my old friend and ancient partner in arms I content only for glory and empire." Demetrius received the kindness with becoming grace; but he prayed to the gods that they would put it in his power to relieve himself from a burden of gratitude, which he felt oppressive, as being imposed by an enemy of his father.

The consequences of the defeat at Gaza were not a little disastrous to the interests of Antigonus in Syria; and they became somewhat more momentous than they would otherwise have been, inasmuch as they afforded to Seleucus an opportunity of returning to Babylon, and of resuming possession of his fine province. In the meantime, the principal cities on the shores of the Mediterranean opened their gates to Ptolemy; and Tyre, the most important of them all, soon declared for the same cause, and compelled its governor Andronicus to surrender. Having, therefore, placed garrisons in the chief fortresses, and committed the greater part of his army to Cilias, with orders to prosecute the war against Demetrius, the ruler of Egypt returned to Alexandria, in order to resign himself to

Victory of Ptolemy and Seleucus at Gaza.

Generosity of Ptolemy.

Consequences of the battle of Gaza.

Biography. the more agreeable pursuits of internal improvement, navigation, and commerce.

From A. M. 3681. Cilles proved unequal to the charge proposed in him. A. C. 323. Allowing himself to be surprised by Demetrius, who A. M. 3806. had performed a wonderful march over a large portion of Asia Minor, whither he had gone to recruit his army, he was totally defeated with the loss of seven thousand prisoners. It is said that, when Antigonus heard of the reverse experienced by his son, he exclaimed, "Ptolemy has indeed beaten boys, but he shall soon have to do with me;" and it is probable that the protector himself meant forthwith to march into Syria to repair the losses which his cause had sustained. Demetrius, however, entreated that he might be allowed to try his fortune once more, as he was still confident of success. His father complied; and the youth accordingly, proceeding towards Syria with a degree of speed and secrecy not surpassed by Alexander himself, appeared in the heart of that province, before the Egyptian lieutenant was aware of his approach, and redeemed his pledge on the heads of Ptolemy's best soldiers. The young victor, finding himself now in possession of a large booty, seven thousand prisoners, the person of the commander, and all the furniture of the camp, called to mind at once the conduct of the Egyptian satrap, and his own prayer to the gods in relation to it. He resolved, therefore, immediately to send back Cilles, who was the friend as well as the general of Ptolemy, together with all the officers of distinction who were in his hands, loaded with presents, and charged with expressions of respect for their warlike master.

Success and gratitude of Demetrius

Retreat of Ptolemy.

The defeat of his lieutenant induced Ptolemy to withdraw his army from Syria. As Antigonus was himself advancing towards that country, it no longer appeared possible to protect the extensive line of coast exposed to his attack; and the same reason rendered it necessary for the Egyptian government to strengthen their frontier towns, and repair their fortifications on the banks of the Nile.

Accompanied by the Jews.

The army of Ptolemy was accompanied in its retreat by a vast number of the Syrians, and particularly of the Jews, who, wearied of revolutions, and apprehensive of still more alarming changes, preferred to their own country the tranquil residence of Alexandria, already become a considerable and very flourishing capital. The emigrants rose into reputation and some degree of authority under the mild administration of the Grecian sovereigns; and it was from them that Herodotus collected materials for his history of the Jewish nation; a work composed under the patronage of Ptolemy, and repeatedly mentioned by subsequent authors as a performance of great talent and impartiality. We need not add that it has long been numbered among those valuable productions of antiquity which no industry can restore; and of which the loss is deplored as well from the feeling of their great importance, as from the impossibility of finding an adequate substitute.

Preparatory to his meditated invasion of Egypt, Antigonus determined to subdue the migratory tribes of Arabs, who claimed possession of the desert which divides that country from Syria. Descended from Ismael, through his eldest son Nabiaoth, the ancient people now alluded to are known to have carried on, during many generations, a trade in spices and other eastern products, between Egypt and the western pro-

vinces of Asia; deriving a hardy subsistence from the milk of their camels and sheep, aided by the honey and wild fruits, which are occasionally found scattered over the wilderness. In a large cavern at the rock Petra, the Nabathians were wont to deposit their myrrh and frankincense, to be afterwards conveyed to the markets of Phœnicia or of Egypt, whence they were again distributed to merchants from more distant countries, who thereby supplied with the luxuries of Arabia, or even of Hindostan, the dwellers on the Caspian, the Danube, and the Tiber. Accustomed to a life of great freedom, the Ismaelites dreaded nothing so much as dependence; and their contempt of danger was only equalled by the fear with which they inspired all their neighbours.

Such is the character of the wandering people whom Antigonus thought it expedient to subdue in order to facilitate his operations against Egypt. Having committed to Athenus a large body of horse and foot, he despatched him to attack the rock Petra, at a time when the greater part of the tribe were absent, engaged in the pursuits of traffic. The surprise succeeded; the rock was taken, and the victors, loaded with treasure, prepared to return to Gaza. But a signal reverse awaited them. The Nabathian merchants, informed of what had taken place, urged their dromedaries across the desert with such incredible swiftness, that they overtook the Macedonian plunderers before they could reach the Syrian plain; and attacking them in the night with all the fury of incensed savages, put them all to the sword, with the exception of about fifty horsemen, who escaped covered with wounds.

A second expedition was undertaken against those formidable Arabs, and placed under the command of Demetrius, whose youthful ardour, mingling with motives of policy, impelled him to a task which could not fail to appear equally hazardous and romantic. The rock Petra, on this occasion, was emptied of its treasures, and strongly defended by intrepid warriors. The son of Antigonus led his men to the assault; but making no impression on the rude fortress, and having lost a great number of his followers, he found it necessary to draw off the remainder, and prepare for the attack on a larger scale. Next day, when about to renew his attempt, he was addressed from the rock by a Nabathian chief, who remonstrated with him on the folly of invading a territory where neither honour nor advantage was to be obtained. "Our country is burnt with the sun, and is barren and desolate. We alone are born to inhabit it, because we prefer freedom to all other enjoyments. So deeply rooted is our love of independence, that should you enchain our bodies, you never could subdue our minds. All that you could obtain by conquest would be a few obstinate spiritless slaves, incapable of enduring any other form of society than that in which, from the very earliest times, they have constantly continued to live."

Diodorus, who puts the above speech in the mouth of the Arab patriarch, goes on to inform his readers, that it produced such an effect on the mind of the Macedonian captain, as to determine him to relinquish the object of his expedition, to accept of some presents and hostages, and retrace his steps towards the Dead sea.

This petty and unsuccessful warfare was the means of saving Egypt from the horrors of invasion. When

Alexander's Successors.

From A. M. 3681. — A. C. 323. to A. M. 3806. — A. C. 198.

Athenus surprises the Nabathians.

And is afterwards defeated by them.

Expedition of Demetrius against the Nabathians.

Biography. Demetrius returned to his father in Syria, it was only to be informed that Cassander and Lysimachus, in the west, had again become formidable, and that Seleucus, in the east, had already recovered the province of Babylon and defeated the governors of Media and Persia.

We have already stated that the general just named availed himself so far of the defeat inflicted on Demetrius at Gaza, as to march with about a thousand infantry and three hundred horse, which were confided to him by Ptolemy, through the Syrian desert, with the view of relieving Babylon from the tyranny of Antigonus, and of re-establishing himself in his former government. The success of this enterprise exceeded his most sanguine hopes. The strongholds opened their gates at his approach; the troops revolted from their commanders and flocked to join his standard; and the populace of the great city poured out to meet him, rendering the air with acclamation and shouts of triumph.

Victory of Evagoras. Evagoras, the governor of Persia, and Nicanor, the governor of Media, aware that their power depended on that of Antigonus, made haste to unite their forces. In order to check the progress of Seleucus. This last commander, who had learned under Alexander the importance of despatch in the commencement of a war, met his adversaries on the east bank of the Tigris; where attacking their camp in the night, he gained a victory so complete that only one of the satraps, with a few followers, escaped destruction by flying into the desert; while Evagoras lay dead on the field, and all the treasures of both provinces, together with several thousand Macedonian soldiers, fell into the hands of the conqueror.

Accession of the Seleucids. This battle, the successful issue of which contributed so materially to the restoration of Seleucus, has served to mark the era of the Grecian kingdom in Asia, and the commencement of that dynasty, which, under the name of Seleucids, governed the upper provinces so long and so happily. It took place in the first year of the hundred and seventeenth Olympiad, and in the year before Christ 312.

Whilst these things were going on, Demetrius, at the head of fifteen thousand foot and four thousand horse, was already on his march to recover Babylon and chastise Seleucus. The latter, drawn into Media after Nicanor, where he gained another victory and slew his antagonist with his own hand, was still at too great a distance to meet the invader and defend the city. Patrocles who commanded in his absence, but without sufficient force either to hazard a battle or to protect the place, proposed to the inhabitants to abandon their houses and to take refuge wherever they could, until the return of Seleucus with his victorious troops should enable them to repel the son of the tyrant, and to avenge themselves upon their enemies. Babylon, accordingly, when Demetrius entered it, was found desolate and empty. There was neither a foe to combat, nor booty to reward his soldiers. The forts on the Euphrates engaged his attention for some time; but the period having arrived at which his return into Syria had been fixed by his father, he left Archelaus with five or six thousand men to pursue the object of the war, and departed homeward to give an account of his expedition.

The return of Seleucus to Babylon decided the fate of Archelaus; who, having taken refuge in a strong-

hold which had yielded to the arms of Demetrius, was obliged to surrender at discretion.

This change of affairs in the east, which Antigonus foresaw was about to engage his undivided attention, induced him to listen to terms of accommodation on the part of Ptolemy, Lysimachus, and Cassander. A treaty was accordingly concluded; in which it was agreed, that Egypt, with its African dependencies, should be secured to the first of the three generals now named; that Thrace should be assigned to the second; and that the last should be guaranteed in the possession of Macedonia, at least till Alexander, the son of Roxana, should be of age to reign. Antigonus retained for himself the government of all Asia; a condition which implied that Seleucus was to have no part in the succession, should his opponent prosper in his attempt to expel him from his rich provinces on the Euphrates and Tigris, and which soon after gave rise to events, of which the ambitious protector had no anticipation. As a sort of supplement to the treaty, it was stipulated that the Grecian states should be declared independent, and forthwith restored to the exercise of their ancient liberty.

These fair appearances, however, were altogether unproductive either of peace or confidence. The Macedonians, it is said, eager to behold the son of their renowned prince on the throne, proposed to Cassander that he should be brought into public, and be made acquainted with the business and arts of government. In this proposal Cassander saw the termination of his own power; and, therefore, to prevent forever its fulfilment, he caused the young Alexander and his mother Roxana to be murdered in the castle of Amphipolis, where they had long been confined. To thwart the views of this cruel satrap, the ancient protector, Polyperchon, who still retained some portion of authority in Peloponnesus, and who had recently affected great zeal for the royal house of Macedon, contrived to get into his possession the person of Hercules, another son of Alexander, by Barchina, and placing him at the head of a small army, prepared to march with him into Macedon, and assert his right to the crown. This project was met on the part of Cassander, not with force, but with the surer instruments of bribery and deceit. He dazzled the eyes of the old governor with the hope of succession in his family, and actually prevailed on him to put to death both the prince and Barchina, whom he had beguiled into his hands.

In defiance of the treaty, which indeed all the parties had shewn themselves ready to violate, Ptolemy was already employed in Asia Minor, at the head of his army, reducing certain cities belonging to Antigonus, and endeavouring to strengthen his interests by political connections. Having afterwards sailed into the Egæan, where he subdued Corinth, Sicyon, and other places of less note, he embraced the opportunity of entering into a correspondence with Cleopatra, the sister of Alexander the Great, with the view either of asking her to become his wife, or of inducing her to abjure the cause of Antigonus and devote her exertions to his own party. The vigilant protector, informed of what was going forward, issued orders to the governor of Sardis, where she then resided, to have her put out of the way by assassination; taking care, a short time afterwards, when he found it expedient to throw the veil of hypocrisy over his cruel deed, to

Alexander's Successors.

From A. M. 3681. — S. e. 323. to A. M. 3806. — S. e. 198.

Treaty with the confederates.

S. e. 311. — O. 117. 2.

S. e. 310. — O. 117. 3.

Murder of Alexander and Roxana.

And of Hercules and Barchina.

S. e. 309. — O. 118. 2.

Violation of the treaty.

Murder of Cleopatra.

Biography.

From
A. M.
3681.

n. c.
323.
to
A. M.
3806.

—
n. c.
198.

Surrender
of Demetrius
Phalerus

n. c.
307.

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118. 2.

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prosecute and punish all who had any share in the murder of that unfortunate prince.

We have mentioned above, that one of the conditions of the treaty entered into by Antigonus and the confederate satraps was, that the Grecian states should be restored to the enjoyment of their independence. Cassander, however, in direct contravention of this article, still maintained his garrisons in Athens and Megara; whilst Ptolemy kept his navy at sea, avowedly to enforce the observance of peace, but, in fact, to extend or secure his conquests in the Lesser Asia and Peloponnesus. To punish this glaring infraction of a solemn compact, Demetrius, with two hundred and fifty gallees, and five thousand talents, set sail for Athens, with the determination to expel the Macedonian troops, and to restore the democratical government. The city and harbours were at once surrendered to the invader, who acted with the greatest clemency and generosity to all, but particularly to Demetrius Phalerus; who had ruled the Athenians wisely and beneficially during the long period of ten years that he discharged the office of Cassander's lieutenant. The Phasian, who reposed no confidence in the fickle people of Athens, was escorted to Thebes by order of the son of Antigonus, where he passed his time in the pursuits of literature and in labours of humanity.

The gratitude of the Athenians to their deliverer passed all bounds, or was only equalled by their fulsome and impious adulation. But Demetrius was soon summoned by his father to leave the flattery of orators and demagogues, in order to resume the combined duties of an admiral and an engineer in the reduction of Cyprus.

That island had recently been the scene of a miserable tragedy, perpetrated by the troops of Ptolemy, under the command of his brother Menelaus. The royal family of Nicoses, the descendants of Ajax and Achilles, charged with no other crime except a wish to throw off the Macedonian yoke, were attacked in their palace, where they could find no means of escaping an ignominious death but by the dreadful resolution of dying by their own hands. The monarch himself set the example; and his queen, disdaining to survive him, first put to death her own daughters, and then, inviting the other ladies of the court to imitate her conduct, fearlessly deprived herself of life. The brothers of the king next set fire to the royal building, and obliterated at once every monument and symbol of ancient power and regal dominion; for Cyprus has never again recovered her independence, or even been governed by a prince of her native dynasty.

To take vengeance on a policy which admitted of such atrocious cruelties, as well as to deprive Ptolemy of the principal means of renewing his attacks on the maritime towns of Lesser Asia, Demetrius was directed to proceed to Cyprus, at the head of a large body of both land and sea forces. After a slight engagement with Menelaus, in which he was successful, the son of the protector laid siege to Salamis, the ancient capital of the island.

The occurrences of this siege occupy a prominent place in history, not so much on account of the determined resistance opposed to the assailants, and the great importance attached to its issue by the heads of the belligerent parties, as for a new species

of warlike engine invented by Demetrius, and first employed by him against the town of Salamis. The instrument in question was called *Helepolis*, or town-taker, and was itself an immense tower, consisting of nine stories, gradually diminishing as they rose in altitude, and affording accommodation for a great number of armed men, who discharged all sorts of missiles against the ramparts of the enemy. Plutarch, in his life of Demetrius, gives way to his love of the marvellous in describing the *Helepolis*; informing us that the inventor employed one of them at the siege of Thebes, so extremely large and unwieldy, that, though placed on four wheels, it could not be moved at a greater rate than a quarter of a mile in two months!

Ptolemy dreading the fall of Salamis, which he was sensible would pave the way for the entire conquest of Cyprus, had already made formidable preparations for compelling Demetrius to raise the siege. A memorable sea-fight ensued, in which the satrap of Egypt was completely defeated, with the loss of nearly all his fleet, and thirty thousand prisoners. The fruits of this victory were very important to Antigonus. Salamis and all the other walled towns in the island opened their gates to his army; his navy was largely increased by the addition of about a hundred captured ships; and his settlements, on the Asiatic shores, were now secured against the fear of invasion from the ports of Egypt and Cyprus.

The siege of Salamis is farther remarkable for the following circumstance, which all ancient historians agree in connecting with it. Demetrius, it is said, chose for his messenger, to carry to his father the news of his success, a buffoon called Aristodemus, who, finding the aged protector at his new city on the river Orontes, approached him with a theatrical set and solemn look, exclaiming, hail, king Antigonus! He then proceeded to give the details of the victory which Demetrius had just gained. From that period the regal title was assumed by all the successors of Alexander, with the exception of his brother-in-law at Macedon; who, it is feigned, from the respect which he felt for the ashes of the royal family entombed in his province, would neither use the royal signet nor allow himself to be called king. So conscientious and delicate was the merciful Cassander!

Determined to follow up his advantage against Ptolemy, the royal Antigonus prepared once more to invade the kingdom of Egypt. The fleet under Demetrius consisted of a hundred and fifty gallees, besides an hundred ships of burden for conveying engines, missile weapons, and other instruments of assault. The army, too, greatly exceeded in numerical strength the usual armaments of the Macedonian princes, consisting of about eighty thousand foot, ten thousand horse, upwards of eighty elephants, and an immense number of camels, collected from Arabia, and laden with provisions, stores, and treasures. But the king of Egypt was fully prepared to resist this formidable host. The natural defences of his country, at all times strong, were rendered next to impregnable by the skill and labour of Ptolemy; and the people, now become sensible of the innumerable benefits of his wise rule, were heartily disposed to second all his endeavours for the protection of their rights and independence. The fortune of war, too, seemed to smile on his exertions. The immense flotilla of his adversary was greatly damaged at sea before it could reach his

Alexander's Successors.

From
A. M.
3681.

n. c.
323.
to
A. M.
3806.

—
n. c.
198.

Defeat of
Ptolemy.

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Biography. shores; and many of the galleys with their crews were driven on the sand banks at the mouth of the Nile, and presented an easy conquest to the experienced Egyptians. The land force, again, under Antigonus himself, could make no progress in the face of the thousand obstacles, which nature and art had opposed to him. Deep marshes and resolute garrisons disputed every step he meditated; which difficulties were materially aggravated by the discontent that already prevailed in his camp, and by the numerous desertions which had already thinned his ranks. To persevere was to ensure his own destruction. Antigonus, therefore, at length professed himself ready to listen to counsel; when his most experienced officers, aware at once of his inclination, and of the necessity of his circumstances, advised him to postpone the conquest of Egypt till a more favourable season of the year. He retraced his march towards Syria; upon which Ptolemy thanked the gods for his deliverance, and sent an embassy to his confederates, Cassander, Lysimachus, and Seleucus, acquainting them with the signal and disgraceful reverse which had befallen their common enemy.

Retreat of
Antigonus.

A. C.
305.
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OL.
119. 4.

Siege of
Rhodes.

Unable to affect Egypt by any direct attack, Antigonus resolved to employ his powerful fleet and army against Rhodes; the people of which not only persisted in their alliance with Ptolemy, but had even refused to assist Demetrius at the siege of Cyprus, and subsequently had driven from their coasts a squadron of his ships. To gratify his resentment, therefore, as well as to annoy the king of Egypt, Demetrius approached the island with two hundred ships, and forty or fifty thousand men, with the usual proportion of battering engines, missiles, and other stores, and forthwith engaged in the siege of the principal town, which had set his mighty host at defiance. The operations of this distinguished commander before Rhodes, and the resolute defence of the place by the inhabitants, present, perhaps, the most remarkable example of skill and heroism that is to be found in the annals of ancient warfare. The *Helropolis* employed on this occasion, resembled in form, but greatly exceeded in dimensions, the one which was used at the siege of Salamis. Its towers were a hundred and fifty feet high; it was supported on eight enormous wheels, and propelled by the labour of three thousand four hundred men. Its sides were plated with iron; the portholes were defended with valves of raw hides, thickly covered with wool; and it was prepared to resist fire, by an ingenious device for distributing water throughout every part of the huge fabric. For more than a year however, the talents and bravery of Demetrius were exerted in vain against the courageous Rhodians. Ptolemy, indeed, had assisted them with men, and Cassander and Lysimachus had supplied their magazines with corn; but the honour of defending their city, during twelve months, against an armament at once so large and so ably directed, belongs almost exclusively to the people of Rhodes themselves, who, without one exception, preferred death to the condition of slaves, or even to that of tributaries.

Treaty with
the Rhodi-
ans.

At length the voice of the civilized world was lifted up in their behalf. Ambassadors from fifty states in Europe and Asia interceded for them with Demetrius; but the envoys who had the greatest influence on this occasion were the Athenians, who represented to him that their city was again subjected to Macedonian

thraldom, and begged his speedy interference to save them from the machinations of Cassander. A treaty was accordingly concluded, the conditions of which were, that the Rhodians should enjoy their independence, that they should be at liberty to continue their alliance with Ptolemy, and, at the same time, should be regarded as the allies of Antigonus; terms which left them precisely on the same footing as before the war, and which of course, reflected disgrace and disappointment on the standard of the invader. The people of Rhodes, however, liberal as well as brave, whilst they conferred the title of *Soter*, or *Saviour*, on Ptolemy, and erected statues for Cassander and Lysimachus, refused to demolish those which had been formerly raised in honour of Antigonus and his son. They had too much generosity to indulge in a revenge so unmanly and contemptible.

The several repulses sustained by the arms of Antigonus did not by any means diel from his mind the phantoms of ambition, and dreams of universal empire, with which his imagination had been so long haunted. In the meantime his son, on whose great abilities he chiefly reposed his hopes, had gone to rescue Greece from the domination of Cassander. In this undertaking he was so successful, that in the course of nine months he recovered his ascendancy in almost all the states north of the isthmus; and, in the following spring, descending into Peloponnesus, he reduced the fortresses of Corinth, Sicyon, and Ægium, and ultimately spread the terror of his arms over the whole peninsula. Next year, upon summoning the states of Greece to the great representative council of the Amphictyons, he heard himself declared their generalissimo, and invested with the same authority and honours which had formerly been conferred upon Philip and his immortal successor.

Demetrius thought it not necessary to conceal that among all their subordinate projects, the main object contemplated both by his father and himself, was the final subjugation of Macedonia, Egypt, and the east. With this view, peace was refused to Cassander, and the dominions of Lysimachus were threatened with immediate invasion. Seleucus and Ptolemy, though at a greater distance, knew that they were by no means secured against the ambitious designs of the king, as Antigonus was now called. The confederacy of the four chiefs was therefore once more renewed; and Lysimachus, with a considerable army under his command, crossed over into Asia, and was the first to take the field against Antigonus.

The campaign which ensued in Asia Minor was attended with various fortune; though on the whole, less favourable to Lysimachus than to his adversary. Meanwhile Demetrius hurried from Greece to join his father, and Seleucus and Ptolemy put themselves in motion to assist their allies of Macedonia and Thrace. Ptolemy, there is reason to believe, had no wish to waste his resources in a doubtful war, and therefore, upon a rumour reaching him in Syria, that Lysimachus was utterly routed, made haste to fall back towards the impregnable swamps of the Nile. Seleucus avowed a less ambiguous policy. He poured into Cappadocia with twenty thousand chosen foot, twelve thousand horse, a hundred armed chariots, together with four hundred and eighty elephants, which he had received from Sandrocottus, a powerful prince, who at that period reigned between the Indus and Ganges.

Alexander's
Successors.

From
A. M.
3681.
—
A. C.
323.
to
A. M.
3806.
—
A. C.
198.

A. C.
303.
—
OL.
119. 2.

Accura-
dancy of
Antigonus
in Greece.

A. C.
302.
—
OL.
119. 3.

His pro-
jects.

Renewal of
the confe-
deracy against
him.

Events of
the cam-
paign.

Biography.

From
A. M.
3681.

n. c.
323.
to
A. M.
3806.

n. c.
198.
Battle of
Ipsus.

n. c.
301.
—
n. c.
119. 4.

Death of
Antigonus.

New par-
tition of
territory.

Both sides now exerted their best talents in preparing for that momentous conflict which was, in all probability, to decide the empire of Asia. Antigonus, now in his eighty-first year, had long been distinguished by resolution and energy, and Demetrius was not surpassed by any living commander in the principal qualities which constitute an expert and efficient general. It would seem, however, from the concurrent testimony of historians, that the aid protector was appressed with an invincible presentiment, that the fortune of the day was to incline to his rivals. He stumbled when walking from the door of his tent on the morning of the battle; and immediately regarding that accident as an omen, he prayed that he might either be blessed with victory, or be rendered insensible of defeat. The engagement took place near a village called Ipsus, and Antigonus fell covered with wounds. Demetrius, whose impetuosity in pursuing a body of Seleucus's horse, had carried him too far from the field, returned to the scene of action only to learn the death of his father and the total overthrow of his army. Retreat was his only resource; and, accordingly, after a precipitate flight of two hundred miles, he regained his fleet, carrying with him, of all the mighty host which he had marshalled at Ipsus, about four thousand infantry and as many horsemen.

The death of Antigonus and the total defeat of his army, gave immediate occasion to a new arrangement of territorial dominion among the victorious confederates. Ptolemy, indeed, had not appeared in the field at Ipsus, nor is it certain that any Egyptian troops were engaged in that memorable action, yet this monarch obtained as the reward of his counsels and former services, the secure possession of Coele-Syria and Palestine; a province on which he set a very high value, as securing to him the command of the sea, and a convenient channel of communication with the rich islands and seaport towns of Asia Minor. To Lysimachus was conceded nearly the whole of the Asiatic peninsula; the free district of Cilicia being reserved for Cassander, who immediately conferred the government of it to his brother Pleistarchus.

Demetrius, in the meantime, was exerting himself at Ephesus with his characteristic activity and zeal, in order to raise such a force as might enable him to retrieve his affairs and check the progress of his adversaries. Sailing with a considerable armament to Athens, he was informed by the seditious inhabitants that a decree had been recently passed, prohibiting any of the kings from entering within their walls; upon which the son of Antigonus, finding that all Greece had again submitted to the influence of Cassander, made a descent on the coast at Corinth for the mere purposes of plunder and revenge, and afterwards committed similar ravages along the whole shores of Thrace. He was, however, soon to be indebted for a temporary revival of his fortune to a very different cause.

n. c.
299.
—
n. c.
180. 2.

New alli-
ances of
Demetrius.

Seleucus, jealous of the power of Lysimachus, whose territories now extended to the Syrian borders, resolved to fortify his own dominion by forming an alliance with the family of Demetrius, which was still possessed of considerable claims and interests. He therefore made proposals for Stratonice, the accomplished daughter of his former rival, and finally induced him to conduct her into Syria, where their nuptials were to be celebrated. The marriage festi-

vity was hardly over when Demetrius invaded the province of Cilicia, and wrested it from Pleistarchus, the brother of the Macedonian monarch. Being still master of Cyprus, as well as of some important towns on the Grecian and Syrian coasts, he already appeared formidable to the eyes of his aged son-in-law, who began to tremble at the power which he himself had been the means of reviving. An alliance, too, with Ptolemy, who gave to Demetrius his daughter Ptolemais in marriage, added but a little to the apprehensions of Seleucus, in regard to the safety of his political connections. It was, therefore, not without satisfaction that he saw the father of his young wife set sail for Athens, with the view of chastising the ingratitude of that unprincipled city.

Moving compelled the Athenians to open their gates and receive a garrison, Demetrius proceeded to attack Sparta, the possession of which seemed necessary to secure his ascendancy in Peloponnesus. He had not, however, put to the test the long disused arms of the Lacedæmonians, when he received intelligence that the eldest son of Cassander, who had succeeded his father about two years before, was dead, and that the throne was now disputed by his two brothers, Antipater and Alexander, both sons of Thessalonica. The mother, favouring the pretensions of the latter, was murdered by Antipater; who seized the crown in defiance of the indignant anger of the Macedonians, excited by the atrocious act of parricide with which he had just stained his hands. Alexander, aided by Pyrrhus, king of Epirus, soon afterwards succeeded in dethroning his brother, who being son-in-law to Lysimachus, fled to that prince for protection. Dreading the resentment of the Thracian monarch, the new king of Macedon entreated the assistance of Demetrius, who instantly relinquishing the siege of Sparta, hurried his troops into Macedon, prepared, it should seem, to promote his own views, whether in co-operation with Alexander or in direct opposition to him. The current of events determined him to adopt the latter alternative. Alexander, who was supposed to meditate guile against his ally, was cut off by his orders at an entertainment given by that prince; and thus the throne of Macedon was again without an occupant, and presented a fresh stimulus to the ambition of the son of Antigonus.

Demetrius, it is well known, had married Phila, the favourite daughter of Antipater; and as all the male descendants of that able minister were now dead, with the exception of the murderer of Thessalonica, the claims of his son-in-law to the crown were not without a plausible foundation. He was accordingly proclaimed king, and conducted in triumph to Pella; where he had soon after the happiness to receive his wife, who had been made prisoner by Ptolemy at the reduction of Cyprus.

Sent on the throne of Macedon, the restless genius of Demetrius projected new conquests both in Europe and Asia. Hearing that Lysimachus was a captive in the hands of the Getæ, he determined to invade Thrace; but being diverted from this undertaking by the sudden return of the king, he directed his arms against Pyrrhus, whom he drove from Thessaly, part of which had fallen to him in a former war; and then marched to Thebes, which he took by assault, and filled with a garrison devoted to his interests. About the same time, also, he built the

Alexander's Successors.

From
A. M.
3681.

n. c.
323.
to
A. M.
3806.

n. c.
198.

n. c.
295.

OL.
121. 2.

n. c.
294.

n. c.
121. 3.

Demetrius
declared
king of
Macedon.

Biography. town of Demetrius on the Pelagic gulph; and in order still further to increase his naval power, he formed a matrimonial union with the daughter of Agathocles, the tyrant of Syracuse, a prince whose warlike exploits occupy a prominent place in the annals of ancient Europe. Bounding his ambition only by the limits of his paternal dominions, Demetrius employed all his means to raise armies and equip fleets; and at length, it is said, his endeavours were crowned with so much success, that his ships of war amounted to five hundred galleys, many of them having fifteen or sixteen banks of oars, whilst his land forces exceeded considerably a hundred thousand, of which more than twelve thousand were cavalry.

The kings of Thrace and Egypt could not behold such preparations without concern. Ptolemy accordingly advanced towards Greece with his fleet, whilst Lysimachus, with his ally, the young king of Epirus, put his army in motion to attack Macedon in two different points at once. Demetrius took the field with his usual alacrity; but whilst approaching the camp of Pyrrhus, dissatisfaction shewed itself in his ranks, and when arrived in sight of the invader, he found himself deserted by the greater part of his troops. Leaving Macedon therefore a prey to Pyrrhus and Lysimachus, and giving the command of the Grecian cities to his son Antigonus, the active Demetrius passed over into Asia Minor with a body of his best troops, resolved to assail his adversary in the most vulnerable quarter. This enterprise was at first attended with the most splendid success. In a short time, however, a check was imposed on his career by Agathocles, the son of Lysimachus; who followed him so closely with a powerful army, and shewed so much talent in cutting off his resources, and intercepting his movements, that he was obliged to apply for protection to Seleucus, who was at that time guarding the frontiers of Syria. His cautious son-in-law yielded to his solicitations only so far as to grant him permission to pass two months within his territory; and was subsequently induced by his courtiers to rid himself of so dangerous a guest, by sending him a prisoner to a strong fortress on the Syrian coast, about sixty miles south of Antioch, where at the end of three years he fell a victim to hunger, sloth, and intemperance. The remains of Demetrius were conveyed to Thessaly, and solemnly interred by his son, in the city founded by himself on the Pelagic gulph; the funeral rites being conducted with a degree of sumptuous splendour, much more suited to the grandeur of his ambition than to the circumstances in which he closed his career.

Macedon was now divided and governed by Lysimachus and the adventurous king of Epirus, in whose hands it continued with partial changes until Antigonus, the son of Demetrius, succeeded in recovering the abdicated throne.

Meanwhile the affairs of Egypt, under the wise government of Ptolemy, had attained to a great degree of prosperity and glory. Desirous to secure a peaceful succession, the king, now in his eightieth year, nominated his son Ptolemy, afterwards Philadelphus, to share with him, during the remainder of his life, the power which he meant should devolve upon him at his demise. The coronation and enthronement of the young prince, which were performed in the most splendid manner possible, could not fail to give im-

brage to his elder brother, Ptolemy Ceraunus, who immediately left Egypt to disquiet, to find an asylum in the house of Agathocles, the accomplished son of Lysimachus, who had become his brother-in-law by marrying his sister Lysandra. The renowned king of Egypt lived two years after the occurrence now stated, and then left the sovereignty of his new kingdom to the judicious youth whom he had associated with him in the government.

Lysimachus, who had married the Egyptian princess Arinoe, was impelled by this unprincipled woman to murder his son Agathocles. The friends of the prince, filled with resentment and horror at his death, and among others his wife Lysandra and her brother Ceraunus, fled into Assyria, seeking protection at the court of Seleucus. Many of the governors of Lesser Asia, too, who admired the character of Agathocles, and lamented his unhappy end, seemed ready to throw off their allegiance altogether, or to transfer it to the milder authority of the eastern monarch. Among these the most determined was Phileteus, the keeper of the royal treasures in the castle of Pergamus, who wrote to Seleucus inviting him to send an army into the peninsula, and promising a powerful aid of men and money.

The king of Syria lent a ready ear to the proposal; for being now advanced in age, and having delivered his Oriental dominions, together with his young wife Stratonice, into the hands of his son Antiochus, he seemed willing to resign the splendour of Asiatic sovereignty, in order to gratify the very natural desire which had sprung up in his heart to revisit his native land, and to lay his bones in a Macedonian tomb. Ambition, perhaps, mingled deeply with this simple affection; for he who had reigned more than twenty years the undisputed monarch of the Persian empire, could not consent to share, as a subject, the soil which was once honoured by the sway of Philip and Alexander, and was now disgraced by the domination of a murderer and tyrant.

Actuated by the motives which we have just described, Seleucus advanced into Asia Minor. Meeting with little resistance, his conquest of that important country was marked with no signal occurrence; for it was not till he had pitched his camp on the shores of the Hellespont that he found his progress disputed by an adversary worthy of his arms, or at all likely to exercise his military talents. Lysimachus himself now appeared in the field at the head of such a force as might check his ambitious rival, or at least make him pay more dearly for the triumphs which he still mediated. The battle of Coroneia decided their respective claims: and was the last scene in which the companions of Alexander the Great were opposed to one another. The aid generals on this occasion renewed the valour and strength of their youth; and meeting in the front of their armies, they engaged in single combat with the greatest fury, playing against each other the sword and lance; till at length Lysimachus fell under the hand of his former friend, and lay buried under a heap of slain. A faithful dog watched his corpse till it was solicited from the conqueror; after which it was conveyed for interment by his son Alexander to Lysimachia, where the citizens honoured the memory of their founder by a stately mausoleum, which continued, in the second century of the Christian era, to attest their gratitude to a master who, except as a soldier and the patron of their

Alexander's Successors.

From A. M. 3681. — R. C. 323. to A. M. 3806. R. C. 198.

Cruelties of Lysimachus.

Operations of Seleucus

R. C. 281. — 124. 4.

Battle of Coroneia.

Defeat and death of Lysimachus.

and death of Demetrius.

Ptolemy Philadelphus.

Biography. rising power, had nothing to recommend his example, or to attract the veneration of posterity.

From A. M. 3681.
—
B. C. 323.
to A. M. 2806.
—
B. C. 198.
—
B. C. 260.
—
O. L. 125. 1.

Assassination of Seleucus.

His character.

It consists not with our limited plan to describe minutely the characters of the distinguished individuals, whose actions and fortunes present such a variety of historical incident, in tracing the reigns of Alexander's successors. Of Seleucus, however, we may be permitted to observe, that, with the exception of Ptolemy, he pursued more assiduously than any of the great captains who fought under the banners of the conqueror, the enlarged and benevolent designs which that renowned prince combined with all his military triumphs. After the example of his master, he guided the love and esteem of his eastern subjects, by governing them according to their established principles and habits. His zeal for improvement induced him to build many cities, both on the shores of the Mediterranean and on the banks of the Euphrates. Babylon-Seleucia and the famed city of Antioch continued long to bear witness to his great exertions for promoting the best interests of his people; the former having existed as the capital of the Asiatic empire till near the middle of the seventh century, whilst the latter continued to be illustrious, during a still longer period, as the seat of Syrian kings, Roman governors, and Christian bishops. It was in Seleucia, the port of Antioch, that the remains of this great monarch were deposited, after having been purchased by Philoterus, the governor of Pergamus, from the base mercenary assassin who had imbrued his hands in his blood. A temple erected in the same place, and called Nicetorion, in reference to his title of Nicator, recalled, age after age, to the memory of his Syrian subjects, the mild virtues, the genius, and the numerous exploits of the great general who founded amongst them the kingdom of the Greeks.

The court of Ptolemy.

A better opportunity will occur for describing the character of Ptolemy, the king of Egypt, and for setting forth the numerous obligations which literature and philosophy continue to bear to that distinguished sovereign. His establishment of the Alex-

andrian library, and his marked encouragement of men of letters, are too well known to require mention; and, perhaps, the royal munificence which he displayed in providing so splendid an asylum for learning, was more than equalled by the discrimination which he manifested in the choice of individuals to preside over its interests and to promote its progress. Whilst inviting to his court, and placing in his schools, those characters who were the most distinguished of the age by their scientific acquirements, Ptolemy, nevertheless, shewed himself the greatest philosopher that adorned Alexandria. To the knowledge of books he joined the more valuable knowledge of men and of business; and was thus qualified to direct the pursuits of science to practicable objects, and to withdraw the speculations of the learned from the inane metaphysics in which they were wont to indulge, in order to engage them in the more profitable studies of criticism, history, geometry, and medicine. As, however, it belongs to a different branch of our work to examine the annals of ancient philosophy and art, and to trace the connection of these, as they were cultivated in the schools of Alexandria, with their more improved condition in the present times, we shall hold it enough to have made this reference, and we shall proceed with our historical sketch of civil and military affairs.

The immediate successors of Alexander being now all removed by death, the events which follow are marked with less talent and brilliancy than those which attended the foundation of their several kingdoms. Upon the death of Seleucus, the government of Asia fell into the hands of his son Antiochus, whose follies were soon found unequal to the arduous task of maintaining an hereditary ascendancy in the rich provinces of the east, together with the regal power of Macedonia, which he was likewise taught to claim as the right of his family. Amidst the delay and indecision, which characterised his first proceedings, several nations in Asia Minor, which had recently owned the sway of Lysimachus, asserted their independence. Pergamum, Bithynia, Cappadocia, and Pontus, resumed once more the exercise of a separate government, and placed themselves under the rule of princes, some of whom make a conspicuous figure in the subsequent history of Italy and Greece. We think it proper to state these facts at present, because frequent reference will be made to them afterwards; but as we must abstain from all minuteness of detail inconsistent with the compression which our plan requires, we shall confine ourselves to such leading facts as will connect the affairs of Alexander's successors in Greece, Syria, Egypt, and the Lesser Asia, with the history of that rising power in the west, which was, at no great distance of time, to subdue and supersede the whole. We begin, then, with Macedon and the Grecian states.

Ptolemy Cernanus having seated himself on the throne at Pella, which the aged Seleucus had been so eager to occupy, set at defiance the claims of that monarch's son, as well as those of Antigonus, the son of Demetrius. To secure his ascendancy, he murdered his nephews, the sons of Lysimachus; and having thus rendered himself the heir of the Thracian throne, he proceeded to attack Antigonus, and added his northern dominions to those of Macedon. But a powerful enemy was at hand to avenge the wrongs of the house of Seleucus, and the manifold injuries inflicted on the family of Lysimachus. The Gauls,

Alexander's Successors.

From A. M. 3681.
—
B. C. 323.
to A. M. 2806.
—
B. C. 198.

State of affairs after the death of Seleucus.

B. C. 279.
—
O. L. 125. 2

Crimes of Ptolemy Cernanus.

Biography. who had some time before passed into Italy, now found their way into Thrace and Macedonia; spreading themselves in vast multitudes over the territory of Ceraunus, and committing the most frightful devastations in his richest provinces. The usurper, who was not deficient either in courage or activity, took the field against his barbarian invaders: but, despising too much their undisciplined valour, he rushed into battle without due precaution, where he fell mortally wounded, and lost a large proportion of his army.

The government of Macedonia was occupied during a few months, by men whose sole claim to supreme power consisted in the ability to save their country. The Gauls, after much hard fighting and various fortune, settled at length in the Lesser Asia; giving the name of Galatia to the district which they occupied, from an affectionate remembrance of their native land. The effects of their invasion on the power of Macedon were, however, so considerable, that Antigonus Gonatas, the son of Demetrius, found little difficulty in possessing himself of the throne; although opposed by the formidable competition of Pyrrhus, and of Antiochus, the son of Seleucus. In his defensive operations against the latter, he was assisted by Nicomedes, the new ruler of Bithynia; and his policy and vigour were rewarded with such success, that Antigonus not only yielded to his pretensions, but also gave him in marriage his sister Phila, the granddaughter of Antipater, the celebrated viceroy of Macedon.

The war that ensued with Pyrrhus was more disastrous and eventful; the particulars of which have been already given in our life of that distinguished prince of Epirus. Antigonus seems to have relinquished, for a short time, the occupation of the throne, which he had found himself unable to protect against Pyrrhus and his fierce allies, the Gauls; and even to have retired into Peloponnesus till his warlike rival was slain at the siege of Argos, and his barbarian followers scattered over the plains of the Lesser Asia. This happy turn of affairs replaced him at the head of his government; over which, from this period, he reigned twenty-seven years, with little molestation at home, and without embroiling himself in the contending claims of Egypt and Syria. His attempt on the independence of the Grecian states, indeed, gave occasion to the Achaean league, and involved him in a war of craft and stratagem, which redounded little to his honour. Aratus, of Sicyon, directed so successfully the energies of the confederated republics, that Antigonus at length relinquished his object in despair, and, retiring to Macedon, died at the age of eighty, and left the crown to his son Demetrius, two hundred and forty-two years before the Christian era.

The united power of the Achaeans continued, during the whole of this reign, to oppose the ascendancy of Macedon. The accession also of Corinth to the league, contributed greatly to enfeeble the exertions of Demetrius, in pursuit of that dominion over Greece, which was first secured by Philip, the father of Alexander, and had become the main object of war and policy with all succeeding princes. After holding the sceptre ten years, a period distinguished by no remarkable event, and filled up only by a petty warfare with the Aetolians, Thracians, and Illyrians, Demetrius departed this life, bequeathing the crown to his son Philip, a child only three years of age.

The government was administered by Antigonus, surnamed *Dodon*, brother of the late king, at first as guardian to his nephew, and afterwards in his own right as sovereign of Macedon, till the boy should be qualified to succeed him. The character of this monarch was at once pacific and warlike, cautious and determined, and acquired for Macedon a greater degree of power, than she had enjoyed since the early years of Cassander, or perhaps of Antipater.

Cleomeas, the young king of Sparta, resolved to revive the liberty and martial glory of his country, took up arms against the Achaean states. These republics lost no time in applying to Antigonus for aid, who, yielding to their solicitation, marched into Peloponnesus with a large army, where he gained several advantages over the Spartans, and took a number of their towns. Cleomeas, on his part, shewed himself worthy of commanding Lacedaemonians, and of meeting in the field a successor of Alexander the Great. The sanguinary battle of Sellasia, however, in which Antigonus gained a complete victory, not only ruined his cause but drove himself into Egypt, to solicit from Ptolemy Evergetes, then on the throne of that kingdom, protection for his person, and a reinforcement to his arms.

The moderation of Antigonus was extremely honourable at once to his principles and his motives. Upon his arrival at Sparta, he treated the inhabitants with singular generosity; allowing them to enjoy the most entire national independence, with permission to adjust, according to their own pleasure, the arrangements of their internal government. At Argos, whither he went to attend the Nemean games, he was hailed as the pacificator of Greece; and he continued to be the object of universal gratitude and applause, both among those he had conquered and those whom he had gone to assist, till news arrived that the Illyrians were already in the heart of Macedon, burning his towns and desolating his fields. He flew to the defence of his country, engaged the predatory barbarians, and completely defeated them in the first battle. But it was at the expense of his life. The vehement exertions of his voice, in the tumult of the fight, occasioned the bursting of a blood vessel, of which he almost instantly died, leaving the crown to his nephew Philip, now in the seventeenth year of his age, and who was doomed, in a short time, to sustain the hostility of the Romans, and thereby to form the connecting link between the history of Alexander's Macedonian successors and the annals of the Philip western republic.

We are informed by Polybius that the victory of Sellasia procured to the members of the Achaean confederacy the enjoyment of peace during only a very short period; for that the Aetolians, being now relieved from the fear of Antigonus, and despising the youth of his successor, gave themselves to their natural love of war, and commenced their ravages by an attack on the territory of the Messenians. Aratus, the protector of the league, marched out against them and sustained a signal defeat; upon which the Achaeans resolved to apply once more to Macedon, and to entreat Philip to interpose his arms with the view of saving their states from the fury of the Aetolian robbers. Unwilling to come to a rupture with so many powerful republics, he was likely to take part against the Achaeans, Philip set out for Corinth,

Alexander's Successors.

From A. M. 3681.
—
A. M. 363.
—
A. M. 3606.
—
A. C. 196.
Antigonus Dodon.
A. C. 222.
—
O. L. 139. 3.

His victories.

His death.

Philip.

Biography. accompanied by a large escort; to which city he invited deputations from all the states, to concert with him the measures most proper to be pursued in the convulsed situation of Greece. His attention was in the mean time engaged by the affairs of Sparta; which, besides being torn by civil discord, was disposed to follow the counsels of its fugitive king Cleomenes, and to join the Ætolians in their attempts on the tranquillity of the whole peninsula. Philip spoke in favour of conciliation and mildness; and, in opposition to the views of almost all his advisers, he recommended that the Lacedæmonians should be heard in their own behalf at the approaching congress.

With such men as the Ætolians, moderation was altogether fruitless. War was their trade, and plunder their principal revenue; and as they had already drawn the sword, they were determined to admit no other arbitrator to settle their quarrel with the Achaean states. Hence the origin of the social war, so destructive to many parts of Greece, and finally subversive of its independence.

Social war. In the spring of the following year, Philip appeared in the field at the head of a large force, and gained many advantages. Wintering at Peloponnesus, he signalled his oar campaign by the reduction of Elis, which had joined his enemies, and by taking nearly all the strongholds belonging to that state. But whilst he was thus employed, a detached party of the Ætolians had made an inroad into Macedon, where they sacked the city of Dium; a place highly venerated by every native of that country as a principal seat of their religion, and as being adorned with the statues of Alexander's companions who fell to the battle of the Granicus, as well as with the monuments of a long series of their kings. To revenge this insult, Philip surprised the capital of Ætolia, called Thermæ or Thermo, which he not only stripped of every thing valuable, sacred and profane, but even burnt their temples, desecrated their holy places, and loaded the impious pirates with every indignity that he could devise.

After four years of ruinous hostility, the belligerent states were not more disposed to listen to negotiation than at the moment at which they first took up arms. The fifth campaign had already begun, when Philip had reduced some fortresses belonging to the Ætolians, on the southern frontiers of Thessaly, when the Nemeian games called him to grace with his presence the city of Argos, where that solemnity was usually held, and whence the kings of Macedon had derived their origin. It was whilst engaged in this ceremonial, that the news reached him of Hannibal's victory, gained over the Romans at Thrasimene; an event which their recent intercourse with Italy instructed the Greeks to believe, could not be indifferent to their interests; and which, according to the wisest of their counsellors, ought to induce them to compose their quarrels and unite their means for the common defence. "Consider," said Agelaus of Naupactus, "consider the great and ambitious powers that have arisen in the west, and the vast exertions that they have been able to make by sea and land. They are actually engaged to a second and more desperate conflict; and whichever party prevails, think not that the victor will be contented with the spoils of the vanquished. He will look round him for new enemies that may furnish him with greater riches and

more glorious triumphs. Let us, then, hasten to conclude a lasting peace," &c. These views, acting upon minds influenced by other motives, made a deep impression, inasmuch that even the Ætolians declared their readiness to listen to terms, and to promote a general pacification.

The main inducement with Philip to compose the differences of the Grecian states and to secure their alliance, arose from the opportunity which then seemed to present itself, as connected with the successes of Hannibal, of checking the progress of the Romans in Illyricum, and even of expelling them from the eastern shores of the Adriatic. That powerful people had already established themselves in several parts of the country just named; had formed an alliance with Apollonia, one of the principal cities; and had pushed their outposts to the very frontiers of Macedon itself. As, however, an account of the skirmishing and negotiation that took place in Illyricum, between Philip and the Roman consuls who were sent to guard that province, is properly an introduction to the Macedonian war, which speedily ensued, and produced such memorable effects on Grecian independence, we prefer giving the details under the history of Rome. We now, therefore, return, according to the plan mentioned above, to bring forward the history of Alexander's successors in Syria and Asia Minor, till the series of events in these countries also unite their fortunes with the destiny of their Roman conquerors.

On the death of Seleucus who, as has been related, was murdered by Ptolemy Ceraunus, the kingdom of Syria fell into the hands of Antiochus, surnamed Soter, the eldest son of the late monarch. In narrating the occurrences which immediately succeeded the accession of Ceraunus to the throne of Macedon, we mentioned the attempt made by Antiochus to depose that usurper, and to place on his own head the crown which his father had so ardently desired, and which the latter had, in fact, conquered for his family by his victory over Lysimachus. The young king of Syria, however, was obliged to relinquish his undertaking, and even to resign his pretensions in favour of Ptolemy, Soter, to whom he likewise gave his sister in marriage.

For several years of this reign, history has little to record that could prove either interesting or instructive. Some time after his unsuccessful expedition to recover Macedon, the Syrian monarch was recalled into Asia Minor, to defend that part of his empire against the Gauls; and it was in recompense for a great victory gained by him over those warlike barbarians, that he was saluted by his grateful subjects, as saviour of their country, and is known in after times by the distinguishing epithet of Soter.

We have mentioned that, during the relaxation of authority which took place in the Lesser Asia, on the death of Lysimachus, several satrapies, or provincial governments, asserted their independence, and appeared in the form of separate kingdoms. Amongst these, Bithyola, Pergamus, Pontus, and Cappadocia were the most important, and make the most conspicuous figure in the subsequent history of the Asiatic peninsula. As, however, these states were thus severed from the empire of Antiochus, he was induced to make more than one effort to subject them to their former condition of dependence, and to recover the revenue which had been usually drawn from the rich

Alexander's
Successors.
From
A. M.
3681.

B. C.
323.
to
A. M.
3806.
—
B. C.
198.

B. C.
216.
—
D.
141. B.

B. C.
280.
—
O. L.
125. 1.

Affairs of
Syria, after
the murder
of Seleucus.

Antiochus
after the
murder
of his title.

Policy of
the Greeks
towards
Rome and
Carthage.

provinces which they comprehended. His general, Patroclus, accordingly attacked the Bithynians, as rebels against the Syrian government; but he was defeated and obliged to withdraw his troops. Agnais, at the death of Phileterus, who had founded the kingdom of Pergamus, the monarch of the east appeared in Asia Minor, at the head of a large force, with the view of re-establishing his authority in that ancient stronghold of royal power. But Eumenes, the successor of Phileterus, was prepared to repel the invader. He had raised such an army as enabled him, not only to gain a decisive victory over the veteran forces of Antiochus, but also to enlarge his dominions very considerably at his expense. According to Strabo, this battle took place in the neighbourhood of Sardis; but the particular scene is not described, nor are the details of the conflict narrated with the scientific precision which we admire so much in the works of Arrian and Xenophon.

Antiochus was still further unfortunate in a war which he provoked with Ptolemy Philadelphus, king of Egypt. This latter sovereign had a half-brother named Magas, who was appointed by him governor of Cyrene. Having married a daughter of the king of Syria, Magas allowed himself to be seduced by his ambition from the duty which he owed to Ptolemy; for, raising the standard of rebellion, he engaged his father-in-law to assist him in his unjustifiable views upon Cyrene, which he proposed to erect into an independent kingdom. Antiochus had reason to repent of this injudicious alliance. The fleets of Ptolemy, powerful in all the adjoining seas, inflicted a severe blow on the Syrian ships and towns, as well as on all the maritime provinces of Lesser Asia, which still acknowledged the sway of the eastern empire. Hostilities continued during several years, in the course of which the Egyptians appear to have wrested from their adversaries the valuable provinces of Lycia, Pamphylia, Caria, and Cilicia; whilst Antiochus reaped no other advantage from his exertions and expenditure than to see on the temporary throne of Cyrene, a rebellious viceroy whom he had admitted into his family.

But a greater misfortune was about to visit his dominions in the form of a Gallic invasion. Those fierce barbarians, who had still retained a footing in the Lesser Asia, were now joined by such a powerful reinforcement of their countrymen, that Antiochus found it necessary to lead against them the royal army, that he might by one blow put an end to their ravages, and deter them from ever again approaching his shores. He met their numerous bands under the walls of Ephesus, where a dreadful battle immediately ensued, and where the physical strength had fearless valor of the invaders gained a complete triumph over the more disciplined ranks of their Asiatic opponents. The king was slain and his army routed; leaving to the Gauls a copious theme of ridicule and insult, in reference to the title of Soter, which he had borne as a trophy conquered from their arms.

Antiochus was succeeded by his youngest son, of the same name, the eldest having, according to Trogus Pompeius, paid the penalty of rebellion some years before. Upon hearing of his father's defeat and death, the young king hastened from the east, where he had already some time held the reins of government, and presented

himself in Syria, in order to retrieve, if possible, the affairs of his western provinces. But his arms appear not to have been more successful than those of his predecessor against their formidable enemy the Gauls; for after a variety of battles, of which only very faint traces have reached us in the page of history, the barbarians appear to have maintained their settlements even in the interior parts of the peninsula. It was with somewhat better success, however, that he directed his attention to the recovery of those provinces which the king of Egypt had subdued in the south. He defeated the troops of Ptolemy, and vanquished a rebel chief who had seized the government of Caria in despite of that monarch; for which trivial exploits he was accosted by his sycophantic subjects with the title of Theos, or the god. His triumphs, however, were never of long duration. Engaging the whole forces of his monarchy in a more regular system of hostility against the Egyptian king, he received many serious reverses, and ultimately forfeited all that he had recovered in Asia Minor, together with the important provinces of Coele-Syria and Phœnicia.

In order to maintain the disastrous warfare which we have just mentioned, Antiochus had found it necessary to withdraw his best troops from Asia, and to leave his garrisons in the north much weaker than a just view of their importance would have demanded. The defenceless condition of Bactria and Parthia suggested to the governors of these provinces the idea of asserting their independence. Theolitus raised the standard of rebellion in the former; and by combining the skill of a soldier with the artifice of a practised statesman, he subdued those adherents of Antiochus, whom he could not gain by gentler means. In Parthia, again, the resentment of the fierce and hardy natives was excited to the highest degree, by an indignity offered to the person of one of their countrymen, by Agathocles the royal lieutenant. Having slain the tyrannical governor, Arsaces and Tiridates, two noble brothers, (the latter of whom had received the insult alluded to) summoned the warlike Parthians to take arms in defence of their country, and to repel the haughty Greeks from the provinces of Upper Asia. Nor was the summons disobeyed. The Parthians having strengthened their ranks, by calling the brave and athletic Scythians to their aid, defied the power of Antiochus, and even spread the flame of rebellion so extensively over the northern parts of the empire, that the latter soon perceived he could no longer carry on war with Egypt but at the expense of all his Assyrian dominions.

These considerations induced the king of Syria to make peace with Ptolemy. To cement their union the latter induced him to marry his daughter, the Egyptian princess Berenice, and to settle his crown on the issue of that marriage, although Antiochus had already two sons by his wife Laodice, whom he had espoused in the very commencement of his reign. But this violent proceeding defeated the object which it was meant to promote; for, upon the death of Philadelphus, which happened soon after, the Syrian monarch repudiated Berenice, and restored his former queen and children to the full enjoyment of their rank and prospects. To secure the position they had thus regained, Laodice determined to prevent her mercenary husband on any future occasion from

Alexander's Successors

From A. M. 3681.

A. C. 323.

A. M. 3806.

A. C. 198.

A. C. 954.

O. L. 131. 3.

Revolt of Bactria and Parthia.

A. C. 954.

O. L. 132. 1.

Murder of Antiochus.

A. C. 954.

O. L. 132. 1.

Accession of Seleucus Callinicus.

A. C. 954.

O. L. 132. 1.

Murder of Antiochus.

A. C. 954.

O. L. 132. 1.

Biography. hartering herself and children, for political concessions or personal aggrandizement. She poisoned Antiochus, had her son Seleucus proclaimed successor to the kingdom, and finally procured the murder of Beseoioe and her infant son, although this unfortunate princess had fled for safety to the precincts of the Daphneso temple.

In the same year did Ptolemy Evergetes, and Seleucus, surnamed Callinicus, ascend the thrones of Egypt and Syria, to engage in a war destructive to both. The former felt himself constrained to avenge the quarrel of his sister, who had been deprived of life under circumstances the most atrocious and appalling; whilst the latter, who had assumed the sceptre, put into his hand by means of the sacrilegious murder of which the other had to complain, prepared an army for the field, in order to maintain a right which had been taken from him by injustice, before it became necessary to recover it by violence. During the protracted conflict which ensued, the Gauls continued their ravages to Asia Minor, and the Parthians extended the spirit of dissension to the east; by which means, the magnificent empire left by Alexander was torn in pieces, year after year, and became gradually a prey more and more easy for the powerful nation which was already rising up to seize it.

Ptolemy, assisted by a large body of Greeks, who, disgusted at the murder of Berenice, no longer owned the government of Seleucus, poured into Syria with such an overwhelming force, that he immediately gained possession of the greater part of the territory of all the principal towns. The arms of the Syrian king on this occasion, were greatly weakened by the rebellion of his brother Antiochus, afterwards called Hierax; who, availing himself of the unpopular feeling attached to the accession of Seleucus, had received the allegiance of several provinces in Asia Minor, and evidently watched the progress of events, in order to seize an opportunity for placing himself on the throne of the east. The Egyptian, meantime, not satisfied with his conquests in Syria, conducted an expedition into the heart of the Assyrian empire: and pursuing his victorious course to the Oxus and Indus, overran rather than subdued the vast provinces of Media and Babyloonia; his ardour all the while being directed to the acquisition of wealth rather than to that of glory or of permanent power. The plunder with which he returned is said to have amounted to forty thousand talents of silver; in addition to which valuable treasure, he restored to Egypt between two and three thousand of her gods; whose ponderous figures had encumbered the cities of Susiana and Persis, from the period that Cambyzes had searched the temples of the Nile. For this remarkable benefaction, he was honoured with the title of Evergetes; a token of gratitude on the part of his subjects which would have been worse applied, had it respected solely his fruitless expedition into the dismembered satrapies of the eastern empire. Returning from his pious toils on the banks of the Tigris, whence, it is said, he sent his gods by water carriage to the shores of Arabia, the king of Egypt, when arrived in Palestine, insisted upon offering a sacrifice of thanksgiving to Jehovah, in the temple at Jerusalem, where he sought to gratify his priests with suitable gifts.

Whilst Ptolemy was exhausting his army by long marches in the east, Seleucus was straining every

nerve to raise, in the Lesser Asia, a competent force for the defence of his remaining territory, as well as for the recovery of that which he had lost. The Greeks in that country, alarmed at the measures of Hierax, who had formed an alliance with the Gauls, flocked once more to the standard of their king; and thereby enabled him to garrison his principal forts in Syria, and even to meet Ptolemy in the field at the head of a considerable army. The two kings met, and fought a bloody battle, in which, after great loss on both sides, victory declared for Ptolemy. The vanquished prince shut himself up in Antioch, which had been strongly fortified: and finding his affairs to be now in a desperate condition, he resolved to strengthen his army by an accommodation with his brother Hierax, who, as we have already mentioned, had enlisted a powerful body of Gauls. A treaty, originating in necessity on the one side, and accorded to on the other, by ambitious intrigue, was not likely to be durable: and accordingly, when the king of Egypt, who seems in all cases to have confined his wishes to the simple art of conquest, without attempting to derive any profit from his military success, had withdrawn his army from Syria, to engage in an enterprise of a very different nature, and which will be described hereafter, the two brothers renewed their suspicions of each other's sincerity, and determined on an appeal to arms.

A destructive war, of three years duration, was the consequence of this mutual distrust. The only memorable battle, however, of which authentic details have reached us, is that which was fought at Ancre; where Hierax, chiefly by the means of his Gallic mercenaries, gained a triumph over his royal brother. His success, it is said, had nearly proved fatal to himself; for his barbarian allies giving credence to a rumour that Seleucus had perished in the field, instantly resolved to despatch the victorious Hierax also, and thereby procure for themselves the sovereignty of the Asiatic kingdoms, to which their ambition had all along aspired. He escaped, indeed, the dreadful fate which was intended for him; but he was compelled to ransom his life at a high price, from the very soldiers who fought under his command, and received their maintenance from his stores.

The war which had desolated Syria and a large portion of Asia Minor, was soon after transferred to the province of Babyloonia. Hierax, accompanied by a hundred thousand of the most ferocious of the Gauls, directed his march to the capital of Assyria, where he hoped to enrich himself with the plunder of that flourishing city, and perhaps to found a new kingdom on the same auspicious spot in which the dynasty of his paternal house had been first planted. But his hopes were soon blasted, and all his plans rendered completely abortive. Seleucus pursued him with a large army, which being reinforced by the Macedonian inhabitants of the province, and, it is added, by eight thousand Babylonish Jews, attacked the predatory Gauls, and defeated them with so great an overthrow, that their chief was indebted for his safety to a speedy flight. Escaping first into Cappadocia, where he found a temporary retreat, Hierax next threw himself upon the protection of Ptolemy; but this monarch, so far from aiding him in his ambitious designs, detained him thirteen years a prisoner in Egypt, from which country, at the end of the

Alexander's Successors.

From A. M. 3681. — A. C. 323. — A. M. 3800. — B. C. 198.

Defeat of Seleucus.

B. C. 242. — O. 134.3.

Battle of Ancre.

B. C. 240. — O. 135.1.

Defeat and captivity of Hierax.

Biography. period now named, he contrived to procure his liberation, only to lose his life whilst crossing the desert into Syria, by the hands of Arabian robbers.

Relieved from the war with Egypt, and from the still more harassing hostility with his brother, Seleucus immediately directed his thoughts to the condition of Upper Asia. The Parthians, who were now closely allied with the Bactrians, had availed themselves of the interval during which Seleucus was employed against Hiera and Ptolemy, to strengthen their forts and augment their arms, so that when the king marched to their borders he found them prepared to burst down upon Media, the finest province of his empire. A tedious and wasteful warfare now began, which continued with various success during four years, until at length a decisive battle was fought, by which the confederates placed their independence on a sure basis, which Seleucus lost both his army and his liberty. He was taken prisoner by the Parthians, who spared his life; but actuated by an obvious regard for their own security, they sent the royal captive into one of the wildest districts of Upper Asia, where, after enduring a restraint of ten years, he is said to have been killed by a fall from his horse.

The empire of Darius was already fast passing away from the successors of Alexander. Two independent states in the upper provinces, exposed to constant hazard the rich countries of Babylonia, Media, and Persia; whilst a powerful enemy in the west, whose numbers had no limits, and whose ambition appeared altogether insatiable, had gained a permanent footing in the centre of Asia Minor, and obviously meditated the conquest of the whole. There was still, however, a strong bond of loyalty in the Syrian provinces, which attached them to the house of Seleucus. Upon hearing of the king's captivity among the Parthians, they immediately placed on the throne his eldest son, who, to the name of his father was soon after invited to add, for what exploit it does not appear, the formidable title of Cernanus, or thunder. His reign was short and uneventful. Appian, Polybius, and Justin, to whom we are indebted for the very little that is known of him, merely inform us that he was cut off by treachery in the Lesser Asia, before he had an opportunity of performing any thing remarkable.

Seleucus Cernanus was succeeded by his brother Antiochus, afterwards surnamed "the Great," whose life was diversified with a succession of important events, which, in the close of his reign particularly, brought him into such close contact with the Romans, as to identify the future history of Syria with that of the western republic.

Antiochus happened to be at Babylon when the throne was rendered vacant by the murder of the reigning prince, and being still in early youth, and consequently unable to maintain his right, he was indebted, for a quiet accession, to the generous and steady conduct of the general Achæus. This faithful soldier, himself of the royal line, and possessed of the entire devotion of the army, might have seized the crown of Seleucus, now about to descend to a child; and he seems even to have been invited to perpetrate this act of treason by the mixed and mercenary crowd which composed his ranks. But Achæus, disdaining the bribe, and chiding the disloyal sentiments which prevailed among his troops, con-

ducted the young king to Antioch, which had for some time become the more usual residence of the Seleucids.

Antiochus had no sooner reached the capital of Syria, than he was assailed by the treacherous wiles of Hermeias, a minister to whom the late king, on his departure for the east, had committed the care of that part of the empire. The main object with this unworthy person was to aggrandize his own family at the expense of his sovereign; for which purpose he secured the appointment of his own two brothers, Molon and Alexander, as governors of the very important provinces of Media and Persia, from the inexperienced and unassuming Antiochus. Hardly were they established in their satrapies, when the treasonable spirit by which they were actuated began to show itself. They seduced the troops, embezzled the public property, and as soon as their arrangements were matured, Molon displayed the standard of rebellion in Media, whilst his brother followed his example in Persia.

The young monarch, impatient to punish his faithless satraps, would have marched instantly to the Euphrates at the head of the royal army, had not the crafty Hermeias dissuaded him from the undertaking, as less suitable for a king than an expedition which he proposed against a Syrian province still in the hands of the Egyptians. He distracted his mind, too, with groundless fears respecting a meditated rebellion on the part of Achæus, who had been appointed to command some of the more western provinces of the Lesser Asia. It was resolved, therefore, that two creatures of the minister, Xenon and Theodotus, should proceed against the rebels, while the king made preparations for a safer triumph nearer home.

But the activity of the rebels far surpassed the ignorant and ill-coordinated movements which were made by the royal lieutenant for the purpose of reducing them. Molon having already overrun Media, had compelled the king's forces to take refuge in the strongholds of Babylonia, and even threatened the capital itself; Xenatas, another weak commander, was despatched with a fresh army to sustain the empire and to punish the traitorous chiefs of Media and Persia: but he, allowing himself to be surprised in the night, was cut in pieces, with the greater part of his men, by the indefatigable Molon, who immediately took possession of Babylonia, and gave law to the surrounding country.

Upon being made acquainted with these disasters, Antiochus would no longer be restrained from proceeding into his eastern dominions, and fighting his battles in person. His expedition into Coele-Syria had only redounded to his disgrace; and he was now resolved to retrieve his fortune in a more spacious field, or to perish in the attempt. The intrigues of Hermeias could now prevail no further than to detain at home and afterwards destroy the brave honest general Epigenes, whose counsel would have greatly assisted the inexperience of the king in the important war he was about to wage. Deprived of this valuable aid, the royal commander nevertheless conducted his armament with considerable skill; and having crossed the Tigris, in defiance of all the stratagems practised by his enemies in the field, and by his still more dangerous enemies in the cabinet, he soon found himself in a condition to compel Molon either to hazard a battle or to abandon his province. The rebellious satrap was

Seleucus Cernanus.

B. C. 223.

139. 2.

Antiochus the Great.

Fidelity of Achæus.

From A. M. 3681.

B. C. 323.

A. M. 3806.

B. C. 198.

Treachery of Hermeias.

Revolt of Molon and Alexander.

The royal generals defeated.

B. C. 202.

139. 3.

Antiochus takes the field in person.

Biography. extremely desirous to shun an engagement with the king in person. He attempted, therefore, to surprise his camp in the dark ; and proceeding for this purpose with a body of chosen desperadoes, by secret paths, would probably have effected his object, had not a few youths, whose feelings of loyalty opposed the perpetration of such an atrocity, deserted from his side, to give intelligence of his design. Molon, as soon as he ascertained that some men had left him, conjectured the true cause of their departure, and immediately returned to his army to prepare for a general action.

From A. M. 3681. Early in the morning, Antiochus was in the field, marshalling his troops, and confirming their resolution to avenge his cause on the heads of the rebels. Molon, though still unwilling to put all his conquests and hopes to the hazard of a battle, could not retreat in the presence of the royal army, being perfectly aware that in the disposition which then prevailed in his ranks, as well as among the native inhabitants of the countries which he had subdued, a retrograde movement would be equivalent to the most disastrous defeat.

323. The armies advanced as if to determine the contending claims of their masters by the length of their swords. But no sooner did the Asiatics behold the graceful person of the young Antiochus leading on his right wing to the conflict, than they almost with one consent abjured the cause of the traitor, whom they deserted without striking a blow, and passed over to the standard which they had marched out to oppose. Such as did not join the king, were dispersed over the adjacent provinces. Molon, with his brothers Alexander and Nicolaus, preferred a voluntary death ; and Hiermeas, whose complicated villainy was at length detected, paid the penalty of his treason and numerous perjuries.

320. Of all the iniquities chargeable upon that wicked minister, none is more to be deplored, on account of its melancholy consequences, than the alienation which he effected between Antiochus and the generous Achæans. The king had been induced to treat the latter as a rebel ; and the feeling of self-defence had suggested to the abused governor the necessity of fortifying his interests even against his royal master. During the absence of Antiochus in the east, Achæus assumed sovereignty in the provinces which he had been appointed to command ; and accordingly, when the victorious army returned into Syria, it was expected that their next service would be directed against the usurping satrap of Asia Minor.

Views of Antiochus on Egypt. But the ambition of Antiochus prevailed over his resentment. An opportunity now presented itself for the recovery of Coele-Syria, a conquest which he had formerly attempted without success ; and the acquisition appeared to him of too much importance to be either neglected or postponed. The same commander, who had so skilfully defeated all his measures in the former campaign, having become disgusted with the treatment which he received from the court of Egypt, was now prepared to surrender the province to him, together with a considerable fleet stationed in one of the ports. Antiochus, on this occasion, succeeded to the utmost extent of his wishes ; for he not only reduced the greater part of the strongholds in Coele-Syria, but also expelled the Egyptian troops from Seleucia Pieria, a place which they had garrisoned ever since it was first conquered by Ptolemy

Ptolemy Philopater, who was now on the throne of Egypt, and surrounded by the most selfish and unprincipled advisers, could not fail, nevertheless, to perceive that his kingdom was threatened with a very serious danger. Antiochus, at the head of a formidable army, had not scrupled to make known his intention of invading his territories ; and no obstacle intervened to save his subjects from that dreadful visitation except the desert which separated Egypt from the Syrian dominions. The sand of the wilderness, however, had often, in former times, protected the fertile fields of the Nile ; and the counsellors of Ptolemy advised him to have recourse to its aid in the present emergency. They began by destroying all the wells between the Nile and the frontiers of Palestine ; after which they opened the floodgates of the river to inundate the adjacent country, so as to prevent completely the approach of any considerable force. Meanwhile, a negotiation was entered into by the belligerent powers, which was vigorously seconded by an embassy from Rhodes and Byzantium, states in alliance with Egypt, and who could not but suffer severely from a protracted war between the two principal maritime kingdoms on the shores of the Mediterranean.

The Egyptians did not, however, devote all their attention to the pending treaty. On the contrary, they employed all the means in their power for raising an army to check the pretensions of Antiochus, whose ambitious views were not a little encouraged by the knowledge which he possessed of their defenceless condition, as well as of the king's indolent and voluptuous character. They collected troops from their colonies in Africa, from the shores of Asia Minor, where they had still a number of garrison towns, and above all from the Grecian republics, which could at all times supply a large body of good soldiers, ready to serve the most liberal master.

Having protracted the negotiation until they had collected, in the neighbourhood of Alexandria, an army of seventy-five thousand foot, five thousand horse, and seventy elephants, the ministers of the Egyptian king assumed a higher tone, and retracted their concessions. They demanded that Coele-Syria should be forthwith restored to their master, as having been delivered up to Antiochus by the hands of a traitor ; whilst, with very little regard to consistency, they claimed for Achæus, who was actually in arms against his sovereign, all the benefits of the pacification which they were about to establish between Syria and Egypt. As these terms could not be admitted, both parties prepared for battle. The army of Antiochus was not much inferior to that of Ptolemy in numerical strength, whilst its deficiency in foot soldiers was amply compensated by cavalry and elephants.

Positions of the two armies. The Egyptians were the first to take the field. Having crossed the desert, they came in sight of the two enemy's advanced posts, who had already pitched his camp at Gaza, where he finally mustered his forces. Whilst the two armies were thus opposed to each other on the borders of the wilderness, it occurred to Theodotus, the former governor of Coele-Syria, who was now in the ranks of Antiochus, that he might render his new master an essential service were he to succeed in a private attempt on the life of Ptolemy. Favoured by the darkness of the night, and his knowledge of the Egyptian dress and language, both of which he assumed for the occasion, he found little

Alexander's Successors.

From A. M. 3681.
—
A. C. 323.
to
A. M. 3806.
—
A. C. 198.
Preparations of Ptolemy Philopater.
A. C. 320.
—
O. L. 140. 1.

Molus and Alexander deserted by their troops

R-ruit of Achæans.

Biography. difficulty in reaching the pavilion where the king was wont to feast and to enjoy the society of his particular friends. His majesty, however, was accustomed to sleep in a more private tent, a circumstance which had escaped the inquiry of the vindictive Ætolian; the latter, therefore, plunging his dagger into the breast of the royal physician, and wounding two other attendants, some one of whom he mistook for Ptolemy, returned to the Syrian lines, without having effected his object. The Egyptians, enraged at the murder of Andreas, and still more at the meditated assassination of their sovereign, became impatient for battle; and as the commanders were willing to take advantage of the indignation and eager desire for revenge which prevailed throughout the camp, they made haste to lead forth their troops, with the view of compelling Antiochus to a combat.

It belongs not to us to describe the onset of armies and the tactics of generals. It is impossible, however, not to observe, that the Macedonian system of fighting was now altogether superseded by the introduction of Asiatic evolutions, and more especially by the cumbersome movements of elephants. At the battle of

Raphia, there were nearly two hundred of these animals in the field; cresting, as usual, a groundless confidence, and a still more groundless terror. The fortune of the day declared at first for Antiochus, who commanded one of his wings in person. Misled, however, by the ardour of pursuit, he soon afforded such an advantage to his adversary, as enabled him not only to repair his loss, but even to gain in the end a most complete victory. Ten thousand Syrian footmen and three hundred cavalry, are said to have been left dead in the field, whilst the number of prisoners exceeded four thousand. Cœle-Syria, Palestine, and Phœnicia were immediately restored to Egypt; on the basis of which concessions, a peace was soon afterwards concluded between the two kingdoms.

Relieved from the pressure of the Egyptian war, Antiochus forthwith directed his attention to the affairs of the Lesser Asia, where Achaëus, profiting by circumstances, had greatly extended his power, and enlarged his dominions. Phrygia and Lydia constituted the main body of his kingdom, whence he had made encroachments on Bithynia and Pergamus, whose kings, Prusias and Attalus, had been compelled to purchase his forbearance by a surrender of territory. He had likewise farther strengthened himself by an alliance with Mithridates, the king of Pontus; receiving in marriage a princess of that nation, whose name was Laodice, and whose heroic and devoted attachment at the siege of Sardis, has given her a just celebrity in the annals of Phrygia.

The power of Achaëus, however, soon gave way before the combined forces of Antiochus and of Attalus, who, to revenge himself upon his inveterate enemy, had joined the standard of the king of Syria. In one campaign, Achaëus was driven from the field, and compelled to take refuge in the strong citadel of Sardis. Anticipating the worst that might befall him, he had accumulated within the walls a large supply of provisions and military stores; and as the town was sufficiently extensive to accommodate the best part of his army, he was fully prepared to sustain the casualties of a lengthened siege.

But his hopes were disappointed by the success of a stratagem which was practised against the city. It

was taken in the night, and subjected to all the horrors which attend an assault on a town in the occupation of rebels; an event which confined his confidence of resistance to the strength of the citadel, in which his remaining troops were now shut up.

The ministers of Ptolemy, who had encouraged Achaëus in his rebellion, learning that he was now hard pressed by his victorious master, betrouth themselves of an expedient whereby at once to save their ally, and even to embroil Syria in a civil war. They employed one of their tools, Balis, a Cretan, to seduce some of Antiochus's soldiers employed in the blockade of Sardis, to assist in the escape of Achaëus. It was intended that the rebel satrap should proceed to Antioch, should proclaim himself king of Syria, and by the help of Egypt, should dispute with the successor of Seleucus, the possession of the throne. The crafty Balis, however, betrayed his employers, and delivered up Achaëus into the hands of Antiochus, who caused him to be put to death, and his body, wrapped in an ass's skin, to be fixed upon a cross. A herald soon announced to the citadel that Achaëus had paid the penalty of his treason, and exhorted the besieged to surrender. Stimulated by Laodice, the wife of their general, they preferred to hide the chance of an assault; which however being renewed from time to time, at length subdued their spirits, and induced them to listen to the terms proposed by Antiochus.

Having chastised the spirit of rebellion in Asia Minor, Antiochus immediately prepared to carry his arms against the Bactrians and Parthians. More than thirty years had now elapsed since those hardy Asiatics had refused to pay tribute, and to acknowledge allegiance to the descendants of Seleucus; being firmly resolved to support their liberty, and to maintain, on their respective thrones, the dynasty which they had been pleased to invest with the royal power and honours. Arsaces, the third of the name, reigned at this period over the Parthians; whilst the Bactrians were governed by Euthydemus, who was likewise the third sovereign from the new era of their independence.

Of the campaign which followed in those remote countries, the details furnished by Polybius are neither numerous nor particular. It appears that the first movements of Antiochus were attended with so much success, that Arsaces was glad to purchase peace on the hard condition of joining the army of the conqueror against his neighbour Euthydemus. The latter, confident in his strength, or wishing to save his people from the ravages of actual war, marched forth to meet the king of Syria in a contiguous province. A battle took place on the banks of the Arias, where the arms of the latter obtained a signal triumph, and in which the monarch himself displayed so much courage and address, that he at length justified the adulation of his courtiers, who had saluted him with the title of Autiochus the Great. A severe wound in the face, which dashed out his teeth, and the loss of his horse, which was killed under him, could not shake his resolution. He remained at the head of his troops, receiving charge after charge from the barbarian cavalry, until he had completely checked their impetuosity and thinned their ranks.

Euthydemus was more successful in negotiation than in the field. He represented to Antiochus that he had never personally rebelled against the king of Syria, but that he had mounted the throne of Bactria in right of conquest achieved over a usurper or the son

Alexander's Successors.

From A. M. 3681. — B. C. 323. to A. M. 3806. — B. C. 198.

Betrayal and death of Achaëus.

B. C. 214.

OL. 141. 3.

Expedition against Bactria and Parthia.

Victory of Antiochus.

Biography. of a usurper : that it would be bad policy in the sovereign of Asia to weaken the kingdom of the Bactrians whose power might be rendered extremely useful in defending the northern frontiers, and in checking the inroads of the savage tribes, which were ever ready to pour down upon its central provinces ; and, finally, that the victor ought to grant such terms to the chiefs whom he had just subdued, as would make it their interest to support him as an ally, and to court his favour as their natural protector. Antiochus was not deaf to this plausible reasoning, and being much pleased with Demetrius, the son of the Bactrian king, he acceded to the proposals of which the prince was the bearer ; assuring the youth that his father should be allowed to retain his royal title and independence, and that to himself he would give one of his daughters in marriage.

The affairs of the north being thus amicably settled, Antiochus applied his experienced mind to other departments of government ; restoring vigour, confidence, and happiness to his numerous subjects in the east. During the seven years that he spent at this time in Asia, he appears to have ratified treaties and confirmed alliances with several kings on the banks of the Indus. Both his wealth and power received considerable accessions ; for we are told by Polybius that he returned to Babylon with immense treasures and a hundred and fifty elephants. After another successful expedition to the mouth of the Euphrates, where he dislodged a band of Arabian pirates who infested the commercial city of Gerra, he proceeded to Antioch, the capital of his kingdom, loaded with honour, riches, and warlike reputation.

The same year in which Antiochus returned from his eastern triumphs, Ptolemy Philopater, the king of Egypt, brought his life to a close by a series of vicious indulgence. The successor, Ptolemy Epiphanes, was a mere child ; a circumstance which appears to have suggested to the king of Syria, and to Philip of Macedon, the ungenerous project of seizing upon his dominions. The former, at the head of a victorious army, and the latter, having under his command the finest fleet at that time on the sea, proceeded without delay to accomplish their scheme of partition.

Antiochus met but little resistance in his invasion of Coele-Syria and Palestine ; and Philip reduced the greater part of the cities in Asia Minor which belonged to the crown of Egypt, as well as several of the islands on the Grecian coast, which had now during a long period of time acknowledged the sway of the Ptolemies. In the prosecution of his ambitious plans, however, the Macedonian excited the enmities of the Rhodians ; who, inviting the co-operation of Attalus, the king of Pergamus, put to sea with a large navy, and engaged his fleet in the bay of Cassydé. Their success indeed was not equal to their zeal ; but the interference of the Romans, who already affected to act as the protectors of Greece, repressed the selfish policy of Philip, and called his attention to the safety of his paternal dominions.

As Attalus, the Rhodians, and the Egyptians were all in alliance with the Romans, the late unprovoked war on the kingdom of the young Ptolemy, and the subsequent aggression on the territory of Pergamus, afforded a sufficient pretext to the republicans of Italy for interfering with the projects of Antiochus, as well as with those of Philip. Attalus, indeed, entreated his powerful

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allies to send their legions into Asia Minor, to protect his country against the Syrians, or else to relieve him from the pressure of the war with the Macedonians. But the Romans were not yet quite prepared to accept the invitation. They pretended to consider Antiochus as their ally, and remonstrated against the use of arms until the more gentle methods of conference and solicitation should have been tried. An embassy was accordingly despatched to Antioch, informing the Syrian monarch that his hostilities in the Lesser Asia were far from being agreeable to the republic ; that the enemies of Syria were the friends of Rome, and must be protected ; and that if he wished to avoid the resentment of the Roman senate and people, he must forthwith recall his troops from Pergamus, as well as from all the Grecian dependencies of Egypt.

Antiochus complied so far with the request of these warlike umpires, as to withdraw his army from Asia Minor. His motive, however, for this important step was not to gratify the Romans, nor to relieve the fears of their client, the king of Pergamus. He had heard of preparations in Egypt, for depriving him once more of his favourite provinces, Palestine and Coele-Syria. Scopas, an Ætolian chief, had been sent to raise an army among his hardy countrymen, and was now on his march to attack the colonies which we have just named, at the head of a considerable force of Greeks and Egyptians. Antiochus did not give them time to extend their ravages, or to increase their ranks among his Syro-Phœnician subjects. He advanced against Scopas, defeated him in a memorable battle, near the foot of mount Panus, compelled him to take refuge in Sidon, a place of some strength, and afterwards to surrender with his army at discretion.

Antiochus, unwilling to relinquish his claims on the provinces of Asia Minor and the cities of Greece, which seemed still to belong to him as the successor of Seleucus Nicator, prepared, in the spring, a large fleet and a powerful land force, to pursue his designs on the shores of the Ægean. He sent his army to Sardis under the command of his two sons Ardyes and Mithridates, whilst he conducted in person a hundred gallees to Ephesus, where he established his head-quarters. To prevent all interruption that might arise on the part of Egypt, he entered into a friendly correspondence with that kingdom, and concluded with the regency a treaty of marriage between the young Epiphanes and his daughter Cleopatra ; binding himself to transfer with the bride, when the parties came of age, the long disputed provinces of Phœnicia and Coele-Syria.

No sooner had Antiochus collected his forces in the Grecian sea, than he proceeded to attack certain strongholds in Mysia and Caria, which had formerly belonged to Macedon. He next directed his generals to besiege Smyrna and Laupunctus, whilst he himself, crossing the Hellespont, advanced into Thracia, and made himself master of the Chersonesus. Finding Lysimachia in ruins, he began to rebuild its walls, and to repair its fortifications, that, as the heir of Seleucus, he might thence issue his commands to the warlike Thracians, who had long been accustomed to acknowledge a ruler in one of Alexander's successors.

Whilst these things were in progress, the Isthmian games were announced at Corinth, and were attended, as usual, by representatives from all the kings and states which claimed any connection with Greece. The Roman proconsul appeared in the name of his

Alexander's Successors.

From
A. M.
3681.
—
B. C.
323.
—
A. M.
3646.
—
B. C.
198.

Antiochus
defeats
Scopas

B. C.
197.
—
OL.
145. 4.

B. C.
196.
—
OL.
146. 1

Biography. republic, as the liberator and protector of the whole Grecian commonwealth, and made known that he was ready to hear the ambassadors from the several powers which were either at actual war, or had controversies to determine. The envoy of Antiochus was heard at considerable length, in defence of the measures which his master was pursuing; but the Roman replied to his numerous arguments, by a declaration that the conduct of the king of Syria was offensive to the people and senate of Rome, that his conquests must be relinquished, and his troops withdrawn within the limits of his Asiatic dominions. A conference was afterwards held in the camp of Antiochus, in which he renewed the reasoning which his ambassador had employed at Corinth, and in which his arguments were again met, on the part of the Roman commissioners, by the same declarations and threatenings which had been used on that occasion. As nothing was to be gained from men who had been instructed to make no concessions, and to put their chief confidence in the power of the sword, which they knew was about to be drawn, whatever might be the result of their deliberations, Antiochus broke up the meeting with an expression of displeasure; intimating that he had no intention of submitting his interests to the Romans either as judges or as umpires.

It was in the city of Rome itself that the matters in dispute were next discussed; but as the affairs of Syria, from this period, are more closely connected with Roman history than with that of Alexander's successors, we take leave of Antiochus for the present, to resume the narrative of events as they respect Egypt, till that kingdom also shall be found to merge in the spreading power of the western republic.

Ptolemy Philadelphus had been somewhat accustomed to the exercise of power before the reins of government were entirely left in his hands by the death of his father. The insulated position of Egypt, and its great natural defences, protected it successfully from the devastation of the Gauls, whose power was so terribly felt in Macedon and in the Lesser Asia; whilst the wise policy pursued by the first Ptolemy had secured for his kingdom a vast accession of inhabitants, of commercial industry, and of military power. Philadelphus, therefore, upon ascending the throne, found himself one of the greatest monarchs of his age; having, besides the kingdom of Egypt, properly so called, the provinces of Phenicia, Coele-Syria, Cyrene, the island of Cyprus, Pamphylia, Cilicia, Lycia, Caria, and the greater part of the Cyclades, subjected to his dominion. The son of the renowned Soter was not, however, a warlike character. He cultivated the arts, and gave great encouragement to learning; but, throughout his whole reign, he appears to have been unwilling to attempt any thing by arms which could possibly be obtained by treaties, or even by moderate concession. Upon hearing, for instance, of the great successes of the Romans against Pyrrhus, he sent ambassadors to them, to congratulate them on their success, and to desire their friendship. The people of Rome, gratified by this mark of attention, and eager to gain a footing on the southern shores of the Mediterranean, made haste to despatch envoys to the court of Ptolemy, ostensibly to return the civilities of so great a monarch, but, in fact, to lay the foundation of that influence

over the affairs of Egypt, which, at no distant period, Alexander rendered that kingdom an obedient ally, and afterwards a humble tributary to the republic of the Tiber.

The first war in which the forces of Philadelphus seem to have been employed, was that provoked by the ambition of Antigonus Gonatus, in his attempt to reduce the Grecian states to the power of Macedon. The Egyptian fleet failed, indeed, of success in this endeavour to relieve Athens; but the armament gained considerable credit by adding to the dominions of its master some valuable towns, situated on the Thracian coast, as well as several islands in the Ægean sea.

The revolt of Magas, the governor of Cyrene, engaged the peaceful Ptolemy in a series of warlike operations, both against his rebellious brother and against Antiochus, whose sister, Apama, that brother had married. The occurrences which took place in the contest with Syria have been already described; and it has also been mentioned, that the insurrection of Magas was finally compromised by a marriage treaty between the son of Ptolemy and the daughter of the rebel. According to this arrangement, the young Evergetes received with his cousin Berenice the allegiance of Cyrene, and some dependent districts on the coast of Lybia; a consummation which, by restoring peace at home, enabled his father to devote his undivided attention to the pursuits of science, the decoration of his cities, and the internal improvement of his kingdom. There was, after this, indeed, a war of considerable length, between Syria and Egypt, excited by the violence of Apama, the mother of Berenice; but, as Ptolemy did not take the field in person, the movements of his armies did not materially interfere with his benevolent schemes for extending commerce and agriculture among the industrious classes, and for promoting literature among the studious and wealthy. The great canal which he constructed between the Red sea and the Nile, proves at once his zeal and the high perfection to which the mechanical arts had attained; whilst his magnificent libraries, his schools, museum, and academies, and the numerous poets, historians, and philosophers, who occupied or adorned them, attest his liberality and discernment of character. After a prosperous reign of thirty-eight years, Ptolemy Philadelphus yielded to the infirmities of nature, and left a powerful and very flourishing kingdom to his successor Evergetes.

The new reign was clouded by a dark occurrence at Antioch, which again involved Egypt and Syria in war. It has been already related, that when peace was concluded between Antiochus and Philadelphus, the latter gave to the former his daughter Berenice in marriage, stipulating that the offspring of that union should succeed to the Syrian throne, though Antiochus had, by his wife Laodice, a son, already arrived at the age of manhood. The repudiated queen murdered her husband, and placed Seleucus on the vacant throne; who, in order to remove all competition on the part of Berenice and her child, made no scruple to deprive them both of life. Evergetes could not behold such proceedings unmoved. Advancing into Syria at the head of a powerful army, he took possession of the greater part of the country, which seems not to have been defended, and of the

Discussions
between
Antiochus
and the
Romans.

R. C.
283.
—
O. L.
124. 2.

History of
Egypt.

Ptolemy
Philadel-
phus.

Successors.
From

A. M.
3681.
—
R. C.
323.
to
A. M.
3806.
—
R. C.
198.

R. C.
264.
—
O. L.
133. 3.

Advanc-
ment of
the arts
under
his reign.

R. C.
246.
—
O. L.
133. 3.
Ptolemy
Evergetes.

Biography. cities, the most of which opened their gates at his approach. The important town of Seleucia Pieria, the seaport of the capital, fell into his hands; in the neighbourhood of which he was still further gratified with the apprehension of the cruel Laodice, at whose instigation his sister and nephew had lost their lives. The punishment of that unprincipled female seems, however, to have completely satisfied his resentment; for, instead of securing his conquests in Syria, and achieving the entire humiliation of Seleucus, he led his army on a plundering expedition into the remote provinces of Asia, whence, as we have already stated, he returned to the shores of Africa in triumph, loaded with spoil and encumbered with Egyptian idols.

Soon after his re-appearance in Egypt, Evergetes was solicited by Cleomenes, the king of Sparta, to grant the assistance of his arms in the struggle which that republic was then supporting with Antigonus, the ruler of Macedonia, and with the members of the Achaean League. But the battle of Sellasia proved that the aid afforded was inadequate. Cleomenes fled to the banks of the Nile, where he found his musty ally

reposing under the successful banners of a numerous army, which he had just led home from the savage mountains of Ethiopia, whither his love of romantic conquests had conducted them. He appears to have penetrated into the interior provinces of Abyssinia, and to have subdued the rude tribes which dwell on the shores of the Red sea; laying on the unfortunate natives the most oppressive contributions in cattle, gold, perfumes, and other articles belonging to that valuable merchandise which the Ethiopians and Arabs had long carried on with their Egyptian neighbours. At Adulis, the principal seaport of Abyssinia, he collected his victorious troops, and pronounced to them a speech on the wonderful exploits which they had achieved under his auspices, and on the numerous benefits which they had thereby secured to their native country. The throne on which he sat, composed of white marble and supported by a slab of porphyry, was consecrated to the god of war, whom he chose to claim for his father and patron; and that the descendants of the vanquished Ethiopians might not be ignorant of their obligations to Ptolemy Evergetes, king of Egypt, he gave orders that his name and principal triumphs should be inscribed on the votive chair. These inscriptions, it is worthy of remark, are still preserved, and constitute the only historical account that has reached these times of the Ethiopian warfare of this Egyptian monarch. About seven hundred years after the reign of Evergetes, they were first published in the *Topography of Cosmus Indicopleustes*, a Grecian monk, by whom they were copied on the spot. The traveller Bruce, moreover, informs us, that the stone containing the name of Ptolemy Evergetes, serves as a footstool to the throne on which the kings of Abyssinia are crowned at this day. Among the ruins of Axum, too, the ancient capital of that country, various fragments of marble have been found, bearing the name and title of the same Egyptian sovereign. This empty fame, however, is the only return that ever recompensed the toils of Evergetes among the fierce barbarians of the south.

About the date noted in the margin, three kings succeeded to their respective thrones, all of which had been founded by the successors of Alexander; namely,

139. 4.

Philip the Fourth to the Macedonian, Antiochus the Third to the Syrian, and Ptolemy Philopater to the Egyptian. The two last, whose dominions were almost contiguous, and whose interests were frequently opposed, soon found themselves in arms against each other. The king of Macedonia again was fully occupied with the Gauls and Romans, and with such of the Grecian states as adhered to those invaders. Our business, however, is with Philopater, who appears soon to have confined his hostility against Antiochus, to the encouragement which he afforded to Achæus, the rebel satrap, who had usurped the sovereignty of certain provinces in Asia Minor. It was not till the Syrian monarch returned from his expedition into Media, and had obtained from the treachery of Theodotus possession of Coele-Syria and Phœnicia, that the military power of Egypt was called into exertion.

We have already given an account of the battle of Raphia, which at once saved the kingdom of Ptolemy, and checked the growing ascendancy of Antiochus. The victorious king remained several months in the provinces which he had thus regained, in which he seems to have been received with submission and loyalty by a people who, being accustomed to change masters according to the issue of a campaign or an intrigue, could not be supposed to entertain any deep sentiment of affection either for Syrian or Egyptian. The only remarkable event which occurred during the residence of Philopater in Syria, is the visit which he paid to the temple at Jerusalem. Struck with the solemn appearance of the holy fane, and still more with the veneration which was entertained for it by every pious Israelite, his curiosity was so far excited, that he insisted upon being admitted into all parts of the house, even into the holy of holies. The sequel of the story partakes somewhat of the marvellous; and the only part of it which admits of no doubt, is the violent resentment which inflamed the breast of the king against the whole Jewish nation, as being implicated in the affront which he had sustained. He visited all Jews with the severest punishment, and disgraced his capital with criminality the most atrocious and vice the most gross. A civil war was the result, and thousands of his people perished under the hands of mercenary soldiers. The suppression of these tumults only paved the way for a conspiracy against the royal advisers; and during the massacre that ensued, Ptolemy Philopater was carried off by death, leaving his kingdom to a child about five years of age.

The minority of the young king was disturbed by several attempts and rumours of conspiracy; none of which appears to have had any foundation, except that which originated with Scopas, the Ætolian. Coele-Syria and Phœnicia had once more acknowledged allegiance to Antiochus; and the Egyptian ministers, as usual, entered into a resolution to take advantage of that monarch's absence in Thrace, in order to recover those disputed provinces for the crown of Alexandria. This attempt led to the battle of Panias, in which the forces of the regency sustained a signal defeat; but as the subsequent proceedings of Antiochus were modified by the ascendancy of Roman influence, which, in like manner, gradually extended itself to Egypt, the history of Alexander's successors may now be regarded as concluded. From this time

Alexander's Successors.

From A. M. 3661.

B. C. 323.

A. M. 3806.

B. C. 196.

B. C. 196.

B. C. 196.

B. C. 196.

B. C. 140. 3.

Ptolemy Philopater.

Ptolemy Philopater.

Ptolemy Philopater.

Ptolemy Philopater.

Ptolemy Philopater.

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Ptolemy Philopater.

Ptolemy Philopater.

Ptolemy Philopater.

Ptolemy Philopater.

Biography. new views and new interests occupy the theatre of politics and of war, in Greece, Asia Minor, Syria, and Egypt. The auspices of the Roman generals and proconsuls, supersede henceforward the fortunes of Macedon, and the genius of Athens and Lacedæmon. The descendants of Æacus give place to the sons of Flaminius, Crassus, and Æmilius; and the glory of the legion is destined to eclipse the Alexanders proud splendour of the phalanx. Even the fame of Alexander himself is almost equalled by the renown of Cæsar, as a skilful warrior and an expert politician; and the wide range of territory which was won by the Macedonian hero, is surpassed by that which acknowledged the sway of the imperial eagle.

From
A. M.
3681.

B. C.
323.

to
A. M.
3806.

—
B. C.
198

From
A. M.
3681.

—
B. C.
323.

to
A. M.
3806.

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B. C.
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